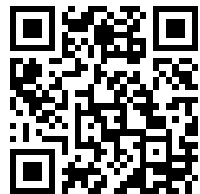

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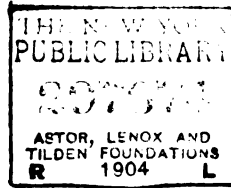
THE
AMERICAN JOURNAL
OF
THEOLOGY



EDITED BY
THE DIVINITY FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

VOLUME VII
1903

CHICAGO
The University of Chicago Press
1903



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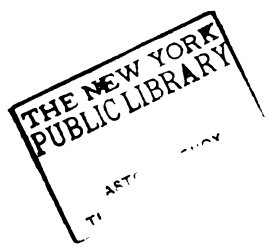
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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

Volume VII

JANUARY, 1903

Number 1

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE STUDY OF THE SEPTUAGINT.¹

By HENRY A. REDPATH,
London, England.

IF we look back over the work of the past century in the study of the Septuagint, we shall see how much the knowledge of the subject was advanced during its course. Many names will occur to us, notably those of Holmes and Parsons, Schleusner, Tischendorf, Ceriani, Nestle, Lagarde, Field, Grinfield, Hatch, and Swete, whilst a younger generation of scholars has come to the front, of whom perhaps the best known are, amongst Englishmen, Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray, all of Cambridge; Klostermann the younger and Deissmann in Germany; and Mercati in Italy.

We can define the leading characteristics of the work of several of the earlier writers and editors in a few words.

When the last century began only one volume of the edition of Holmes and Parsons had been published. Holmes died in 1805. The final volumes (IV and V) edited by Parsons, did not appear till 1827. This monumental work, notwithstanding all that may be done in the future, is never likely in all respects to be superseded. For the time when it appeared with its

¹The first of a series of lectures delivered in the University of Oxford on the Grinfield Foundation.

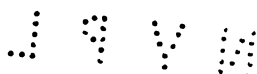
apparatus criticus it was a marvelous example of industry and care. Many well-known scholars of the day contributed to it, and though some of the editors' assistants were inferior in their power of observation and accuracy in noticing variations of reading, the work thoroughly deserves all the praise that has been given to it. The University of Oxford may well be proud of the fact that it was produced at its printing press.²

Constantine Tischendorf's labors, which lasted down to 1874, with his discovery of ancient manuscripts, and the publication of collations of them, to say nothing of his edition of the Septuagint, which was an improved edition of the old Sixtine edition of 1587, were great indeed.³ Some manuscripts, however, which he dealt with and in which the writing was faded or well nigh perished, have suffered considerably from his use of acids to bring up the writing, a procedure for which he must either have obtained permission or taken it without asking. He would seem, too, in some cases to have been careless or indifferent as to whether parts of the same manuscript were distributed among different libraries or kept together. For instance, the uncial fragment of Genesis, known as the Codex Bodleianus, stored in the Bodleian library, and indicated by the letter E when referred to, is part of a manuscript of which he procured parts on two separate occasions from the east. Another large portion of it went to St. Petersburg; but the missing link between the two portions—the first uncial, the second cursive—remained in Tischendorf's possession till his death in 1874. I call it the missing link, because it consisted of one leaf at the end of one page of which the uncial writing terminated, while the cursive writing began on the *verso*. It was not until 1891 that the character of this leaf was made known by Professor Swete and the present lecturer; so that for seventeen years after Tischendorf's death this leaf remained unidentified.

Ceriani's wide knowledge in matters scriptural and theologi-

² My immediate predecessor dealt fully with the way in which the publication of the work was organized, subscriptions were collected and reports as to its progress circulated. His lecture was published in the *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1899.

³ Of all the manuscripts on which he labored his name is most of all associated with the Sinaitic.



cal has always been liberally placed at the disposal of scholars. Would that the position of this learned and veteran scholar, to whom (as well as to the memory of one Francis Martin, of Trinity College, Cambridge) Field dedicated his edition of the Hexapla, published in Oxford, had been more generously recognized in England!⁴ The kindness which Ceriani always displays to all students alike, scholars or novices, and the way in which he places the treasures of the Ambrosian library and of his own knowledge, biblical and liturgical, at the disposal of others are beyond all praise.

Nestle is admittedly the leading scholar of the Septuagint still surviving from the older generation. His knowledge is profound and far-reaching, assisted as it is by an intimate acquaintance with Syriac. It is to him we owe the more perfect and complete edition of Tischendorf's handy edition of the Septuagint published after the latter's death. He has also contributed largely to the attainment of greater accuracy in Swete's edition which has now practically superseded that of Tischendorf. We look forward with very great interest to the article on the Septuagint from his pen which will be found in the fourth volume of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*.

Lagarde is best known for the beginning which he made at an attempt to restore the Lucianic text, which was published in 1883 at Göttingen. This only reaches to the end of Esther, owing to the lamented death of its author in 1891. With the

⁴This is what Field said in his dedication :

Necnon

In honorem

Antonii Mariae Ceriani

Collegii Bibliothecae Ambrosianae Doctoris

Hexaplorum meorum

Ab incunabulis usque ad consummationem eorum

Adjutoris indefatigabilis

Quem in studiis Syriacis excolendis et promovendis

Primarium locum obtinuisse

Docti omnes uno ore consentiunt

Cuique in Sparta quam sortitus sit exornanda

Vitae longitudinem honoris amplitudinem

Prospera omnia

Auguror et deprecor.

exception of that book, he gives no critical apparatus to the rest of the historical books and to the Pentateuch to show upon what principles he worked. All we know is that he used six manuscripts (H. and P. 19, 44, 82, 93, 108, 118) for his purpose. It would seem as if in some way or other, probably on better lines, all his work will have to be done over again, if we are to secure a critically correct approximation to the recension of Lucian.

Field devoted himself more especially to a work in which Montfaucon had been an able pioneer—that of collecting all the discoverable fragments of the Hexapla and specifying the sources from which they were derived. And as we owe to Oxford the publication of the Holmes and Parsons collations, so we owe to the same university the publication of Field's work in 1875. His *Prolegomena* are the source from which nearly all the information about the Hexapla, still available, can most easily be drawn.

It is fitting also that in this place mention should be made of those who did what they could to encourage the study of the Septuagint. Grinfield founded the lectureship which I now have the honor to hold; Canons Hall and Houghton endowed prizes to stimulate the study among the junior members of the University.

But the last two decades of the last century saw a still further advance, fostered and encouraged by the sister universities of Oxford and Cambridge. At the former Dr. Hatch drew increased attention to the study of the Septuagint by his Grinfield lectures, afterward published in a book entitled *Essays in Biblical Greek*. He also organized and assisted in furthering the compilation at Oxford of a *Concordance to the Septuagint*, which records all the important various readings of the three great manuscripts, the Vatican, the Alexandrine, and the Sinaitic.⁵ Unfortunately he did not live to see the publication

⁵There had been concordances to the Septuagint before, viz.: those of Biel and Trommius, but neither of these came anywhere near to the exhaustiveness of the new work. In fact, for every two entries in Trommius it has been estimated that there are at least three in the Oxford book. Neither did they contain the proper names, which have been treated in a supplemental *fasciculus* to the original work. And when the second *fasciculus* is published with an index to the Hebrew of the whole, the concordance will be still more useful to the student than it is at present.

of any part of this laborious work. If he had been able to secure the carrying out of his ideas, a critical text of the Septuagint would also have been published at Oxford. He had prepared a large amount of material in manuscript, very much on the lines of the new Cambridge edition. But it was left to Cambridge and to its Regius Professor of Divinity, Dr. Swete, assisted by a committee nominated by the syndics of the University Press to carry out this part of the work and to publish in three volumes a handy edition of the Old Testament in Greek, based primarily on the Vatican codex, and giving in an *apparatus criticus* the variants of all the leading uncial manuscripts. Of course this edition, from its very plan, gives a one-sided view of the actual text of the Septuagint, but it is, so far as can be seen, the most important. How much such a text-book was needed is shown by the fact that at the present moment a third edition of the first volume has just been published at Cambridge, and the second and third volumes have already reached a second edition. In the closing months of the last century Dr. Swete presented us with a further very valuable work, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, full of stimulating and suggestive material.

Another valuable aid to the textual study of the Septuagint has been provided by photographic reproductions of three of the great manuscripts, B, A, and Q, *i. e.*, the codex Marchalianus. A similar reproduction of \aleph , the codex Sinaiticus, would be a welcome addition to the student's apparatus for work.

The excavations carried on so successfully in Egypt by various explorers, notably by Grenfell and Hunt, the gradual publication of the text of Greek inscriptions gathered from all quarters, the discovery of many additional fragments both of the Hexapla and of one or another of the other Greek versions, and, last but not least, the valuable fragments which have been acquired from the Genizah at Cairo, especially those of the Hebrew *Ecclesiasticus*, about which considerable controversy has arisen, have all done much to increase the attention paid by scholars, lay as well as clerical, to biblical criticism and to a deeper knowledge of the earliest translations of the sacred books.

With such tools to work with, the natural question arises : What is now being done, and what still remains to be done ?

A greater edition of the Septuagint is being gradually prepared at Cambridge, though I am afraid it will be some years yet before even the first volume sees the light. It will be a kind of modernized Holmes and Parsons. Additional manuscripts of importance, notably the Sinaitic, have been discovered since their days, and the readings of these must have a place in it. No doubt a further development of the system of grouping manuscripts, which has been successfully carried out in part with reference to the manuscripts of the New Testament, will be found possible in the case of those of the Old Testament and Apocrypha.

But much still remains to be done in the investigation of the sources and in the examination of the text of the manuscripts, more especially those that contain the Historical books outside the Octateuch, the Sapiential, and Prophetical books. Most has been done for the manuscripts containing what is called the Octateuch. I can scarcely imagine a more attractive field of work for the younger student of palæography and textual criticism than the examination and collation of some of these manuscripts. Surprises and discoveries may await him even where he least expects them. I have already shown how the existence of the missing link which united two fragments of a manuscript was announced at Cambridge only in 1891, though the leaf in question had been lying there since 1874. It is possible to illustrate this point still further by experiences of my own, though I have had but a very moderate time at my disposal to give to this branch of work. In the year 1892, when examining the Septuagint manuscripts in the library at St. Mark's in Venice, it was my good fortune to come upon some uncial fragments of the book of Proverbs. These contained one expression which was not known to occur in any other Greek translation of that book. Once again, in 1897, I was engaged in collating the Codex Zittaviensis (H. and P. 44, Lagarde's ζ.) of the Octateuch, a manuscript to which I know Dr. Hatch attached the highest importance. In it I found that the only portion of the manuscript which had imbedded in it, in the same writing as the text,

a division into verses, was that part of the book of Exodus which contains what is known to modern critics as the book of the Covenant (chaps. 20–23).⁶ This manuscript is assigned to the fifteenth century, so that, as early as that date, a distinctive character seems to have been assigned to that part of the book of Exodus. No doubt other equally interesting details will be found by those who look for them.⁷

But, putting these details on one side, there is very much to be learnt from the study of an individual manuscript. Does it disclose its own date or provenance? In some cases it does. Or, if it does not, is it possible to trace in any way the history of the manuscript? The locality from which it sprung will have had its influence on the text, and we may thus be able tentatively to attach it to one or other group of manuscripts. The correctness of this appreciation of it may then be tested by a more detailed examination of the text. Details of apparently lesser moment will also have to be taken into account, such as the material on which it is written, the style of the writing, the size of the pages, the pages in a quire, each quire being indicated perhaps at the foot of the page, and the division into sections or clauses, if there is any.

But the great aim that all collation work and the construction of an *apparatus criticus* must have in view is the attempt to get back to the original text of the Septuagint. This is held by many scholars to be well-nigh impossible, with the materials at our disposal. Tentative lists, indeed, of manuscripts containing either in whole or in part what are called the Hexaplaric, Lucianic, and Hesychian recensions have been made, but at the best very little can be looked upon as definitely established. It may be that the division of the manuscripts into smaller groups

⁶ An account of this arrangement in verses can be found in the *Expository Times* May, 1897.

⁷ And even a little amusement may sometimes lighten the task. For instance in the Vatican text of IV Kingdoms (A. V. 2 Kings) 3 : 21, the translation of the words represented in the Revised Version by "they gathered themselves together" (margin, "were called together") "all those who were able to put on armour" (margin Heb., "gird themselves with a girdle"), "and upward" (*καὶ ἑρῶν*, as the ordinary text has it), becomes "and girded with a girdle they shouted on all sides, and said, Oh !" (*καὶ ἑρῶν* "Ω.")

still may lead to better results. But the investigation must proceed book by book, and not by taking the Septuagint as a whole. The treatment that will apply to one book will not apply to another, because the translations of various books are by different hands and of different dates.⁸ How far this may lead us I suppose no one at present can divine. Moore, for instance, in his *Commentary on the Book of Judges*, thinks that he sees great indications that the Vatican text of the Greek version of that book is as late as the fourth century A. D.; it is certain, at any rate, so far as it is possible to verify the statement, that the text is full of Hexaplaric insertions.⁹

This, moreover, is but one instance. We have a longer and a shorter edition of Job, on which Dr. Hatch's paper, in his *Studies in Biblical Greek*, should be studied. In this case the longer edition seems to owe its additional Greek matter to the version of Theodotion, in something the same way as that version has been used to supplement the Greek version of Jeremiah. Theodotion's version of Daniel also superseded the Septuagint version—which is very midrashic in character—though in this case there is a further complication in that a version, perhaps not only of Daniel, but also of other books, upon which Theodotion's was based, must necessarily have existed in almost pre-Christian times. We must not omit in this connection the varying opinions that have been held as to the relative value of the two Greek editions of Ezra, 1 and 2 Esdras, and of the source or sources from which they were derived. Other fragments of a similar character will be found to occur in some of the historical books.

⁸ It may even be found that a second translator has taken up the work of the first in the middle of a book. Abbott, in his *Corrections of Mark*, draws attention to the fact of a change of usage in the Greek Exodus that can scarcely be accidental. For one-half of the book the translation has *δε*, where in the second half, under exactly similar circumstances, the translation has *καί*; but the subject requires further investigation.

⁹ *E. g.*, in Judges, chaps. 4 and 5, there are at least fifteen expressions, which are also attributed to versions other than the Septuagint. Of these four are attributed to Aquila alone, one may be Symmachus, five are attributed to Theodotion alone, three to an anonymous translator, one both to Aquila and to Theodotion, and one to all three translators, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

Nor is this all. In many passages, when compared with the Hebrew, there will be found doublets or even triplets of translation. In these cases the various translations must be submitted to what we may almost call microscopical investigation. Sometimes a catchword or expression may enable us to assign one of the renderings to one or other of the Greek versions. In other cases a rendering will clearly be a gloss upon the text, which has been introduced into the text as if it were looked upon by the scribe as an omission from the manuscript he is copying. But all this requires infinite patience, keen insight and much deliberation; and conclusions must not be hastily arrived at and dogmatized upon.¹⁰

One thing also becomes more evident from a careful examination of the transliterations of proper names, and that is, that a scribe, who knew, or thought he knew, anything of his subject, had no scruples about improving upon the text he had before him, if he thought it could be improved upon, and fancied he "had" Hebrew enough to justify him.

But I do not think that we need despair about getting much nearer to the original Septuagint than any one has ever done yet. It may be that some day one or more complete parts—I suppose we shall never see the whole—of Origen's Hexapla may be discovered in their entirety.¹¹ At any rate, some large fragments of a hexapla of the Psalms, from a palimpsest, are shortly to be published, edited by Dr. Mercati of the Vatican Library at

¹⁰ In some parts of the Septuagint the work will no doubt be much easier than others; in some the text will be found to vary much less than is perhaps generally supposed. In an examination of the text of one of the minor prophets taken at random, Obadiah, as represented by B, A, Q (which is supposed to have Hesychian elements), and H. and P. 22, which is called Lucianic, very few differences of any great importance can be discovered. In two cases 22 seems to have phrases common to it with Symmachus; and in one verse B omits a clause, but this is obviously due to Homoioteleuton.

¹¹ More wonderful things than this have occurred. If it could be possible to hope that some hermetically sealed sarcophagus in Cæsarea could be found containing such a volume, or that some Genizah should produce out of its recesses a volume or part of one containing a præ-Origenistic text of the Septuagint, the treasure trove would be of incalculable value, for Origen, notwithstanding his well-intentioned compilation of a text, and with his critical powers so far in advance of the times in which he lived, has much to answer for.

Rome, formerly a colleague of Dr. Ceriani at Milan, and inspired by him with an earnest zeal for all that is best in biblical scholarship and research, who has already very kindly communicated to me for the final part of the Oxford *Concordance*, a vocabulary of the fragments. Other subsidiary helps to the end aimed at are still required before all that is possible can be done. Some are already being elaborated, others are scarcely begun.

Deissmann's *Bibelstudien* is an illustration of one need. The discoveries of large numbers of papyri of various characters and ages show from their language that great use may be made of them in illustrating the language of both the Septuagint and the New Testament. One Cambridge scholar is already endeavoring to tabulate results under this head. What we must eventually have, though perhaps it is better that we should be content to wait for it a little while, is a good Lexicon of later Greek, not necessarily limited to the Septuagint and New Testament, but, in the case of the former of these, freely illustrated from the Hebrew.

The other pressing need is a grammar of the Greek of the Septuagint and other literature and documents of the later Greek. In this case, too, the grammar of the Septuagint must be illustrated extensively from the Hebrew. This has already been undertaken by Mr. Thackeray, whose name has been already mentioned. But with regard to the Greek of that time many large questions remain to be discussed. "Biblical Greek" was at one time spoken of in such a way as to lead people to treat it as if it were a language almost to itself. This, of course, it cannot be. But at the same time there is a legitimate use of such an expression, and this is almost lost sight of in Deissmann's work. Out of the Greek terms of the Septuagint and New Testament has been evolved much of the terminology of eastern theology, and from these terms have come by translation the terms of western theology as well. These owe their origin to biblical Greek. But the Greek of the Septuagint as a whole is the outcome of the Greek of the ages in which the translations of various books, or the books themselves, were

written, and in this sense there is of course no special dialect that we can call biblical Greek.

But this is not all. Language at all times is of two kinds, literary and colloquial. Men do not speak with one another or write to one another in the measured periods of highly polished prose authors. Is the Greek of the Septuagint literary Greek, or colloquial Greek? The study of the Egyptian papyri leads to the conclusion that it has more of the nature of colloquial Greek or at any rate has adopted some of its forms and terms of expression. Other questions which may be asked are: Was there a special dialect of Greek in Egypt, just as we have heard of a Macedonian dialect? How far in the case of this form of Greek may it be considered that its style was influenced by the Greek-speaking Jews scattered all over the business quarters of the great centers of trade and civilization and using Greek as their language of intercourse with their neighbors; or how far were these peculiarities of style, which it has been the fashion to call Hebraisms, indigenous in the Greek of the time as well? Deissmann, whose publications stimulate us to the pursuit of this investigation, would certainly favor the latter view that they were a part of the common Greek language. He presses his theory very vigorously, but we cannot think that the last word has been said on the subject. After all, the greater part of the Septuagint is an attempt at a literal translation—almost a slavish translation, in some cases a word-for-word translation—though sometimes interpolations of a midrashic character, or glosses, occur in the text. Where this is the case we cannot help thinking that the translator would have first in his view the idiom of his original rather than the Greek idiom, especially as in some cases the translator has not attempted to give even a translatable version but only what he considered to be a verbal representation of each word as he read it in his Hebrew text. To illustrate what I mean I will take a very simple case. In Gen. 3: 11 we have the words:—*εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου οὐ ἐνετείλαμην σοι τούτου μόνου μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔφαγες*. If we follow the Massorettes, the *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* at the end of the sentence must be closely connected with *φαγεῖν*, and this I should be inclined to

think is the right construction. If we think only of the Greek, we should take ἀπ' αὐτοῦ with the following ἔφαγες, as Dr. Swete does in his edition. The words are practically repeated in Gen. 3:17, where, however, the matter is not quite so clear, as the word ἔφαγες is inserted twice in the sentence: καὶ ἔφαγες ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου οὗ ἐνετειλάμην σοι τούτου μόνου μὴ φαγεῖν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔφαγες. But in this case I imagine that the second ἔφαγες has crept in in an early copy from the scribe's recollection of the previous verse, and indeed there is some little authority for its omission. If this be so the construction would be the same as in the first case.

Be this as it may, we must never lose sight, I feel sure, in dealing with the words and grammar of the Septuagint, of the fact that it is after all not an original work but a translation, not indeed as slavish as Aquila, but one made by men whose natural instinct in making it was to follow as closely as they could the Hebrew order of words and the Hebrew constructions. To what an extent Aquila pressed this method may be illustrated by one well-known example. When he wished to translate the copula ἡ he used the obvious καί; he translated the particle ׀ by καίγε; when the combination ׀ἡ occurs he thinks it necessary to write καὶ καίγε.

Before leaving the treatment of the Septuagint as a Greek book, I may say that I have not considered it necessary to deal with it in its relation to the other translations in other languages of the Scriptures which are more or less based upon it, as that point has been dealt with so ably and so fully by my immediate predecessor, the Principal of Lampeter.

But with all said and done, when we have in our hands the best text of the Septuagint attainable at the moment, what use can we make of it, in addition to that which I have already indicated of illustrating the language of the New Testament and the evolution from it of many theological terms of later times? My own predilections and my study of the Septuagint have always led me to that other side of work upon it, which I hold to be at least equally important, what I may call the retrospective side, treating it as a translation, and looking back from it

to the verification or emendation of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament I hope that it may not be thought too self-assertive on my part if I say that I can speak on this subject with an unrivalled experience of what the Septuagint is capable of in this respect. In the Oxford *Concordance* every identification of a Greek and Hebrew word was made by myself independently of all the previous authorities, such as Trommius and Schleusner, and verified more than once after that first identification, to say nothing of all the investigations which had to be made in cases where correspondence of word with word could not be traced, or where the Greek word indicated another reading. I am quite sure that there may be many mistakes in the course of so great an undertaking—human errancy must come in—all I claim is that it has given me an unrivalled opportunity for forming an opinion as to the value of the present Massoretic text as well as of the text underlying the Massoretic text, and possible variations from it. On the one hand I have formed a very high opinion on the whole of the unpointed Hebrew text—even the mistakes of the Septuagint very often help to corroborate this—while at the same time the Septuagint in many places shows how capable of emendation it is. On the other hand, the Septuagint properly used, seems to me to help us to be on our guard against accepting so many of the wild and extravagant attempts that are made to tamper with very much of the Hebrew text without rhyme or reason, and without even the shadow of support from any older authority. Anyone who believes in divine providence or a divine revelation by a written word can scarcely believe that it could have been left for men of the nineteenth or twentieth century to rewrite lengthy portions of what claim to have been divinely inspired writings to those for whom they were first written or to re-distribute some of their greatest works whose authors are named amongst a multitude of obscure anonymous writers.¹² It is not easy, forsooth, to rewrite historical books, but some modern critics seem to wish almost to rewrite the poetry and the prophecies of

¹² We are thus presented, much against our will and also against our better judgment with the *disjecti membra poetae*.

"men of old time" to suit their own subjective ideas. At any rate, whenever they can they must be meddling with the text.

Certain facts have only to be plainly stated to show the value of the Septuagint in this regard. When we remember that the earliest copies of our present Hebrew text only go back to the tenth century A. D., while we have copies of the Septuagint at least five hundred years older, and when we also consider that some parts of that translation go back to the third century B. C., we have a *prima facie* warrant for treating it with the highest respect. And when we go on farther, to the consideration of the fact that, as Ginsburg tells us, "the evidence for the non-existence of the vowel points extends to the sixth or even to the beginning of the seventh century,"¹³ it will easily be seen what important weight must be attached to such an early witness. I have mentioned already the estimate I have been led to form of the unpointed Massoretic text. It is true that it represents a tradition, the prevailing tradition as to the interpretation of the text. No doubt it has stamped upon it the imprimatur of Jewish ecclesiastical authority. But still it bears within it evidence of having survived by itself only after considerable discussion, and traces of various readings and corruptions of the text are still evident in it and have taken up their position as marginal readings.¹⁴

If we could imagine that, when the Authorized Version of 1611 with its marginal alternatives came into existence, all other renderings and versions had been destroyed, and that only had been accepted as the true version of the scripture, we might then form a juster estimate of the real authority and value of the Massoretic pointed text than we are perhaps at first inclined to do. If we might venture to draw such a comparison, we should say that the Massoretic text bears some such relation to the unpointed text as the theology of the Schoolmen does to the theology of the Bible. It is highly artificial in the elaborateness of its system, it is very often inconsistent with itself, and leaves difficulties, in some cases, unexplained.

¹³ *Introduction*, p. 451.

¹⁴Of the pointed text a very much lower estimate must be formed.

That there were difficulties connected with biblical criticism even in early times must candidly be admitted. They have been obscured for the most part by a pious desire to ignore them, but we get definite indications that difficulties were felt, at any rate among the Jewish authorities, if we may put it in that way, as to whether certain books of the Hebrew Old Testament, *e. g.*, Canticles and Esther, were to be looked upon as standing on the same plane with others. And even if there were no fixed Alexandrine Jewish canon, as Wildeboer asserts, the Septuagint proves that the Alexandrine Jew was willing to include among the sacred books many that the Palestinian excluded. This does not, of course, necessarily imply that he looked upon them all alike as of equal authority, but that they all had a certain degree of authority. Further than this, we of course find in the translated books considerable additions, notably, for instance, in the books of Esther and 1 Esdras. But these additions are for the most part of a midrashic character, the chief exception perhaps to this being the additional psalm at the end of the psalter.

Further still, we may definitely say that the Septuagint shows us that before the authorized Hebrew text was finally accepted, involving as it did the destruction of other texts, in the case of more than one book of the Old Testament there were clearly in existence more recensions of the original than one. We need only mention Exodus, in its last chapters, the four books of Kings (or Kingdoms) and the prophet Jeremiah, as well as the shorter and longer editions of the book of Job, to prove this.

And here it is well to mention another point which goes a long way toward discrediting the very late dates which many critics put upon much of the Old Testament writings. If we examine a very large proportion of the translated books of the Septuagint we shall find that a number of Hebrew words have been left untranslated and simply transliterated. This is especially the case in the titles of the psalms. What is the most obvious inference to draw? Is it not that these words were of ancient date and had become obsolete, and that the knowledge of their meaning had been lost by lapse of time? If this is the

true account of the matter, such a change in the language could not have taken place all at once. A Persian domination or Greek influences would not in a moment, especially with such a conservative people as the Jewish nation undoubtedly was, have caused the meaning of a whole multitude of words to be lost. England has known what it was to have a Roman domination and a Norman-French invasion, but neither of those external influences made the old language of the people to be at once one which could not be understood. No, the process was one of a gradual character, and even now there is little of the older language of this country that cannot be easily comprehended. The fact is that much time is needed for such a change in language as is indicated by the occurrence of these transliterations of obsolete terms, and this is what very many scholars are not disposed to grant. The mention of these transliterated terms leads me on to say that the study of their forms and also of those of the proper names in the Septuagint, will enable the student to lay down some leading principles to guide him in dealing with the pronunciation of Hebrew in early times and the reading of the unpointed Hebrew text.

If all this be so, in matters so large and far reaching, we should naturally expect to find constant and manifold traces of a varying tradition as to how words and passages were to be read, with only a consonantal text. That the tradition varied a great deal scarcely needs demonstration. To take a very simple instance: the name of the prophet Obadiah, עֲבַדְיָה, written in the Hebrew text without any \aleph in the first syllable. This name in some texts of the Septuagint becomes $\text{Οβδ}[\epsilon]\iota\alpha\upsilon$, in others Αβδειν . And it is, of course, not only proper names that suffer from this varying tradition. In fact it could scarcely be otherwise when we consider that the earliest copies of the books would have no verse divisions, no stops, and no spaces between words. Words might be wrongly divided; phrases might easily be attached indifferently so far as the manuscript was concerned, to the preceding words or the succeeding ones. To illustrate how easily confusion may arise from only one of these causes, a very well-known instance may be taken from

the New Testament (Matt. 19:28), where the words ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ may either go with the preceding words, as Westcott and Hort punctuate, or with the following, with the Authorized Version and the Revised Version. The result in either case is to give quite a different turn to the sentence.¹⁵

When we add to this the easy confusion that was possible in the little difference of a κεφαλα or two between one Hebrew letter and another, we need not wonder that confusion and mis-translations are numerous.

Of course, a great deal that I have been saying under this head is well known and obvious. But I have drawn attention to it at some length because I believe it points to one of the great needs of Septuagint students of the present day. Schleusner, in his day, attempted to supply it in his *Thesaurus*, but with the advances that criticism and scholarship have made since his time, much that he did is obsolete now. What is wanted is a complete and exhaustive investigation, verse by verse, into what was really the Hebrew text in front of the translators of each book. At present, scarcely any biblical critic has attempted anything like this. There is one notable exception—Cornill, in his edition of Ezekiel, did a most valuable work. Ginsburg, in his edition of the Hebrew Bible, has also attempted something of the same kind but only in a limited way. Moore's *Judges*, Toy's *Proverbs*, and Driver's *Samuel* go farther in the same direction.

Here at any rate is a large field of labor. Many hints and

¹⁵ As an illustration of the uncertainty as to verse divisions, we find in the case of vss. 9, 10 of Ps. 95, a variation between the Massoretic division and that of the author of the epistle to the Hebrews. In the former we read (I quote the Revised Version in both cases):

9. When your fathers tempted me,
Proved me, and saw my work.

10. Forty years long was I grieved with this generation.

In the latter, Heb. 3:

9. Wherewith your fathers tempted me by proving me,
And saw my works forty years.

10. Wherefore I was displeased with this generation.

Many instances of this are to be found throughout the Septuagint.

explanations may be gathered from previous commentators, but there is plenty of scope for sober and patient research. Such an investigation will produce far sounder results than some of the ruthless expurgations and emendations of the text put forth as the result of the subjective impressions of the individual critic as to what a particular author ought to have written or said.

Let me, in concluding this part of my subject, say that one of the first results of such an investigation will be the discovery of the method by which a particular book was translated. Careful investigation will show, I think, that in some cases, a triple collaboration was at work. The first of the three workers read out the Hebrew text word by word; the second, who was a bilingual authority, dictated a corresponding Greek word; and the third wrote down the Greek word which was dictated. This admits of proof from the fact that some of the mistakes in translation in the same book or passage can only be due to a mishearing of a Hebrew or a Greek word.

Again, different translations of phrases or words in the same book will point either to the incorporation into the text of portions of other translations or to the conclusion that more than one translator took part in the translation of the book under investigation. On the latter point we have touched already. With regard to the former, careful examination of the hexaplaric fragments shows that the various translators were on the whole consistent with themselves in their translation of the same words and phrases. Where this is apparently not the case it may generally be concluded that there is some mistake of the writer of the manuscript, for it is very easy to confuse the references, the general form of them simply being an indication of their source by an α' , σ' , or θ' . If these are misplaced or written hurriedly on the margin of a manuscript, it is easy to conceive how readily a mistake may have arisen. Our own Authorized Version of the scriptures shows in its variation of style in different books traces of the various hands that worked upon it.

This lecture will have served its purpose if its effect is what its author has aimed at, to stimulate more zeal in the study of

the Septuagint. The subject is a more fashionable one than it used to be, owing to the immense zest there is at the present time for biblical criticism and archæological research. But scarcely sufficient weight is still to my mind attached to it by many investigators. *ἵνα μή τι ἀπόληται* should be the watch-word of the student in this as in all other subjects.

THE SOCIAL IDEAL AND THE DOGMA OF CREATION.

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THE title of this article may easily suggest that its purpose is directly theological. But with theology as such it has nothing to do. The aim is sociological and historical. The object is to call attention to a conception which is likely to become one of the precipitation points of social feeling. It is worth our while to run the risk of committing the most gratuitous of all errors—as prophecy has been wittily described—if there be the slightest chance of foreseeing such a precipitation point. And this pleasure of prophecy is a legitimate pleasure, if, after every enjoyment of it, the prophet devotes himself to a year's hard labor on the interpretation of facts.

Our age is infinitely interesting. And perhaps the most interesting thing about it is the number of interests that are nowadays compelled to be neighborly to each other. One of the means of grace, insufficiently emphasized in the average ordination sermon, is the grace of elbow-rubbing. In this particular grace our own age is exceedingly rich. The world is fast acquiring a single nervous organism. What touches the other side of the globe today shall touch us tomorrow. All the interests of history are being forced to rub elbows. And all the ideal interests which have gone into the world's religions are pressing one upon another, and demanding some sort of synthesis upon which earnest religious feeling may lay hold. It is worth while, then, to inquire into the possible effect of the present social movement upon religious beliefs, and the line of dogmatic expression which the social will is likely to take.

That the social will is sure to appropriate and adapt old dogmas, or create new ones, a knowledge of the laws of social psychology does not permit us to doubt. The term dogma has been for some time in a state where both the critical and the

conservative mind could not come at it except under more or less morbid conditions. The critical mind looks upon dogma with a suspicion that is amply justified by the harm dogma may do when it is backed by infallibility. And for the conservative mind dogma has become in many cases an unwholesome thing, by reason of the self-conscious effort going with the attempt to remain dogmatic in an aggressively critical age. But when once the morbid and unwholesome associations of dogma shall have passed away, when infallibility in every form shall have been disclaimed, one must fly in the face of psychology, if he is to doubt that the social will must either adopt and adapt old dogmas or create new ones. For, under average conditions, and in an age that knows fairly well what it wants, dogma is just as inevitable as poetry. Like poetry it is a means whereby the working will in humanity, bent upon making its fortune in history, translates what is dear to it into terms of what is deepest in the universe. Periods of negation and dissolution and distraction paralyze the dogmatic process. But let a given period once know itself well enough to know what it wants, let its feeling once begin to move toward a fairly coherent synthesis, and the output of dogma begins again. Criticism may hope to chasten this process and refine the product. But unless criticism would throw away its guiding power, it must not expect to stay the process. Whatever the critics may do or say, humanity will insist upon its right to keep house.

When I use the word ideal I mean a view of the universe, of one kind or another, that speaks to the heart with authority, and lays upon the will a complete obligation. The view may be this or that. It may be some form of speculative idealism, like Plato's, or a speculative materialism, like that of Democritus. So long, however, as it is a real view, that is, a conception that consciously and deliberately aims to take account of the total of being, it has in itself the making of an ideal. But, to the end that it may show its mettle and become a true ideal, it must possess the right of eminent domain in the interpretation of the universe, exercise the right of way, and be endowed with authority. Until it attains authority, it is a bare idea, not an ideal—an ideal being

an idea that has acquired the right to levy taxes, and muster the resources of the inner man into its service.

Since the ideal is, on the one side, a view of being taken in its totality, and on the other, a view that has taken fast hold of the working will, it follows that the heart of all ideals is a conviction touching the sincerity of the universe. For the bare attempt to get a view of the universe involves the assumption that all its parts are somehow in touch with one another. And when the view begins to assume an air of authority, to impose obligations upon the conscience and lay taxes upon the will, it is assumed that the inner resources of the universe are at the disposition of the ideal, that the ideal brings us, in some measure, a true word concerning those resources. The sincerity of the universe is the very marrow of all the creeds, and of all the great working convictions. Even the thoroughgoing dualist goes upon this belief, seeing that those portions of the universe which set themselves off from the substance of the universe, always end, in his interpretation, by being sponged off the slate. In the extremest estimate of the work of Satan, hell becomes the cesspool of the universe, its very horrors bearing witness to the efficiency of the spiritual drainage, and so paying tribute to the merciless sincerity that rules at the heart of things.

It does not concern me, in this paper, to inquire whether the process, whereby the being and idea of God is got at, is one subjective experience or objective revelation, or both. It does not matter to me in this connection whether the idea of God is a gift to us, a true word from the heart of things about the heart of things, or an interpretation imposed by us upon the universe that besets and invades our consciousness. The sole point is that the interpretation which we impose, even though it be purely an interpretation, in no measure a revelation, is an exercise of thought regarding which we may not do as we please. It is indispensable as eating and drinking, as native to us as breathing. It is something which we must go through with, if we are to continue to keep house on the earth. In the long run, ending need governs and guides theory. Our deepest need, as a race, is ideals. When we say God, we mean the unity a

coherence of all ideals. And if the idea of God be our own creation, none the less we must go on creating it in some form or other. And that is so, because the pith of all ideals, of all views and ideas that have power to bind and loose the working will, is a conviction regarding the sincerity of the universe.

In order to keep house in history, to finish our battle with the wild beasts of the earth which we have so nearly fought through, and then to carry forward the far harder battle with the wild beast in ourselves, in order to build a human commonwealth whose aim shall be to bring the wherewithal of self-knowledge and self-mastery within the reach of an ever increasing number of men, we must go on imposing our interpretations upon the mystery of things. We must have views. And those views must become ideals. And all our ideals, no matter what their special color and shape, must, in one way or another, draw their sap from the belief that the universe, after one fashion or another, is of a piece.

By social ideal I mean something which may seem very vague indeed, yet is definite enough for my purpose. The social ideal means that an authoritative obligation is laid upon us that we shall have ideals and that each ideal shall be social in its make and bent. As to what any given ideal must look like and what its contents must be, I do not need to say a word. The ideals may indefinitely vary. The institutes of western farmers where the work of clover as a subsoiler is discussed with deep gravity, enshrine an ideal. That notable society all of whose members pledge themselves to bequeath their skulls to the society itself, for purposes of comparative study, enshrines another. Ideals change from age to age and they widely differ within any given age. But the ideal is satisfied, because the ideal is that there shall be ideals.

And the social ideal is that every ideal shall seek to spread itself, that the particular form of good which it admires and serves shall possess a measure of the missionary impulse, and so shall seek to become a common good. When Socrates cleared the ground for Plato, he did it by using the Sophists' maxim: "Man is the measure of truth." But he insisted upon being

thorough with the maxim. He would not let the saddlemaker stay in the shop, the soldier in the camp, the poet on his Parnassus. He made them all come within a single definition. Out of the Socratic definition the Platonic idea arose. It is thus that the idea always rises. And the moment it becomes an ideal and puts on the robes of authority, it seeks out, in their home and haunts, the various individuals from whom it derived its definition. Socrates makes himself the gadfly to the Athenian horse. Plato writes his "Republic." The idea or view, once become an ideal, seeks to communicate itself. Therefore the phrase "social ideal" is a pleonasm, a necessary pleonasm. The social ideal is that there be social ideals, that they shall have reproductive power, and that each ideal, however widely it may differ from neighboring ideals, shall have thus much in common with them; namely, that it shall strive to make the good it admires and serves a common good.

Ranke, in his *History of the Popes*, finely says: "The European commonwealth has . . . at no time been subjected to the dominion of pure force; at all periods it has been imbued with the effect of thoughts and opinions; no enterprise of moment can succeed, no power can rise into universal influence, without immediately suggesting to the minds of men the ideal of a forthcoming advancement of society." This is a general rule of experience. Without it the bottom would drop out of the social establishment. The life of society is in the keeping of the idea of right. Now that idea, by its very nature, draws after it the conception of a good which must communicate itself in order to preserve itself. Look where we will into the history of enduring states, we shall find the amplest illustration of this rule. The selfishness or ignorance or prudence of men may do its utmost to block the wheels. None the less, it holds true, without exception, that no form of human society can long endure without setting on foot a movement for the extension of rights. The idea of right is the ideal conceived as law, as the ground of political obligation. And it inheres in the very nature of the ideal, that it shall be self-communicating, that its good shall seek to diffuse itself.

My aim in this article is to show that the social ideal, taking the sincerity of the universe as the article of faith wherewith the possibility of a sane and progressive human society stands or falls, must either appropriate or shape anew for itself a dogma of creation. I shall try to make my point by a brief study (1) of the history of Prophetism in Israel; (2) of the experience of Christianity in the Mediterranean world, and (3) of the problem of contemporary society.

Whether the idea of God in Israel is a gift or an acquisition or both, it enables us to feel the pulse of the deepest experience of Israel. Its quality betokens the main quality of Israel's purpose. Its attitude toward the world indicates the attitude of the higher Israel toward Israel at large. Now the contrast between the divine unity as the prophets conceived it and the divine unity as Aristotle, the most representative of Greeks, conceived it, may fairly be expressed as a difference between the unity of life divine and human when it is conceived in terms of conscience, and the same unity when it is conceived in terms of reason. Not that reason and conscience can be separated. They are two aspects of the same unity. Yet they are distinct. The deepest word that Aristotle has to say about God is that He is *νόησις νοήσεως*; God's thought is pure thought unmixed with sensation. But the prophets' deepest word about God is that He is Holy and Creative Will. God is—if one may so speak—an infinite conscience. There rises up out of Israel's own life or there is revealed through it a mighty and masterful purpose, which faces contemporary Israel with an authority not to be withstood. Armed with that purpose Amos declares that Israel must perish because its rich folk sell its poor folk for a pair of shoes. In the strength of that purpose the prophets declare that the Jewish state is lighter than vanity in the eternal scales, because its men of power and prerogative have no regard for the rights of the weak. The problem of Israel is a problem of conscience.

The thought of the unity of God necessarily rises before men whenever self-consciousness becomes deep and clear; for polytheism, taken to heart, would involve the incoherence and the

dissipation of self-consciousness. But the main quality of the divine unity, as the prophets viewed it, a quality that sets it apart from other conceptions of the divine unity entertained in antiquity, is its invincible seriousness. It takes its own purpose concerning the betterment of the lowly in Israel with infinite earnestness. The divine being stakes its whole self upon the correction of the legal and social evils under which Israel groans. Hence the monotheistic idea puts all its treasures at the service of the messianic ideal. The religion of Israel is a religion of hope. The goal, as the prophets see it, is a good that would deny and gainsay itself, were there not in store for history a true commonwealth wherein righteousness, true law, shall flow down like a mountain river. The God of Israel must manifest himself as the creator of a state or church wherein the best things shall be the things that all men may share.

All peoples have their creation-myths. To think of God as making the world by an act of will is natural to man, because it is in closest analogy with what is deepest in himself. But it is in Israel alone that the myth of creation rises into a dogma. Among the other gifted peoples of antiquity, when experience ripened, the thought of creation was either absorbed by speculative pantheism or gave way to the idea of emanation. In Israel alone did the primitive myth rise to the weight and dignity of a dogma—a mature and impassioned conviction.

The creation of the ideal Israel is the center of interest with the prophets. The dogma of the creation of the world, of nature, proceeds from it and is auxiliary to it. The Second Isaiah, writing in the darkness of the Exile, foretells, with intense enthusiasm, God's creation of a new Israel out of political and social nothing. At the same time he publishes, far more at length than any prophet before him, the doctrine that God has created the world. The spiritual fact, God's creation of his people, gives color and intensity to the doctrine regarding the divine creatorhood at large. But while he is the most striking example of the spiritual solidarity between the eager hope of a new Israel and the dogma of creation, he is by no means the only one. The prophets, from Amos down, are with him. They

write in order to push back into the past the ground for their belief in the future. They interpret history in terms of the social ideal. They view the origin of the world in the light of the social conscience that glows and burns in Israel. The real Israel lags far behind the ideal Israel. But the ideal must overcome and pervade the real, else it loses its scepter, swooning out of this harsh world like Arthur, or reigning, if at all, like the long-haired Merovingian kings, while the politician and the trader spread themselves as mayors of the palace and do the ruling. The contradiction between the ideal and the real must be overcome in the ideal's favor. The prophets express their confidence in this victory by the dogma concerning the creativeness of good, the creatorhood of God.

God is creator. By virtue of his creative character he is also the absolute critic of Israel, the unsleeping and unsparing critic of the contemporary political and social order. The vision of the Judgment day is the vision of God's triumph, that is, of the triumph of the conscience of Israel over the world. The prophet holds up before contemporary society the ideal of the society that is to be, that must be, unless the idea of good is to be wholly unraveled. The ideal is both an inspiration and a condemnation. And it draws its power to inspire, its right to condemn, from the fact that its title to consciousness, its claim on conscience, is vested in the creativeness of good, in the creative character of God.

The exaltation of God above nature manifests itself in the prohibition of image-worship, a prohibition regarding which it has been truly said that it rang the death-knell of art in Israel. But we are dealing here only with a most illustrious example of the law that every great virtue must have its attendant defect. Now the virtue was the exaltation of the ideal. And the ideal, thus held high above nature, was a thoroughly social ideal, which put the ban upon every form of good that refused to seek entrance into the common life. The exaltation of God above nature, into the place of the creator of nature, indicated the presence in Israel of a social conscience that refused to accept as authoritative the existing standard of social values.

In the study of the second period in the history of the dogma

of creation—Christianity in its relations with the Mediterranean world—I take the liberty of shutting in our view to the apologetic period of Christian experience, the second and third centuries. Beyond this period lies the New Testament. But I shall not notice it, partly by reason of the time-limits of this article, and partly because the apostolic experience, being shaped, as the bulk of it undoubtedly was, by the relations with or opposition to Judaism, did not need to come out into the open with the dogma of creation. It could safely take that dogma for granted and give itself to other things. This side of the apologetic period lies the dogmatic development of Christianity in the Nicene age. Of this also I shall take no notice. When the speculative process gets in full career, it is apt to leave popular feeling a longer or shorter distance behind it. While speculative theology, in the long run, is a necessity, yet much of the energy that goes into it is directed thither by a theological leisure that sits more or less at ease regarding immediate and pressing problems. On the contrary, when an age is wholly apologetic, the dogmatic reason travels without a baggage-train, living upon the country it moves over. Its thought has the immediacy and vitality of a good after-dinner speech. It has no eye save for immediate necessities and urgent practical problems. Its reason is deeply colored by sensation. Consequently it yields us far better data for our subject—the social ideal in relation to the dogma of creation.

The task of Christianity in the apologetic period was the creation of a new community, alive with motives new and mighty to grasp and master the common consciousness, ennobling it by making it native to greater privileges and vaster responsibilities. Confronting a hostile heathen society and a jealous heathen empire, the Apologetes all spoke through Ignatius when he said: "Christianity, when it is hated by the world, does not make its fortune by the process of logical persuasion, but by great-hearted living." To create a new type of society first and not to live the life of reason and contemplation until that great piece of work had been solidly done—this was the task of Christianity in the age of the Apologetes. In such an age, busy

with such a work, the social will fills the whole center of the field of attention. The history of the relation between the social will and the speculative reason remains to be written. But it is easy to find proof of the assertion that they cannot both claim at the same time the full attention of the men of light and leading. Thus in Greece, the Marathonian man, who had built and upheld the state, could not keep the peace with the man of philosophic leisure. Again, the history of our country is in point. We have passed out of our pioneer period, where our energies had to go into the taming of a continent, and now, with vast possibilities of leisure bestowed upon us by the greatest fortune any people ever made, we are confronted by a sort of temporary antinomy between the need of culture and the need of an imperious, resistless purpose bearing upon the broad issues of democracy. And, feeding on that antinomy, many good Americans become constitutional dyspeptics.

It is in general true to say that an age or a community that has a vast and pressing practical task laid upon it has nothing better than a bare secondary attention to give to the interests of the speculative reason. Hence its thought keeps very close to the ground of the immediately needful. In the period before us this was the case. The task set by history was eminently practical. It was to do the pioneer work of the Catholic church by starting and getting well under way all the great institutions and tendencies which were to mould the spiritual life of the West for the next fifteen hundred years. The founding of the episcopate, the beginning of the doctrine of the canon, the shaping of the ideas of tradition, the commencement of canon law—all these things were begun and clearly blocked out in this period. To build a new society and to create the institutions it should use as its tools, was the task. The social will in the new community was paramount. Hence the dogmas it made use of were in no sense the mental luxury of theological leisure. They sprang from the heart of a deep, albeit in some ways a narrow, experience.

Here was the field of consciousness upon which the dogma of creation found its full development. In the Old Testament

period the dogma had not meant a creation out of nothing, as the exegesis of Gen. 1 : 1 seems to show plainly. The belief in a creation out of nothing came late into the mind of the Jewish church, the first clear expression of it being found in the second book of Maccabees. But in our period the belief becomes the staple of common consciousness. Christianity stood in mortal enmity with a vast, overshadowing heathen society and power. Herein its situation resembled, in a manner, the situation of the Jewish church before the time of Christ. In one fundamental point, however, the position of Christianity was radically different from that of Judaism. The Jewish church was only in part a church, it was still in part a state. Although the converts from heathendom were not a few, yet, in effect, they were mere hangers-on of Judaism. Full membership in the Jewish church was not only an affair of the soul. It was also a matter of genealogy and race. Hence it was impossible for Judaism to feel the full logical force of the heathen view of the world and of life. But membership in the Christian church was altogether a matter of the soul. The Jewish Christians, after the first century, became an insignificant sect. The whole efficient body of the church was made up of people heathen by descent and by former experience. Consequently the full logical force of the heathen view of life and the heathen theory of the world pressed upon the Christian reason. There is no war like a civil war to stir up principles from the bottom. Now the war of the Apologists was a kind of civil war, whose battlefields were the inner lives of the heathen who had become Christians. On such fields the fighting is hard, without ceremony and without mercy.

This civil war of the mind is best followed in the fierce debate between the Catholic church and those Gnostic sects which claimed the right of full suffrage in her councils. Now there are two main features of the Gnostics' view. First, their denial of the doctrine of creation, or their incapacity to appreciate the spiritual significance of the dogma. They put emanation in its place. And in well nigh every case there followed the result that the world about us was conceived to be the result of ignorance or of passion. In opposition to this conception of the

world immediately about us, as well as in opposition to Greek philosophy at large, the Apologetes proclaimed, with almost riotous emphasis, the doctrine of a creation out of nothing. And their purpose in so doing was not in the least speculative, but altogether practical and ethical.

The second, main characteristic of Gnosticism was the spiritual stratification of humanity. Souls are not, according to the Gnostics, of one kind, nor have they a common divine paternity. Some souls are by nature elect and beautiful; while other souls are by nature incapable of a thorough salvation. The best the divine goodness can do for them is to overwhelm them, in the last chapter of the story, with a vast ignorance, so that they shall cease to desire what their nature forbids them to attain. But, in opposition to this, the Apologetes published the belief that every child of man was capable of a complete salvation, and might be brought level with the highest good. "Christians are not born but made," said Tertullian. Celsus, in effect, taunted the Christians with undertaking to make a silk purse out of a sow's ear, when they set out to make the commonest man native to the full truth about the divine, that is, the permanently significant and interesting things. And Christianity joyously accepted the taunt. It proclaimed the full right of the lowliest man to know all about God, and held out to him the hope of full suffrage in things eternal. It proclaimed a universal capacity for redemption. And, to insure this capacity, it urged with vehemence, even with passion, the belief in the absolute creatorhood of God, in a creativeness that actually created a world out of nothing.

The whole purpose of the dogma of creation, as the Apologetes pressed it upon consciousness, was to make intelligible the possibility of a vast society wherein the true goods, the spiritual goods, should all be held in common. However great may be the intellectual difficulties that beset the dogma, it was not the output of an arrogant theological establishment, careless of or indifferent to reason, but the mental product of a strenuous and impassioned social will, taking with full seriousness its right to interpret the universe, wherein it found itself, in the light of its

deep desire to establish the kingdom of God and to make sorts and conditions of men native to the highest good. The idea of God registers humanity's final estimate of itself. The attitude of God carries with it, for consciousness, the attitude the ideal toward the real that lags so far and so persists behind it. The absolute creatorhood of God goes along with the masterful creativeness of human good. His exaltation above nature involves the exaltation of the human "ought-to-be" above the "is." And the dogma of creation out of nothing is an expression of a profound belief in the power of the spiritual to drive its aim and purpose through the material.

Out of this experience, personal and vital, staking all upon the possibility of a great and exhaustless common good, came the first article of the creed—I believe in God the Father, Almighty Creator of heaven and earth. It were useless to give quotations. For it is impossible to read the writers of the second and third centuries, without stumbling upon quotations at almost every turn. The common Christian consciousness, heartily believing in the kingdom of God, assessed the material universe in terms of its faith, by proclaiming the divine creatorhood, the creativeness of good, in the most autocratic form, even as a creation out of nothing.

Strikingly enough, the two original contributions made to this common consciousness to literature were the autobiography and the philosophy of history. The autobiography sprang from the fact that for Christianity the soul of man was the center of interest. The philosophy of history sprang from the fact that the Christian consciousness was, on the one hand, deeply convinced that a world-wide career awaited it and claimed the whole world for its province; while, on the other hand, it leaned all its weight upon the belief in God's mastery of nature and history. The prophets of Israel first made possible the problem of history. The Latin fathers first clearly conceived the plan of universal history. Hinted at by Minucius Felix, developed by Augustine, the idea was carried out by Orosius, and a new era was given to the world's literature. It is a pregnant fact. Christian consciousness, inheriting from the prophets the b

that history moves toward a moral goal and the cognate belief that a sovereign, creative good, unsleeping and unsparing in its criticism of contemporary politics and society, watches over history, deployed this faith upon the broad field of the Roman empire. The faith of Christianity put forth, in opposition to the life and ideals of the day, the dogma of the absolute creativeness of the ideal, of God's creation of the world out of nothing. The philosophy of history came in the train of this dogma. For the mainspring of the mental action that produced it was the conviction that the creative good is carrying forward towards a rational and coherent conclusion the historical process which the creative good has set on foot.

When we turn from the Mediterranean world to our own, we discover two tendencies of our time which closely concern the subject in hand. One is the growing bulk of human consciousness homogeneous enough to be open to the inspiration or to the contagion of common emotions. De Tocqueville drew attention to the fact that the American democracy was peculiarly subject to great waves of feeling. The fact seems certain. And its explanation is simple. America has no strongholds of local feeling and privilege such as the feudal constitution of mediæval Europe has bequeathed to modern Europe. The moment, therefore, that a great public emotion gets well started, there is nothing that can withstand or even check its advance. And America, in this matter, is representative of a growing tendency in our age. It is a truly notable feature of the life of our period that human consciousness is on the way to attain a vast and homogeneous bulk. Antiquity knew nothing that approached it. Herodotus tells us that one-half of Babylon did not know for several days that the other half had been captured and sacked. Allowing for a slight use of the long bow, this might be taken as typical of a civilization whose body corporate is loose-jointed and incoherent. Li Hung Chang informed us that many millions of Chinamen had never heard of the war with Japan. This makes antiquity contemporary. The ancient body politic was loose-jointed. The bulk of human consciousness was neither vast nor homogeneous. The Roman empire, the first

true state on a large scale, makes the nearest approach to modern conditions. But it is a remote approach. Steam and electricity and the printing-press are fast creating a phenomenon new to history. The bulk of human consciousness is vast. And it lies open, as never before, to thrills of common feeling and purpose.

The other tendency of our time to which I would call attention is the quality of the serious thinking that goes on among us. In antiquity, thought, when it became thorough, easily turned toward the mysteries of abstract being, and built up a would-be science of ontology. It was a very long step from the phrontistery where reason sought to master itself, to the agora where reason sought to master the common life and purpose. But in our day this is not so. The severe and thorough thought of our time goes, for the greater part of it, into scientific and historical study. Now both the scientific and the historical spirit, by reason of their nature and bias, are close to the common consciousness. To science, with her grand passion for knowledge of the visible universe, the visible body of human society must needs be an object of consuming interest. Science does not stand, as monastic mysticism stood, face towards the transcendent unity of things, but stands face towards the common life, with a heart on fire to interpret nature to the race. The historical spirit, also, is carried by its inmost bias and bent toward a consuming interest in the human society, to the study of whose autobiography it gives its whole strength. It is, then, a short step, in our day, from the phrontistery to the agora.

It is in the light of these two tendencies, first, the vast and growing bulk and homogeneousness of contemporary human consciousness; second, the nearness of the place where our best thinking is done to the place where thought seeks to make the common experience understand itself in order to respect itself, that the true significance of what we loosely call the social question may best be seen. Its meaning is that the supreme object of all deep thought should be to understand clearly the facts of our social existence and to interpret them sanely; and that the main end of all noble labor should be to translate deep thought

into social action and social manners. Monasticism has fallen into a three-fold discredit. It is unscientific, in that it would have the state breed its citizens from an inferior spiritual stock. It is unheroic, in that it takes the short cut to the discovery of the mystical unity within the rebellious manifold of the common human life. And in principle it takes the spiritual bloom and fragrance from citizenship in that it makes civic duties secondary and subordinate. All deep thought, all high labor must give themselves more and more to the interpretation and sanctification of the historical human life. Thought and labor must wed in order to give birth and breeding to a strong and unwearying social conscience.

When I say "social conscience," I take the same freedom of vagueness which I exercised upon the phrase "social ideal." Even as the social ideal is no particular kind of ideal, but just the authoritative prescription that there shall be ideals and that each ideal shall joyously pay its taxes for the common good, so the social conscience does not mean that this or that specific form of conscience is the only true form, but that there shall be an authoritative sense of a good larger in its scope than recorded human appreciation, and wider in its application than contemporary society believes to be possible, and that this sense of good shall seek admission to the agora and the caucus, under penalty of losing its authority in case it does not ultimately succeed. The existence of a social conscience implies the existence of an increasing number of men who tax themselves, who are the embodied, self-executing law of the commonwealth. To provide for the steady multiplication of such men is the task set before our time by universal history.

We are facing conditions which resemble, in some ways, those which led the Stoics to coin the term conscience. The framework of dogma whereupon the feeling and imagination of our forefathers climbed easily towards the unseen issues and interest of life, is out of repair. And not only in the field of dogma have axioms fallen under suspicion. Criticism is busy everywhere. The principle of relativity lays its hand upon all our experience. Paley could say with truth in his day: "Nothing

is so soon made as a maxim." But we cannot say it. The art of making maxims is, for the time being, a lost art. As the personal element within us—that part of us which values knowledge and self-masterhood as the pearl of great price—looks down into the depths of the human nature within us, it sees stretching out before it a mighty work to be done. The nature in us that confronts the person in us has more and deeper relations with the visible world than our forefathers knew or confessed. And so, the person in us, looking at the nature in us, is forced to look forth into the nature of humanity at large. Conscience cannot be content with an interior or domestic life. It must needs take the humanity of the race for its province. The question—How shall the personal element in us, that element that makes for self-knowledge and self-mastery, become sovereign over our nature?—opens wide into the question—How shall humanity at large be lifted to the level of self-knowledge and self-mastery? Moreover we dare not appeal the question to the life beyond. We must fight the battle out here in order that it may be worthy of the life beyond.

Plotinus described conscience as following one's true nature. We cannot find a happier phrase. Conscience is that authority within us that compels us to follow ourselves. But the self, as we see it, is inseparable from the social self. In us, as in the prophets, the holy thing called personality, sleepless and untiring in its criticism of our nature, of our natural temperament and bias, must likewise be a sleepless, fearless, and unrelenting critic of the society about us, of humanity at large. Criticism, however, without creative energy, is a morbid and unwholesome thing. It is so in literature. It is so in life. If the ethical conscience is to have a real body and edge, if conscience is to bring forth true word from the unseen and concerning the unseen, a word quick and powerful, edged like a sword, and penetrating even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, critical of the passions and thoughts of the heart, it must be a creative word. The person in us must stand creatively towards the nature in us.

Likewise, if the social conscience in us—and our conscience is in the long run social or nothing—is to kindle a fire of

ment in the midst of contemporary society, a fire that may not be quenched, it must be the judicial aspect of a creative consciousness. For criticism, without creativeness, is a disease, the mood of a humanity living between a world that is dead and a world that is powerless to be born.

The doctrine of the conscience, personal and social, imposes upon ethics the task of conceiving, training, and equipping a creative human will. A new chapter in the history of conscience is opening. Our world is indeed like the Stoics' world in some ways. But far more is it unlike. We do not break, as they did, with the positive and definite, in order to get the universal. In our vision of the city of the universe, the ground under our feet, America, becomes holy ground. Stoicism had the taint of monasticism in it. But, today, the conscience must be in everything a citizen. It cannot, however, become and remain a whole-hearted citizen, unless it be endowed with the wherewithal of the creative life. We cannot live at close quarters with Tammany and the slums and the doings of the Christian powers in China unless we know that we can conquer the brute in nature and in ourselves. Without the belief in a creative goodness, when once the optimism inherent in the red blood of youth and the expansiveness attending the wholesale exploitation of the earth shall have passed, conscience will again become a pensioner to the powers that be; or else the best men, in order to save their self-respect, will betake themselves to the monastery, and there proceed to deny the primary spiritual reality of that social and historical order of things which they shall have given up all hope of saving. I repeat that the doctrine of conscience lays upon ethics the unavoidable task of conceiving and training and equipping a creative human will.

Furthermore, the social conscience must insist upon its authority over the term "nature." Surely, human society has as firm a footing and as strong a right within "nature" as science itself. Now there are desires and purposes set deep in the constitution of humanity. Without them history were a tale told by an idiot. They are as organic to the universe as the tides and the stars. Our conception of nature must open to receive

them, it must enlarge itself to take in the personal and social conscience with its needs. Professor James, in a highly suggestive essay, has coupled together the fact of reflex action and the argument for theism. Possibly the thought may be carried farther than he has taken it. How great is the extent and how wide the scope of reflex action, regarded as a total! The mighty work of art called language, in all its sweep and consequence. The even mightier, because deeper and more causative thing, called human society in its full promise and potency. This is the reflex action wherewith we answer the stimulus of the universe.

The concept "nature" must, therefore, open to admit the fact and the obligations of the social conscience. In the long run need governs theory. The supreme need of humanity is to keep house and to go forward to the methods of the higher house-keeping in history. Society must have an ever-growing number of men who shall doom themselves, men who shall lay afresh in the deep of their own being the foundations of social obligation. In men of this kind, and in them alone, the social will comes to the knowledge of itself,

Now the humanity that dooms itself, that faces, without flinching, all the opportunities and responsibilities of contemporary society, must have a solid ground of obligation for the working will to stand upon. The social will that enters these typical men, and seeks through them a cleansing and saving knowledge of its own bent and purpose, is an imperious and resistless will. The bulk of human consciousness is vast. It is becoming more and more close-knit. The distance from the place where the world's thinking is done to the place where the world's will is in play is but a step. The social will claims and must assert the right of eminent domain. By a great inner self-creative act of faith it takes the sincerity of the universe for granted. Nature must be interpreted or must reveal herself as in touch and sympathy with that working will, without which there were no permanent possibility of science or culture. The social will cannot labor save for some good. The good it labors for is a good that would count itself unholy and debased if it does not com-

municate and spread itself. It is a good that takes up an aggressive and creative attitude towards the foul and waste portions of our common humanity. Nature must open herself to the social will. Her resources must be conceived or imagined or felt as being at the service of the social will and conscience.

All forms of religion are forms of faith in the sincerity of the universe. When the social will or conscience insists upon its right to take itself with full seriousness by reason of its faith in the sincerity of the universe, it has, whether consciously or unconsciously, given itself up to religious feeling. The synthesis of feeling whereby it finds or makes itself at home in the universe is a thoroughly religious act. The covenant it establishes or discovers between it and the unseen good is a religious covenant.

What relations, then, must be conceived or imagined, or felt or revealed, as subsisting between the unseen good and the resources of nature? The doctrine of ends necessitates a doctrine of origins. The end or ideal of history is an ideal that rises up out of the consciousness and experience of the race, and its validity and authority may not be impugned save under penalty of impairing the validity of all the processes of experience. Now the end or ideal held up before a contemporary society that seeks to entrench itself in privilege and cover with the noble name of law its private prerogatives, is the ideal of a good that exists only to impart itself and to be creative. The doctrine of ends will draw after it a doctrine of beginnings. The dogma of creation will be conceived and born anew. There is an eternal good that knows itself perfectly; and our faint struggles after self-knowledge are the promise of growth into its likeness. There is an eternal good that masters itself wholly; and our small measure of self-mastery is in its image. This eternal good created the world. So must the social conscience believe and confess, unless noble imagination and heroic will, their roots being robbed of foothold and food, are to wither from the top.

We are passing through a righteous revolt against dogma. The revolt is righteous because the body of dogma that has come down to us has put on the airs of infallibility, and also

because, like the old conception of final causes, it has interfered with the free and patient study and interpretation of the visible universe wherein the race has written its autobiography. But when dogma shall have been delivered from infallibility and from impertinence, the dogmatic process must needs reassert its vitality. Magnificence, as the poet Spenser has said, is the very marrow of virtue. But we cannot have, in permanence, the magnificence of virtue which the social conscience calls for, without dogmatic interpretations of the relation between the good which we adore and serve and the resources of the universe. If we do not have dogmas, we shall revert to myths.

THE ORTHODOX PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHINESE.

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THE orthodox philosophy of the Chinese received final form in the twelfth century of our era, and still holds its place, notwithstanding much adverse criticism from opposing schools. It has the sanction of the government, it determines the meaning of the sacred books, and its followers constitute the "sect of the learned." Until the recent introduction of modern science into Japan, there also it was taught in the great schools, other doctrine being forbidden.¹

Its followers identify it, not only with the system of doctrine taught by the sages, but with the absolute truth. As an eloquent writer puts it: "For thirty years I have read and pondered it. Looking at its heights, how transcendent! Seeking to divide it, how compact! Yet is it neither too far away and high, nor too shallow and near at hand! Should Sages again appear, they would follow it! For the Way of Heaven and Earth is the Way of the Sage Kings!² The Way of the Sage Kings is the Way of Confucius and Mencius! The Way of Confucius and Mencius is the Way of Cheng and Chu! For-saking Cheng and Chu, we cannot find Confucius and Mencius," nor ultimately the way of heaven and earth. Now Cheng and Chu were philosophers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era.

Confucius left nothing of philosophical importance in writing.

¹ My authorities for this sketch are the writings of Chu Hi, with the works of his Japanese representatives. Certain writings of some of the latter I translated and published in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. XX, where references in detail may be found. I have used my translations freely in this paper. I may add that my views expressed in the introduction have changed chiefly as to the meaning of the word *K'i*, and, as to that, only in part.

² The Sage Kings are the mythical monarchs Yao and Shun; they began to reign B. C. 2357, and reigned one hundred years, and were succeeded by Shun, who reigned fifty years. But Chinese history begins in the twelfth century B. C.

His teachings were collected by his disciples, amplified by his grandson, expanded in the doctrine of the Mean, defended and enriched by Mencius and other scholars. Thus handed down, his words have exerted an unparalleled influence. None else has dominated so vast a portion of mankind in so many ways. To the entire far East he has been, not only the ideal man and the sage whose teaching reveals the ultimate principles of the universe, but the final authority in etiquette, morals, courts of law, and affairs of state. Wide as is the gap everywhere between precept and practice, in China there is no avowed double standard for public and private affairs, nor for the secular and the religious life. The great teachers of morals have been publicists, and often great leaders in affairs of state.

Nevertheless, we misunderstand the situation, if we seek to know the intellectual and religious life of the Chinese by a study of Confucius, supplemented by the classics and Mencius. As well might we seek to understand the Middle Ages by a study of the gospels, supplemented by the rest of the bible. For, as European theology took into itself many and diverse elements, so did the Chinese philosophy. This is too often overlooked, and students discuss the belief of educated Chinamen, as if it could be deduced from the words of the sage, which is like deducing the theology of Thomas Aquinas from the sayings of Jesus.

Laotze was contemporaneous with Confucius, and his mysticism exerted great influence on Chinese thought. Later, various heretical schools threatened the supremacy of the master, and Mencius set himself to repel their attacks. But more important than all, in the first century Buddhism obtained imperial recognition, and for a thousand years held sway, its philosophy being characteristic and controlling. During this long period the Confucian ethics were accepted indeed, but men found it possible to be zealous at the same time for Buddha, the teachings of the Great Vehicle supplying answers to the deep questions of life and being. Only at last, in the eleventh century, was a philosophy organized, which professed to cast aside Buddhism, and to be at once the pure teachings of the classics and the final

truth of the universe. I need not add that the various systems thus prominent for so long a time were not without a determining influence on the minds of the great scholars who professed to reject them.

The philosophers of the Sung dynasty³ had been trained in Buddhism. Their revolt was the more bitter. To them Buddhism was false in philosophy, and the foe of morals. Says a Japanese writer: "Buddha himself never got beyond the outside of things. His purpose was good; but he was ignorant of the essential principles. After his death, even the semblance of truth disappeared, so that his system dissuaded from evil, and incited to evil. It is to be classed with Taoism, as a thorn in the way, an obstacle to the gate of truth. It is to be avoided as one would flee an evil voice and the temptations of lust. For man's whole duty is to live as befits his station; but the Buddhist leaves it, and becomes a priest. Such practice comes from the false doctrine of three worlds (transmigration). Buddha left his throne, and became a hermit, because he did not know the truth. It was the act of a madman. What virtue is there in a hermit's rags, or what contamination in kingly robes? Each must stand in his own place. To think that virtue and vice inhere in certain stations, or in certain forms, is the error of the vicious and of the heretic. Men forsake parents and lords that they may become priests and save themselves! Buddhism teaches that this world is transient, brief, borrowed, and therefore that its duties may be renounced for the sake of salvation in the world to come! That is a shameful exhibition of a selfish craving for happiness! True virtue forsakes self, and then there is no need to flee the world. It is not wonderful that other evils are associated with such teaching; that worship is substituted for righteousness and prayers for truth; that priests become debauched and their asceticism only a cloak for the vilest impurity; and that the popular Buddhist literature compares with the purity of the classics as charcoal with new-fallen snow."

³The Sung dynasty (including the southern Sung) ruled China from 970-1277 A. D.

Buddhism is to be denounced, therefore, in the name of the Confucian ethics which exalt the actual human relations and sanctify home, family, and native land. Heaven, *i. e.*, nature, has ordained that men live in families, and in the state the relations of son and father, lord and subject, brother and brother, friend and friend, husband and wife, are sacred. He who violates them is a criminal and a castaway.

The principle on which Buddhism builds is the impermanence of all things. "All pass away, nothing remains. The world is like the clouds which form and disappear; it is a vision, a dream unreal through and through. So taught this superficial thinker who dwelt among barbarians in a time of darkness. He saw only the outside of things."

Here, then, at once is the problem: In a world of change, is there anything which changes not; in a world of impermanence, is there reality; in the midst of that which passes away, can there be an immovable basis for morality? This is the crux; for, if all changes, morality too must change, and with the passing world the truth of the sage must pass. The ethical interest predominates, and ontology has value only as its support.

Manifestly the world seems wholly to pass away; and as we describe its phenomena we may say: It is composed of a single element called *Khi*,⁴ which exists forever, and of which are all things. In the beginning it rested to the utmost limit, and then moved to the farthest limit, and then rested, and then moved, its rest begetting *Yin*, and its motion begetting *Yang*.⁵ Yin is the west, the female, the earth; it is dark, passive, selfish, avaricious, and the way of all evil men belongs to it. Yang is the east, heaven, the male; it is light, active, pure, unselfish, and the way of all superior men belongs to it. There never was a time when these opposites were not, and through them the cosmic processes

⁴ *Khi* is "the breath," and it has most of the connotations of *ruach* and *spiritus*. Its philosophical use is best represented by the stoic *pneuma*. It is the element of change.

⁵ Yin and Yang are translated usually female and male; but negative and positive represent the meaning better. There is no thought of sex, it being one manifestation only of the two powers.

are condensation and dispersion. The two powers, meeting each other, produce the five elements, earth, air, fire, water, metal, and from these come the myriad of things. "The Yin and Yang entangling each other, attracting, repelling each other, coming and going to and fro, rising up and falling down ever since the beginning of the world, naturally there are produced flat and plain spots, and rugged and inclined spots, and good and bad portions of Khi. The different portions of Khi are bright and dark, clear and turbid, pure and impure, free and obstructed, strong and weak, fine and coarse, good and bad, clever and foolish, thick and thin, deep and shallow, direct and oblique, resisting and yielding, quick and slow, etc." Or, as a late writer puts it: "The universe is one Khi. Divided, it is the Yin and Yang, the five elements, heaven, earth, and all things—sun, moon, hills, streams, seas, birds, men, brutes, grasses, trees, insects, fishes. Though these all differ, yet are they of the one Khi. Its ethereal, pure part revolving above, is called heaven; its heavy, impure part, stationary below, is called earth. Of the Yang and lighting the day, it is called the sun; of the Yin and lighting the night, it is called the moon; endowed with the five elements, and resembling heaven and earth, it is called man; flying through the air, it is called bird; creeping on the earth, it is called beast; and in each kind there are divisions innumerable. But all are manifestations of the one Khi. Condensed, it forms all objects having shape; dissolved, it is like the air, and there is no space without it, condensation and dissolution being alike constant and incomprehensible. In all the universe, rain and sunshine, bloom and decay, birth and death, the past and present of heaven and earth, the changes of sea and land, are solely because of the ceaseless changes of the Khi. It is coarse and fine. The coarse is readily perceived and acknowledged; the fine not so easily, but equally with the objects of form are gods, mind, soul, knowledge of the Khi, all wonderful and indefinable. So, too, are all activities of mind and matter of the Khi—motion, growth, perfume, vision, hearing, laughter, crying, rest, these in all their kinds are manifestations of the activities of the Khi." Chu Hi says: "Khi

forms and makes, the Kosmos was formed by the action of the Yin and Yang. The opposites grinding together, as the grain is scattered from a mill, so do all things come, all that is worthy and noble, all that is unworthy and ignoble, heaven and earth, man's body, sun, stars, wind, thunder, lightning, man's soul and mind." There is no creator, but an endless process. Heaven itself shall pass away. Still heaven is not the blue vault merely; it is not a dead unfeeling thing. It has a nature that feels. It is instinct with life, and responds to man's deeds and emotions. The word is often used in the sense of providence. There is no distinction clearly made of spirit and matter; for the thought moves in quite a different sphere, yet does the spiritual predominate. For all nature is instinct with life and feeling, and part responds to part as soul to soul. It is not that a soul dwells within, but that all lives, and feels, and, according to its nature, responds. So all alike pass away; but the process itself is forever. From the undifferentiated Khi the Kosmos comes, and to the first condition it returns. Then, after rest to the uttermost, movement begins again, the homogeneous Khi begets the opposites, and the process goes on, worlds without end.

Thus all things seem to pass away and nothing abides, neither mind nor body, man nor gods, force nor form, rest nor motion, heaven nor earth. Is then Buddhism correct and is impermanence the ultimate fact?

Beyond all this, behind the furthest limit the mind can reach, behind all affirmation is Li. I quote detached sentences from Chu Hi in definition. By it all things exist. It is neither rest nor motion, but it has these, as it is their law. It is above all form and all activity. It can be described by no words which have to do with appearances, for it is before Khi itself and is the reason why Khi is Khi. Yet it never exists alone but is ever embodied in Khi. Without Khi is no Li as without Li is no Khi. Both are forever together yet is Li first, though in the eternal process both are without beginning and end. As Khi condenses, as it forms and makes, there is Li in its midst. Indeed we may call Li the substance of Khi, the reason why Khi is Khi.

Li is forever one, yet has everything its own, as the moon is reflected in the bosom of every pool. Nor can it be named, since all names belong to Khi, but using our best term, expressing the inexpressible, it is benevolence, the chief of all virtues. Li is then the essence of virtue, perfect benevolence, righteousness, and truth. If we describe the very beginning of all as the Great Ultimate, then before this we put another, the No-Ultimate.

Thus our chief question emerges: If the principle of the universe, the true nature of all things, even if Khi, be best named righteousness and truth, whence comes evil? From the changing Khi and of necessity. Khi cannot receive Li equally. Parts of it are perfectly recipient and there is the true manifestation of righteousness. Thus the example among men is the sage. His Khi nature, perfectly recipient of Li, expresses absolute righteousness and truth in every feeling, word, and act. But at the other extreme are men whose Khi nature obscures the Li. Passion, selfishness, and ignorance prevail and the Li, *i. e.*, righteousness and truth, vanish. So is it with the state, with society, with the family, and with all things. Sometimes the Khi nature embodies and reveals the Li in perfectness, but again only imperfectly, or even so far as manifestation goes, not at all. For Khi is active and Li becomes dependent upon it, and as time passes Khi condenses more and more until Li is wholly obscured. Then evil seems to triumph, the last stage is reached, and the world returns to chaos. Yet in all, Li remains untouched, uninjured, unmoved, eternally the same. Righteousness and truth are the true nature of man, and none the less because he does not recognize the fact. He identifies himself with Khi but that does not alter the real state of the case. Evil is superficial, and to find the truth we need only to clear away passion, which collects like vapor on a mirror. The metal beneath is still the same though it has ceased to reflect the light.

There is therefore in man and all things a two-fold nature. One is good, ideally, unchangeably good. It is the true nature, the true self, and all virtue consists in recognizing it and con-

forming feeling, word and act to it. The other is a composite nature, the Li as embodied in the Khi-nature. And this composite nature differs. In the sage it too is holy, the Khi is perfectly expressive of the Li. In the superior man it is progressively righteous, since he fights the good fight and wins righteousness: in the evil man the passions win, the Li is obscured and he does evil continually. Thus is explained the debate touching the nature of man. Mencius declared it good teaching contradicted not only by the heretics but by facts. But we can admit both his teachings and the facts. He spoke of the Li, of the true nature, and that is good. It was not fitting that he should condescend to speak of the Khi. The true nature of man, then, is good, but alas! seldom is it manifested in life.

Li is a real existence, the most real of all existences. It is not mere thought, a deduction from the movements of things. Our thoughts are Khi, and Li cannot be dependent on us. At two points we must distinguish, Li's reality and priority, and Li's complete inactivity. The writers call it cause, and if in Chinese language is at times inconsistent, ascribing to Li what belongs to Khi, nevertheless the meaning is clear. The Chinese lack a final definition, and final and efficient causes are confused. But if we use our own interpretation, Li is the final cause, and Khi is the efficient; Khi is everything except Li, yet Li is the most real of all existences, since the nearer we come to reality the more clearly we perceive the inherent teleology which is the good and final truth. This is order, for the order of the universe is the essence of its being and explains all. It is Li.

But though Li is thus the idea conceived ontologically, it is expressible, as we have seen, only in terms of ethics. It is most like that we call righteousness. Divided, it gives us the five virtues, and these find perfect expression in the five relationships. When embodied in the individual, we have the sage and when embodied in the state, the perfect empire. The sage too, historically, has been attained and is described in the sacred books. Then the sage was king, the superior man was chief minister, all officials were wise and virtuous, and

stupid majority were in their rightful place below. Naturally thus each man performed his duties and there was none evil, though many were unlearned. The king did not take the empire as his own. He was not covetous or self-indulgent. He recognized that the empire is the empire of the empire and not the empire of one man. His influence flowed through his immediate associates, and so to the remotest regions. There was need for neither soldier nor policeman, for the empire was peace. Thus once, the true empire found expression and the Khi perfectly revealed the Li.

But as time passed the Khi changed. There was no longer a sage upon the throne. The superior man went from place to place seeking employment. Favoritism prevailed and evil men ruled the state. The king took the empire as his toy and his evil influence reached all ranks. Fools were in command and the wise obeyed. The true order was subverted, the true empire disappeared, and unless there be reform anarchy ensues.

The family reveals the same truth. When its relations ordained by heaven are all observed there is perfect harmony and peace, but when selfishness and passion prevail duties are forgotten and the family is at last destroyed.

These are more than illustrations, they are the most vital instances of the ultimate truth. Man is the little heaven and earth. He combines all the elements of the *kosmos* and when we know him we know it. He is in immediate relation to every part. Heaven, for example, is explained by man. Its true nature is Li and this, expressed in the form of virtues, constitutes the "Way," the moral law. Its true nature therefore is one with man's, and its expression is his infallible rule of life. But this true nature is embodied in Khi; *i. e.*, the blue heaven above us which we see. But it, too, corresponds to man. As he feels it feels, as he knows it knows, for it is not a thing apart, but in the most intimate relationship. All move as one. So when man is at peace it is in rest, but when he sorrows it grieves. Man is central and heaven bears the relation to him of a father. When a son sins the father suffers also, and not in spirit only; his body weakens and by and by illness comes, and even death.

And so when man sins is it with heaven. The emperor representative of man and is called the son of heaven. he sins heaven grieves and its body shows its sorrow, eclipses, shooting stars, untimely heat and cold and on earthquakes, famines, plagues. These should lead to examination on the part of man and to reformation. neglected, going on from bad to worse, heaven and earth more and more and disaster can be the only end. So man obeys and fulfils his duty heaven approves and prosperity and happiness ensue.

As Li is the divine order of the universe, and as it is embodied in state, family, and man, and as the king is the great representative of men, we can judge how evil Buddhism is and Buddhism. He discerned only the outside of things, the Khi, and could find no essential principle, no Li. So he deserted his place and duty and sought to save himself. His followers teach that a man may desert his father, a wife her husband, and every one his duty and that this is duty! This is indeed to call good evil and evil good. In the name of wisdom it bids the king desert his throne and the child his parents. It declares that everything is wrong and subverts family and state. Really nothing is bad if there is subordination to Li. Thus held, each thing is the divine instrument for the manifestation of righteousness. Cast these away and there can be no virtue, for Li is always embodied in Khi. Let everything be in its order; let first be first and last be last; then all is good in self, in family, in state, and in the universe.

As Li is, but does not act, contemplation leads to truth. The sage is the heaven-endowed man who perceives truth without guide or study. His truth is written down for our instruction and constitutes the sacred books. The superior man studies these and comes at last to understand the truth. The dull man must be content simply to obey and thus practically to fulfil the duties of his station.

As Li is, but does not act, its perfect embodiment is inactivity. This is stronger than all activities. The sage king is by doing naught. When the sage is enrobed with folded arms

in the place of power, the empire honors him as the sun and moon, imitates him as one imitates his parents, and communes with him more than with the formless divinities of heaven and earth. Wherever he goes there is reformation, as the water naturally shapes itself to the vessel. His thought is divine and works his will as readily as one may turn his hand. Such leadership can never be rivaled by knowledge, power, or gifts.

The method of study is first to learn the Li and then to seek its embodiment in things. First know, then act, for even virtue is valueless without knowledge. And of all knowledge the first is of self. Unless we know the truth within, we cannot know it anywhere. This true self which we must know is far below the changing self of thought and will and feeling. All these are unreal and belong to Khi. None endures. They slip away at last as the morning vapor is drawn up into the sun, as fire vanishes in fire, as the water is lost in the sea. No conscious self endures, but our true, enduring nature is our Li. It is the reality of the unmoved. So first of all we must get rid of lust and seek the self in repose. Without plans or thought, in empty quietness alone, and then from this right reason shall right movement come. Self, formless, voiceless, odorless, without thought or act, is the source of all.

That is, to interpret, man's place in society and family and universe is his real reason for existence. He is like the soldier who, *qua* soldier, finds his one reason for existence in his position in the ranks. Apart from this nothing matters, and for this are all the rest, food, exercise, clothing, sleep. Man must so control his Khi nature that he may see this truth, and seeing it may fulfil his duty. The whole truth then may be expressed by obedience, to the ideal nature if one be in superior station, to the actual superior if one be subordinate.

When man perceives all this and adjusts himself to the truth, he has attained. There is no more for him to learn or do. He needs no more. One with the eternal truth, how shall he forget it? How shall he fall into error? Lying down, getting up, moving, resting, in peace, in trouble, in death, in life, in joy, in

sorrow, all is well. Never for a moment will he leave this way. This it is to know the truth in ourselves.

With Li recognized as the order of the universe, the whole system becomes clear. Li in its essence is most like righteousness, benevolence, and truth, because it is they abstracted and reified. The virtues are precisely the relationships of the Confucian family and state, and the Li are they turned into real existences. Thus the developed system is true to type. Notwithstanding its indebtedness to alien and hostile teachings, it does as a matter of fact furnish the ontology needed for the dogmatic ethics of Confucius. For educated men this teaching, thus completed, put to final rout the pessimistic asceticism of Buddhism and satisfied well enough their intellectual needs. Entrenched in a technical barricade which could be carried only by years of strenuous endeavor, those who finally mastered it were content. The truth seemed final and other teachings in the comparison trivial and superficial.

Nevertheless it had its opponents. Some carried the system to pure idealism. Wang Show-yen, of the latter part of the fifteenth century, is the best representative of this tendency. He took a phrase of Mencius, "intuitive knowledge," as formative and rejected "the distinction of things." He declared that the rose ceased to exist when our perception of it ceased, and would turn attention from things and books to the heart, putting meditation for study. He denied the distinction between Khi and Li, for without the heart is no Li, and Li and heart are identical. Since all possess this intuitive knowledge, our one duty is to polish our hearts by obedience to the five virtues and relations. Ethics constitute the only science, and this we know as we act. If we say we know, we already act, or we do not truly know. This innate knowledge is in all things, grasses, stones, trees, heaven, earth, as well as in man, and by it each thing is itself and all partake of the same law. This philosopher had been a Buddhist in his youth, and his writings show marks of the strong influence of Buddhism; but he insisted that his purpose was different, not self-absorption in mystical contemplation, but the attainment of the practical virtues belonging to the world. Here

again we find the pure Confucian influence and conformity to type.

The orthodox reply is as follows: Wang was a strong man of excellent purpose. In his days scholars were busy with words and phrases and neglected self-examination. So he supposed that the study of things leads astray, and that he should examine himself with his intuitions. But our philosophy does not neglect these intuitions, though it shows their embodiment in things. Even Wang studied the sacred books, and they are "things." Apart from things, what material have we at all for study, of reverence apart from the ceremonies, of soothing peace apart from music, of ethics apart from the scriptures? Why did the sages teach their long and difficult way, if there be so short a cut through our intuitions? Besides, what employment is there for our intuitions apart from contact with things? As if one should say, the knowledge of music is by our ears, let us then mind our ears and learn the five sounds without hearing them, or the five colors without seeing, or the five flavors without eating! Is it not plain that though the knowledge is in ourselves, yet sounds, colors, and flavors are in things, and that we know as we see, hear, and eat? Precisely so in the higher sphere, even the rustic has a heart which reverences and loves, yet are his love and reverence taught and broadened by study of the scriptures, and truly known only as embodied in the actual relationships. Mencius's expression, "to know without learning is intuitive knowledge," teaches that there is a heart in man which loves and reverences before he studies. Make that the foundation, study, and it shall be strengthened. He did not teach that we can be perfect without study. This attempt to correct philosophy by casting away distinctions is so to straighten the crooked that it bends backward.

Another school rejected the distinction between Khi and Li, and charged Chu Hi with substituting Buddhism and Taoism for the truth. They declared that Li in its ontological sense is not found in the sacred books, but more, that it directly contradicts them. They quote Chu Hi's words, "With great doubt is great progress, with little doubt is little progress, with no doubt is no

progress," as authority for doubting him. He teaches that behind the "Great Ultimate" is the "No Ultimate," and thus that non-being is the source of being. He makes Khi and Li to be two and distinct. As a result Yin and Yang are not of the Way (the Li), but belong to the lower category of form. So man's true nature must be distinguished from his embodied nature and the heart is to be purified by isolation, contemplation, and unity with the Li of heaven. He says: "The clear empty divinity is the reality of the heart," and "The Li of heaven is unopposed, empty, broad," with many more phrases like these. All this, including the words from Buddhism and Taoism, is directly and wholly opposed to the teaching of Confucius. The six classics are the source of truth, and among them the book of Changes is pre-eminent. If we doubt it, what can we believe? It says: "Yin and Yang are the Way, the rest and motion of the one Khi. Rest is Yin, motion is Yang, the endless revolution is thus named." Here is no mention of Li, but the Way is identified with Khi. We may not add Li on the supposition that it was omitted by the sage.⁶

Li is merely the principle of the Khi, and the two are one. We cannot say: "Li neither begins nor ends, but in Khi are life and death," for the two are just one. Coldness is water's nature, and heat fire's: when fire and water disappear heat and coolness go also; the nature is destroyed. Water is pure by nature, but its purity is not distinct from itself. So with man's nature, we should not separate into two in order to clear up the supposed difficulty in the teaching of Mencius. The distinction is not between the real and the embodied natures, but between ordinary and exceptional. Coolness is the nature of water, a truth not invalidated by the discovery of hot springs; and so man's nature is good as the ordinary fact, a truth not disproved by the discovery of rascals here and there.

Further, the talk about the "No Ultimate" beyond the "Great Ultimate" is simply Taoism. Laotze said, "All things come

⁶The appendices to the Book of Changes are ascribed to Confucius. He wrote none of them. They represent quite a different type of thought with a cosmological element wholly wanting in his words.

from being, being comes from non-being." But the sages teach that being is the source of all. Truth separates from heresy at this point. Chu Hi thoroughly studied Buddhism in his youth, and was never free from its influence. He was, moreover, a partisan, and did not consider questions impartially, to the misleading of other men.

Mencius compared the "Way" to the great highway, and grieved that men do not walk therein. Even the fool may know it readily. But these philosophers have made it difficult, too high, too distant, hard to be understood and obeyed. With Confucius and Mencius obedience, reverence, loyalty, and truth were first, and learning secondary. But the philosophers, with their "No Ultimate" and "Great Ultimate," put progress in learning as the chief thing, with contemplation as the means for purification and the foundation of right conduct. This is what is meant by too high, too distant, too difficult, this putting discussion before virtue. This is to be so profound, so minute in analysis, as to miss the main meaning. In this philosophy differs from the teaching of the sages.

A few writers went even further, and in their effort to get back to Confucius rejected Mencius and the grandson of Confucius, as if one were to reject St. Paul and St. John in getting back to Christ. They argued: Mencius was hotly engaged with adversaries, and did not notice his divergence from Confucius. He taught that man's nature is good only for his immediate didactic purpose. The philosophers of the Sung dynasty thought him in agreement with Confucius, and put his works alongside of the *Analects*! Confucius did not use terms like "heart," "nature," "Khi" and "Li." These were introduced by his grandson, fostered by Mencius, and brought to full luxuriance by the philosophers whose teachings in all essential points were identical with Taoism and Buddhism. The words of Confucius are the only standard of doctrine. Even his grandson and Mencius are to be rejected, and still more later teachers, and most of all the philosophers of the Sung dynasty. But only those who study Confucius independently are prepared to reject the others,

and only by casting them aside will Confucius shine forth as the sun when clouds are dispersed.⁷

The orthodox made reply: Confucius truly did not use these precise terms, yet did he imply all that Chu Hi taught. The philosophers were busy with the discussion of great principles, and were not careful to confine themselves to the terminology of the scriptures. For us on this account to charge them with error is to reveal our own superficiality.

For consider the distinction between Khi and Li, using well-known illustrations. Reckoning up the wheel, there is no wheel, reckoning up the year, there is no year. Let us see—this is the spoke, this the rim, this the axle, this the hub, but the spoke is not the wheel, nor the rim, nor the axle, nor the hub. Yet if we cast these away, away goes the wheel also. The law of the wheel preceded it and, before the wheel was made, was determined, and because it is imperishable the carpenter follows it and makes the wheel. Whence, then, is the wheel, from its parts, or are these from it? If we say the former, we know indeed the form but not the Li. So with the year—twelve hours make a day, thirty days make a month, twelve months make a year, but the year is not in hour or day or month; but still, casting these aside there is no year. The Li is determined first, sun and moon revolve according to this plan, and calendars are made for a hundred years to come as for the centuries past. For the Li is not in day, or month, or year, but is forever. As Confucius said, "Heaven speaks not, yet the four seasons labor and all things are produced." So with everything, water and fire are Khi, their flowing and burning are also Khi, but that water being water shall flow and not burn, and that fire being fire shall burn and not flow, is their decreed, unchangeable nature. It is their Li.

Flower and leaf, unfolding and bloom, bitter and sweet, all are Khi, but that bitter shall be bitter, and sweet shall be sweet, that the leaf shall unfold and the flower bloom, is decided unchangeably before all, and so sweet is never bitter, nor bitter sweet. The heart and its feelings are altogether Khi, but that

⁷ The criticism is correct in the main, as Confucius cared nothing for, and probably knew nothing of, ontology. In the doctrine of the Mean and Mencius cosmology appears, but it is still secondary.

joy goes with good and grief with evil is determined before birth for wise man and fool, and this determination is the Li. With different things Li has different names, yet is it ever one, decreed, unchanging, and the same.

Were it not so, were the Way of the Khi, then with the changes of the Khi, the Way itself would change, and neither the virtues nor the Way of the ancients be ours. At last we should be like the brutes. Fearing this, the sages set the Way on high with the Li first, and thus unchangeable amid all the permutations of the Khi. If we know not Li, study is all in vain and leads to heresy, to the worship of the Buddhas and to prayers.

When modern learning came to Japan, followers of Chu Hi were among its most strenuous antagonists. Possibly our geographical position seemed indicative of evil, for Yin is the West, dark, passive, avaricious, and the way of all evil men belongs to it. For, however that may be, foreigners claim to know the laws of nature, and use Mencius's own term, natural philosophy, to describe their science. They are rebels who exhibit a forged seal of state and raise a rabble. True disciples of the sage should expose the counterfeit and destroy the false scholars. For every one knows that the teaching of the sages is of the Way, and not of wonders, but the foreigners study only the outward appearances. Their analysis is minute, but they are like half-trained men who know the forms of the ideographs but not their meaning, not a word can they understand. Indeed, such analysis destroys the possibility of knowledge, as if one should seek to know the wind by the analysis of a fan, or the meaning of a written word by the analysis of a pen. Microscope and analysis increase the minuteness of such studies, but disclose no Li. Hence it is that the barbarian learning of a hundred things stops with the hundred things, and of a thousand things stops with the thousand things and, however great, understands not one.

Consider their astronomy! They discuss and measure, their work is long drawn out, and deceives men by its minuteness. But they take heaven for a dead thing, and fall into scorn and lust. Thinking that heaven is heaven, and that man is man, believing neither wisdom nor the Way, their selfish, false wisdom

makes them brutish. In pity the sages set forth the truth, Mencius said, "Knowing nature, we know heaven." There would we know heaven we must know ourselves. As the he conforms to Li, as action is in moderation, as there is joy righteousness and shame in sin, as we know the smallest right or wrong within ourselves, sage and dunce, emperor and peasant do not differ in the least. This is heaven's nature, and that of man's. What man's nature hates, heaven hates, and what man's nature loves, heaven loves. That which is hated brings grief and that which is loved brings blessing. Heaven seems far away and strange, in truth it is the living Li which errs not and can be deceived. It can be worshiped only by perfecting hearts in obedience, loyalty and truth, by the faithful government of empire and province. Cast away evil, cherish the good, from folly to wisdom ; thus only can heaven be served.

Astronomy has its uses, in making calendars, but, as a study of heaven, it should be studied reverently and only so far as necessity demands. The barbarians know nothing of this; they think sun, moon, heaven, earth, man, and things all separate and distinct. Ignorant and irreverent, they follow the custom of their land, study all the details, measure distances, observe the stars, making astronomy a toy. Ignorant of their parent's knowledge they handle and criticise his body. Such study is only a form, is valueless and worse, for thus they come to scorn heaven. Such sin must be severely reprov'd.

When Japan finally turned to the West and native scholars were free to express themselves, it appeared that few really understood the orthodox philosophy. Criticism had done its work. The realism which made Li an existence in itself was the chief intellectual difficulty. And yet no system took the vacant place; with the advent of the new learning the old vanished away. And yet the younger men know its principles or its authors. As I am told that the situation in China resembles that in Japan many years ago, that is, that while the orthodox system nominally holds its own, criticism has shaken it so that it is accepted in completeness by but few.

I conclude with two brief pieces paraphrased from the writings of a Japanese follower of Chu Hi. They were written in the first part of the eighteenth century and express the religious and ethical sides of the system freed from formal exposition and from controversy. The first shows the divinity of the immanent forces of the universe and the second the consciousness of a man who can identify self and Li, self and the appointed duty of his station.

THE VIRTUE OF THE DIVINITIES.

The doctrine of the Mean speaks of the "virtue of the divinities." Chu Hi explains this to mean the heart and its revelation, and the oldest commentary says, "the divinity is pure intelligence and virtue." Now all know that God is just, but most do not know his intelligence. But elsewhere is no such intelligence, for man sees and hears by eye and ear, and where these organs are not he does not know. And with his heart does man think, and sight, hearing and thought all take time, however swift of perception one may be. But God uses neither eye nor ear, nor does he pass over in thought. Directly does he feel and immediately respond. Thus in heaven and earth is a being separated from no time or place, communicating instantaneously, embodied in all things, filling the universe. Without form or voice it is neither seen nor heard of men. When there is truth it feels, and when it feels it responds. Responding at once, it is ; responding not, it naturally is not. This is the divinity of heaven and earth, as the doctrine of the Mean says, "Looked for it cannot be seen, listened to it cannot be heard! It enters into all things! There is nothing without it!" Like the priest worshiping before the shrine,

"Not knowing what it is, grateful tears he weeps."

Are not his tears the perception of truth? Before the shrine he stands, single hearted, direct, with truth, and to this truth God comes and they commune, and so it is he weeps.

As the reflection in clear water answers to the moon and together pool and moon increase the light, so if continually in the same truth they are dissolved, we cannot distinguish God and man even as sky and water, water and sky unite in one. "Everywhere, everywhere, on the right hand he seems and on the left." This is the revealing of God, the truth not to be concealed. Think not that he is distant, but seek him in the heart, for it is the house of God. When there is no obstacle of lust, being of one spirit with the God of heaven and earth, there is this communion, and without communion is no such thing. The priest did not weep before he visited the shrine, and by this we know that God came.

And now for the application. Examine yourselves, make the truth of the heart the foundation, increase in learning, and at last you shall attain. Then shall you know the truth of which I speak.

THE MORNING GLORY'S HOUR.

"The morning glory of an hour
Envies not the pine of a thousand years."

What profundity! Many have sung of the morning glory, of its short life, of autumn loneliness and the vanity of the world.

"After a thousand years the pine decays,
The flower has its glory in blooming for a day."

That is pretty, but it merely makes bloom and decay one. The ignorant think it profound, but it is superficial like Buddhism. The first verse has other meaning. It teaches the truth of Confucius, "He who in the morning hears the Way may die content at night." To blossom early, wait for the rising sun, and die, such is the morning glory's nature received from heaven. It does not forget its nature and envy the pine its thousand years; so every morning it blooms and then it dies. Thus it fulfils its destiny. How can we despise the truth the flower reveals? The pine differs from this not at all, but we learn it best from the short-lived flower. The pine's heart is not of the thousand years nor the morning glory's of the hour, but only that they may fulfil their destiny.

The glory of the thousand years, the evanescence of the single hour, are not in pine or flower but in our thought. So is it with unfeeling things, but man has feeling and is head of all. Yet is he deceived by things and does not attain to this unless he know the Way. But this knowing is not the mystic contemplation of which Buddhism speaks, for the Way is adjusted to all, so that miserable men and women may know and do it. But only as we know it can we truly do it, otherwise even with practice we do not know and even in doing is no profit. Though we are in the Way until death we do not understand. Truly to know and act is to be like the fish in water and the bird in air.

Reason should be our life, never should we separate from it. While we live we obey, and Way and body together come to death. Long shall we be at peace. To live a day is to obey a day and then to die; to live a year is to obey a year and then to die. If thus in the morning we hear and die at night, there is no regret. So the morning glory lives its hour, blooms wholly as it has received, and without resentment dies. How greatly differ the thousand years of the pine in length, yet both equally fulfil their destiny and both are equally content. This is the meaning of the poet in his verse:

"The morning glory of an hour
Envies not the pine of a thousand years."

I add as a parallel Ben Jonson's verse :

THE NOBLE NATURE.

It is not growing like a tree
In bulk, doth make man better be,
Or standing long an oak, three hundred year,
To fall a log at last, dry, bald, and sear.

A lily of a day
Is fairer far in May.
Although it fall and die that night,
It was the plant and flower of light ;
In small proportions we just beauties see
And in short measures life may perfect be.

THE SURVIVAL OF ANIMAL SACRIFICES INSIDE THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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IN the following discussion it is my aim first, to trace the history of the sacrificial system of the Armenian church, describing in brief the ceremonies themselves and the prayers used ; and secondly, to adduce evidence of the continuance in other regions of Christendom of old sacrificial rites, and particularly in the Greek church.

Perhaps the earliest evidence of the Armenian usage is to be found in the canons of St. Sahak, of which a translation was published in the pages of this journal in October, 1898.¹ These canons fall into five main chapters, at the end of the fourth of which is the "colophon of a copyist" stating that "this code of ordinances was written by command of St. Sahak, the great patriarch of Armenia, as he received it from the brave athlete of Christ, Gregory, being translated only from Greek into Armenian." Further on this colophon speaks of "the truly orthodox ones who followed the blessed Gregory and our father Sahak ;" so it cannot be contemporary with the latter. There is, however, no reason to question the statement that the canons are translated from an older Greek document. The date of Sahak's patriarchate was roughly 390 to 430 A. D.; of Gregory, 300 to 327 A. D.

It is in the second part of these canons, which purports to represent Sahak alone, that we have an account of the institution inside the Armenian church of a sacrificial system. Chap. vi is entitled : "Of the same. A Book of Tradition, about the institution of the ministers of Holy Church, and about the produce of the laity presented to the house of God." It is herein related that on the conversion of King Irdat by S. Gregory the Illuminator, at the close of the third century, the sons of the pagan priests were reluctant to adopt the new religion from fear of losing their means of livelihood. They said :

Be his (*i. e.*, God's) name holy and glorified in all things. Nevertheless, bodily needs, so long as we are in this life, compel us according to our wants to make provision of food and raiment, and to satisfy modestly our other necessities. Yet we have no art or craft which may enable us to earn food

¹THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, Vol. II, pp. 828-48.

and maintenance for ourselves and our children. For so long as we served the demons, we were fed from their victims and fruits. But now we discern not clearly the fruits of offering, off which we may live along with our families, and be able to glorify the ever-living immortal God.

St. Gregory answered that if they would abandon "the service of phrensied and idolatrous cults," and the sacrifices "of filthy victims in which they were partakers with devils," they should in future "receive fruits and firstlings according to the tradition which the great Prophet Moses received from the Creator, and handed down to the congregation concerning the offerings and fruits, which were forever tendered by law inevitable to the levitical priesthood, so that the said priests might not be impeded in their religious attendance on the tent of witness."

Accordingly a compromise was reached by which the priests of Armenia were, after conversion, to receive not only tenths of the threshing-floor and wine-vat and of the other crops, but, adds St. Gregory, directly addressing himself to them: "Your portions of the offerings shall be the hide and right-hand parts of the spine, the limb and fat, and the tail and heart and lobe of lungs, and the tripe with the lard; of the ribs and shank-bones a part, the tongue and the right ear, and the right eye and all the secret parts."

The sacrificial perquisites of the now christianized priests were thus settled. In all this there was nothing which conflicted with the christian imagination of that age and place. "Henceforth," says Gregory, "ye shall receive riches a hundredfold, and possessions, and first-fruits, and produce in the holy church of God; and in the time to come life eternal, freed from the service of mad and idolatrous cults. . . . All this shall be added unto you, according to the scripture of our Lord God in his holy gospel. . . . Henceforth shall ye offer the firstlings of the holy sacrifices and other fruits, and *through the grace of Christ be found partakers with the holy angels.*"

In approaching the problem of the establishment of Christianity in Syria and the more remote parts of Asia Minor, we must bear in mind that the offering of victims, and religious cult in general, was the duty and privilege of a priestly caste. This was particularly so in Armenia. Gregory, the great missionary of the age of Diocletian, was the head of the leading pagan priestly family, and the chief pagan shrine in the country was part of his family estate. It afterwards became the "mother church" of Armenia, and the dignity of the catholicate or patriarchate descended by heredity from Gregory to his sons and grand-

sons, and in a later age, when, owing to the vices of his descent their retention of it became a scandal, it was merely transferred to the chief scion of the other great priestly family of Albinus. This was second in dignity only to Gregory's, which was itself a younger branch of the imperial Arsacide clan, which occupied the throne of Parthia, Armenia, Bactria, Iberia, and Albania of the Caucasus. The chief function of the early Armenian patriarch was to say grace at the banquets of his cousin, the king.

Not only was the headship of the Armenian church hereditary, but for a long time the bishoprics or chief-priesthoods were equally so. And the common village priests continued for centuries to be drawn from the old priestly families; indeed, it is doubtful whether the custom of a man's taking holy orders, not because his father had taken them, but because he has a serious call, has even yet established itself in the far East, so firmly engrained in the popular mind is the custom of the priestly families.

An Armenian patriarch of the twelfth century, Nerses Shnorhali, who died in 1173 A. D., appeals to the Book of Tradition above mentioned in defense of the custom in vogue among his countrymen of offering animal victims, which had long been fiercely attacked by the controversial writers of Byzantium. He had very nearly the same text of the canons of Sahak that we have now, and he sums up Gregory's reform by saying that :

He enjoined the people to substitute for the oblations which they had wont to offer to filthy idols, oblations of animals sacrificed to the only God. With these oblations was to be mingled salt duly blessed, and such oblations were to be made on the Pascha of the Resurrection, on every Dominical Feast, on the Feasts of illustrious Saints, and lastly, in commemoration of those who have died in Christ, as almsgivings to be eaten in their names by the hungry.

Nerses also repeats the canon of Sahak to the effect that St. Gregory "ordained that priests who had been converted from idolatry should have their share of such sacrifices; not merely were they to get the skin and the bone, but much more besides, out of which till now they had been excluded by the poverty or stinginess of those who presented the offerings."

Such an argument in favor of the new religion must have been irresistible to the priestly families, especially at a time when the victorious Christian faction was setting fire far and wide to the pagan shrines and putting the stiff-necked among the pagans to the sword. For we know from the historian Agathangelos that these more v

methods of conversion were freely used by King Trdat and Gregory, themselves renegades from paganism.

Two allied questions are suggested by the above narrative. Firstly, how did the Armenians regard these sacrifices as carried on into Christianity; and secondly, in what relation did they stand to the eucharistic sacrifice, which is by most historians of Christianity supposed—and quite wrongly—to have at once and entirely superseded in the minds of converted pagans the old sacrificial systems?

Obviously the popular conception, whatever it was, of sacrifices thus permitted to continue, remained the same. Fundamental religious conditions and beliefs are not altered in a generation, nor even in centuries; and as a thoughtful writer, Professor W. M. Ramsay, who has gathered his experience on the spot, has remarked, a religious fact in Asia Minor, once a fact, never dies. What the exact content of the sacrificial idea of a pious Armenian was prior to the conversion of his race, we have no means of deciding; for the first feat of victorious Christianity was, as Agathangelos relates, to destroy all the old temple-books and all old religious emblems. The Armenian fathers also, of the fifth and following centuries, are very reticent. The old superstitions must have lingered on all around them, but they pass them scrupulously by. Allowing, however, for change of names and of deities, all the sacrificial cults of antiquity, not excepting the Jewish, were much the same in their underlying ideas.

One aspect only of sacrificial belief is emphasized in these canons of Sahak. The sins of those who presented the victims to the priest, or of the dead in whose behalf they were presented, were in a mysterious way transferred to the animals slaughtered, and through their death cast away. It is from this standpoint that St. Sahak admonishes the priest not to be grasping, to be content with what of right belongs to him, and not "to plunder the tables," so defrauding the orphan, the widow, and the poor. "Be open with thyself," he exclaimed (chap. 5, § 8) to the greedy priest. "So long as thou dost give the gifts to the house of God, does not that imply a faith on thy part that thou art casting away along with them the burden of sin, and a trust that thou mayest become worthy of eternal life? It follows that, if thou takest them, the contrary will result; and thine own act heap upon thee the burden of another's sins." The priest, therefore, who defrauds the poor of their portion of the sacrificial meal, saddles himself with the sin bound upon the victim eaten. We must not suppose that this was the only aspect which sacrifice bore for him. It is

the most useful to dwell on for his immediate purpose, but he also touches on the other aspects.

All were agreed that the victim sacrificed was offered to God. The idea prevalent in the Jewish and other ancient religions that the Divine Being snuffs up the odor of the sacrifice and is nourished by it, is rarely made explicit, except in Old Testament lections, by Armenian religious writers. Doubtless the common people held it, and not, as we shall see, too gross for the Greek sacrificial Christians to emphasize. In Christian Armenia, accordingly, we hardly ever find whole-burned offerings, the purport of which was that they should be entirely consumed by the God. For the rest the Pauline conception of atonement, that, except by the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins, was shared by the Armenian Christians who offered up the animals to God in substitution for their own; and they were, more than the ancient Jews, assured that the blood is the life. The doctrine of sin is death, and the penalty could only be escaped by the substitution either of the first-born of God or of a dumb animal. The deeply the mechanical view of sin, and belief in sacrifice as a means of atonement, death, inhered in the mind of the race is revealed by the strong persecution aroused by the Paulician dissent of the tenth and eleventh centuries. A certain Jacobus, bishop of Harq, a region in Armenia, about the year 1000, taught that :

If a man has not in his own soul himself repented of his sins, the sacrifices and memorations (that is, sacrifices of animal victims for the repose of the dead) help him not, nor offerings either. And along with his minions the sliding bishop would scoff and jeer; for they would bring an animal before them, and say as follows: "Alas, thou unhappy animal, thou art alone the fact that the deceased in his life-time committed sins and still what sins hast thou committed, that thou shouldst die with him?"

For propagating his "filthy cult," this Jacob was, by the catholicos Sargis, deprived of his priest's orders, and branded on his forehead with the image of a fox. It is the Armenian historian Aristakes of the eleventh century who tells this story. There is no doubt that Jacob had become a Paulician, and that the sect bore a strong repugnance to animal sacrifices from the followers of Mani in Armenia were many.¹

We now turn to the second point, the relation of the animal sacrifice to the eucharist. The meal of the sacrificial flesh was

¹ The full narrative of Aristakes is translated in the *Key of Truth*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, pp. 131 ff.

and still is called, an Agape or love-feast, and to this institution the canons of Sahak frequently refer. As Nerses remarks, the sacrifices took place:

1. On the Zatik or Pascha of the resurrection, the *πάσχα ἀναστάσιμον*. The victim then killed and eaten was the paschal lamb.

2. On dominical feasts, that is on Sundays, and also on the annual feasts of Epiphany or of the baptism of Jesus; perhaps also at Pentecost and the feast of the Wardawarh or transfiguration. It is doubtful, however, if the feast of Wardawarh or of roses was christianized as early as the fifth century. Feasts of the Virgin there as yet were none, nor was Christmas as the feast of the carnal birth of Jesus recognized at first, though later on it was commemorated and still is on the sixth of January, along with the baptism or spiritual birth of Jesus as the Christ.

3. On saints' days. The day of John the Baptist was chief of these and was celebrated on the first day of the Armenian year, Navasard I. The earliest churches were founded in his honor, for he had ordained Jesus, and in laying hands on him passed on to him the *charisma* of prophecy, the dignity of high priesthood and the privilege of kingship, which were all three gathered up in John, and in the Baptism passed away for ever from ancient Israel to center themselves thenceforth in Jesus Christ, the new Moses, and in his followers, the new Israel. The feast of David and James, brother of the Lord, was kept perhaps as early as 400 A. D., on December 25, as it was even earlier in the rest of eastern Christendom. Besides these great commemorations, the old Armenian church of the fifth century kept the days of Lazarus, of the Arian martyr and hymn writer, Athenogines, of Gregory the Illuminator, along with many others. But for the feast of each saint the faithful went to his particular shrine in the days when Sahak's canons were composed. The dominical feasts were celebrated in the churches or "meeting houses," as Sahak prefers to call them, reserving the name of church for the invisible and spiritual union of the faithful. Many feasts, especially of saints, were kept in *wang*,^a i. e., the monasteries and houses of education and shelter which grew up round shrines of martyrs.

4. At commemorations of the dead. Such burial feasts would be celebrated in the church, and replaced the old pagan wakes, against which the Christian doctors of Armenia incessantly inveighed. Thus Sahak's canon xxi of chap. 3 runs thus:

^a Answering to the Greek *μωαλ*.

Let them not hold carousal in mourning. Let no one hold a wake over the dead; for all such things are devilish. If however anyone disobeys and does so, let him be condemned to do penitence at the doors of the holy church.

At such wakes local bards extemporized poems praising the feats of the departed, and in a land where a clan was perpetually at feud with its neighbors the funeral feast, always a scene of drunkenness, often ended in bloodshed.

These, then, were the feasts and occasions on which animal victims might be sacrificed. Other important features may be made out from the canons of Sahak with regard to these *agapês* of sacrificial flesh, namely, the following:

I. A priest alone could present the offering. Thus canon xvii of chap. 3, which is part of the earlier document translated from Greek, says: "The priests shall in concert perform the service and the offering of *agapês*." And in canon xix it is laid down that the priest shall refuse to offer for any layman who tries to keep the *agapê* in his own house under pretence that his is a *wang* or rest-house.

II. "The priests shall in unison perform the rite and the sacrifice of the *agapês*. They shall not venture to present the offering without reading the gospel"—canon xvii of chap. 3. This direction brings out the purely religious character of the feast. So Nerses Shnorhali directs that the victim shall be eaten with great solemnity, and of like purport is an old homily of John Mandakuni, catholicos of East Armenia *ca.* 480 A. D.; it is one which regards the *agapê*, and is entitled: "About Fruits and Offerings and Alms." It condemns those who offered, not the best of their flock, but the leanest and toughest for the poor to eat in the love-feast. The very best ox, or sheep, or ram you had in your fields was to be offered. You might as well present a hog, or a dog, or murder a man by way of reconciling God to yourself, as try to atone for your sins with skinny and diseased animals. This homilist further insists on the necessity of inviting the poor, the stranger, the orphan, and widows to the meal of atonement, rather than your own friends and relations; especially if the latter are rich and noble. If you invite the latter, he says, it is out of vain-glory or in order that they may invite you in return. And the text of Luke 14:12-13 is appealed to, in citing which it is noticeable that the homilist introduces in verse 13 after *δοχῆν* the words "for the salvation of thy soul;" we infer that even if he had not the addition in his text, he at any rate regarded the *ἀριστον ἢ δειπνον* of the evangelist as an *agapê*, wherein was

eaten by those invited a victim offered by the householder to God in expiation of his own sins. But there was no expiatory value in the feast, if the rich, and not the poor, were invited.

For he who feeds the poor and the needy, the stranger and the sick, entertains not man, but Christ; he feeds Christ, clothes Christ, assuages Christ, consoles Christ, gives rest to Christ, ministers to Christ. For the Lord's word is not false.

III. This beautiful homily—which along with its fellows is by some critics assigned to Ephrem the Syrian—furthermore implies that the love-feast was held by the giver of it in his own home, for we read in it this :

On the day of the reception of the poor and of thy soul, on which day sins are expiated, dismiss thy carnal motives, and withal thy carnal friends, and admit not a single one of the mighty or of thy carnal friends into thy house, lest thou miss forgiveness of thy sins through thy ministering to them, through thy paying court to them.

But in the canons of Sahak, as we have seen, the priest is forbidden to celebrate the *agapê* in private houses; and churches or meeting-houses for prayer, martyrs' shrines or *wang*, *i. e.*, rest-houses and asylums presided over and managed by ascetics are enumerated in canon xx of chap. 3, as the only legitimate places wherein not only the Easter lamb may be eaten, but *agapês* and other feasts held. Let it not be supposed, however, that the animal was slain in church. It was brought then, as now, to the door of the church; and there the priest, having given it the holy salt to lick, lays one hand on its head and cuts its throat with the other.

IV. Nerses, writing in the twelfth century, rules that the paschal lamb might be eaten by the priest and the people either before or after other food, as they liked, without offence or scandal.³ But the canon of Sahak, xvii, chap. 3, lays it down that :

If one of the priests be found guzzling previously to the offering, he shall not venture to come to the bread of the offering, but shall be excluded by his fellows.

Whence it is clear that the *agapê* had to be preceded, at any rate in case of the clergy, by a fast.

(And in the next canon, xviii, we read that):

Cultivators (that is the peasants as opposed to the nobles, gentry, and priests) who have been invited to the *agapês*, shall communicate (*or* participate) in the service and the offering. Previous to the offering they shall not

³ *Opera Venetiis Latine*, 1833, Vol. I, p. 49.

dare to eat and drink in their houses. If there be anyone that has eaten and drunk in his house beforehand, let him not dare to come to the bread of the offering, lest there be condemnation of himself and insult to the spiritual festival. . . . If any one does attempt so to come, the priests and their fellows shall not let him in. For such intemperance is hateful to the church.

The above canons, while they make it clear that neither priests nor laity were to eat apart in their own homes before they came to the love-feast, leave us in some doubt as to what is meant by the bread of the offering. Was it the eucharist, at the close of the *agapê*? And does the phrase "the spiritual feast" refer to it alone or to the *agapê* as well? The phrase "lest there be condemnation of himself" must surely imply that "the bread of the offering" was the eucharist, yet this is not certain, for there is no reference to the cup. The word *patarag*, which I rendered "offering," is ambiguous, for it means indifferently either the animal victim or the eucharistic offering; and the phrase *matoutzanel patarag*, "to present the offering," is used no less often of the animal sacrifice than of the eucharist. Moreover the animals sacrificed were and still are called "dominical" or "appertaining to the Lord."

Certainly the most natural interpretation of Sahak's text is to refer the words in canon xvii, "the rite and the offering," to the slaying and eating of the animal along with gospel lections, and to interpret the bread of the offering as meaning the eucharist. John of Odsun (see below p. 72) describes the eucharist in contrast with the flesh eaten in the *agapê* as "the spiritual table."

A subsequent canon, vii of chap. 4, throws no light on this point. It merely distinguishes two sorts of *agapês*, one in which division is made, half of the hide going to the *wang*, along with two-thirds of the fat, which was used to make candles; and the other called an *agapê* of the priests entire, who then took of the sheep the pelt, tail and limb, all the fat and the ventricle. The priest, it would seem, need not admit to the latter *agapê* laymen, but must all sojourners in their own or their brethren's houses, and all are with much reverence to eat all the offerings in common. At these priests' *agapês* all who serve shall eat the *bread of the festival* which has passed into the common stock, and also the bread of the penitents, which in the period of quadragesima they make for the repose of the Sabbath or Lord's day.

There is some obscurity in the above, but the *bread of the festival* seems to refer to the eucharistic bread made for the particular feast,

possibly that of Easter, when the priests eat the paschal lamb by themselves.

The importance attached to the presence of the priests in these primitive *agapès* of the Armenian church in itself implies that they ended after the primitive fashion with a celebration of the eucharist.

We need not be surprised at the union in the Armenian church of the fourth or fifth century of *agapè* and eucharist. The two institutions were, it is true, separated inside the Roman Empire as early as 150 A. D., within the great or official church. But the old custom lingered on in places. Not only was it still usual in Alexandria and Egypt in the time of Basil⁴ for the eucharist to be celebrated by a layman in his own home, but nearly as late as 500, Socrates (H. E. v. 22) testifies that the native Egyptian church around Alexandria and in the Thebaid prepared and partook of the eucharist at eventide after a feast in which all sorts of victuals were consumed. In the Arabic canons of Hippolytus, Nos. 164 to 167, an *agapè* is described very similar to the Armenian:

If an agapè takes place or a supper is prepared by someone for the poor on Sunday, at the time of the lighting of the lamp, let the deacon get up (from table) to light it. But the bishop shall pray over them and over him who has invited them. And for the poor is essential the εὐχαριστία which is at the beginning of the mass.

This canon must be interpreted in the light of the passage of Socrates just cited. An *agapè* for the dead is provided for in the same canon, No. clxix:

If there is a commemoration for those who are dead, let them take the sacrament first, before they sit down, not however on the first day of the week.

In both cases the primitive order of eucharist *after agapè* is inverted.

Sahak's canon xvii of chap. 2 perhaps implies that the reading of the gospel intervened between the service or rite of the sacrificial *agapè* and the offering of the eucharist. The lection read must have been Matt. 26: 26-29, and analogous passages from the other two gospels. In the early eighth century in the official Armenian church, the eucharist was already separated, although there was perhaps a conservative party that still maintained the old usage on the ground that Christ did so. Combating this party the patriarch John of Odsun, about 718 A. D., writes thus:

⁴Basil, *Epist.* 93 (iii, 1871). About 350 A. D.

O wiseacres, if we are to exactly imitate all that was done by Christ, then we must be baptised at thirty years of age, and rise again the third day and ascend into heaven on the fortieth day. For so it was Christ's good will to do. Moreover we must communicate in the sacrament after supper at eventide, since our Lord laid the foundation for his own new covenant at the very time wherein he completed and sealed the old. But *nowadays* we interpose several hours between the fleshly and the spiritual table.

In an Armenian manuscript in the Paris library (Fonds Arm. Suppl. 32, fol. 123vo) is preserved a very beautiful evening prayer for use at Dominical feasts, in which an evening eucharist is certainly implied and probably an *agapê* as well. Thus we read in it these words:

We pray of our Lord, Jesus Christ, that as he illuminated at night with the rays of the divine light the shepherds with their flocks, so he may illumine us also in this night, both his reasonable flock, and the shepherd of his people. May he accept the oblation of our words and the offertory of our sacrifices, which we offer up by night . . .

And lower down:—

Accept the prayers of thy servants met together in thy holy and glorious name, and graciously look in thy pity on the oblations and offering of sacrifices which we present unto thy majesty that lacketh naught.

The last words leave no doubt that an *agapê* and not the mere eucharist is contemplated in the prayer. It is curious that this prayer is attributed in the title to the very John Catholicos whose authority we just now cited against an evening eucharist. It must be older than his age, or else have been composed by him before he became patriarch in 718 A. D.

Of the existence of this old-fashioned usage in the Armenian church we have evidence also in the Greek controversialists as late as the twelfth century. A renegade Armenian patriarch of the name of Isaac has left us a summary of their main tenets evidently taken from their own lips, and certainly going back beyond his own age, since it comes in earlier sources. It is printed in Combesius's *Historia Monothelitarum* (Paris, 1648, col. 347), and begins thus: "Christ was thirty years of age when he was baptised. Therefore will we baptise no one, until he is thirty years of age."

It may be observed that the adherents of this tenet were still so numerous in the Greek church towards the end of the fourth century that Gregory Nazianzen specially directs his fortieth oration "On Baptism" against them.

After several precepts, very radical because wholly based on the New Testament, we read in this document the following:

Christ has not handed down to us the teaching that we must celebrate the sacrament of the bread in church, but in an ordinary house and sitting at a common table. Therefore let us not sacrifice the offering of bread in churches, nor standing.

This canon, therefore, like those of Sahak catholicos, mentions only the bread and not the cup as well of the sacrament. It is a phrase of archaic ring, for Paul also commonly speaks of the sacrament of the primitive church as the "breaking of bread." And in Acts 2:42; 20:7, 11 and Luke 24:35 the sacramental meal seems to be referred to in the same manner. It was particularly the one loaf which symbolized the unity of the faithful, and the more important element in the rite stood for the whole. The bread specially symbolized Christ's body.

The next canon in the document we speak of runs as follows. Note that it also does not specially mention the cup:

It was after supper, when his disciples were sated, that Christ gave them to eat of his own body. Therefore let us first eat meats and be sated, and then let us partake of the mysteries.

In the Vatican codex No. 1101, this canon runs thus: "It was after supper, when his disciples were *already* sated with the Jewish sacrifice, that Christ," etc.

Whether this be the original reading or not, it very aptly expresses the thought that underlies the Armenian *agapè*. First, the meal of sacrificial flesh killed and eaten in strict accord with the Levitical precepts; then the Christian sacrament to complete it. So Christ's baptism with the spirit immediately follows and completes—according to the early Syrian⁷ and Armenian fathers—the Johannine baptism with water.

In this connection it is interesting to notice that the Basilian liturgy of the eucharist which was used in the Armenian church in the fifth and sixth centuries has this reading in the narrative of the Institution:

Likewise also the cup, *after supper*, of the fruit of the vine he took, mixt, blessed, gave thanks, gave to his elect disciples and apostles.⁸

⁶ The words "nor standing" are missing in Combesius's text. I add them from Cod. Vatic., graec. C. 1101, f. 259.

⁷ See for example Aphraates, *Demonstr.* xii, ch. 10.

⁸ See Dashean, *Sacramentaries of Armenia*, Vienna, 1897 (in Armenian), p. 138.

The liturgy of the Syrian Jacobites makes the same addition : "and likewise also the cup *after he had supped.*"⁹

In the old eighth century Greek text of Basil's liturgy the words italicised, although of course drawn from the New Testament, have vanished. Yet the same feature survives, and in a truer position, in the "Byzantine Liturgy before the Eighth Century,"¹⁰ as reconstructed from the fathers by Mr. Brightman :

In mystic wise then he sacrificed himself, when, with his own hands *after the supper* he took bread, blessed, shewed it forth and broke it, having mingled himself with the symbol. Likewise also the cup of the fruit of the vine he mixt, etc.

Here the words "after supper," come in connection with the first of the elements to be blessed, so as to clearly refer to the paschal supper which has gone before. In the other forms it comes with the second element blessed, with the wine, because, in some old texts of the New Testament followed by those who first composed these liturgies the cup is mentioned first. It was then transposed with the bread in the course of the development of the liturgical texts.

It is obvious that there was much point in retaining this reference to the preceding supper of sacrificial flesh in religious communions which, like the old Armenian, retained that supper, as a preliminary to the eucharist.

The canon books of the Armenians often refer to the sacrifice of animals. Thus in the apocryphal canons of St. Thaddeus, "which he made when he baptised the citizens of Edessa," we have the following :

12. . . . The apostle said : When the bishop sets up the altar (*i. e.*, in a newly built church) it is proper on the same day to slay victims, bulls and rams and sheep ; as Solomon did when he built his temple, and set up the altar ; and it was pleasing to God, and the Lord snuffed up the sweet smell.

These canons of Thaddeus or Addai are a compilation made perhaps as late as 700 A. D., from the Armenian version of the Syriac teaching of the apostles, which is in turn a forgery of about 380 A. D.

The so-called canons of St. Philip are of similar origin, but of earlier date. They are only eight in number, and Nos. 2 to 5 concern animal sacrifice. They are as follows :

2. That it is not right to barter a dog for a sheep and then offer the sheep in sacrifice. Canon : If a dog be bartered against a sheep, let not the sheep be sacrificed, for it is the price of a dog.

⁹ See Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 87. ¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 529, from St. Eutychius.

3. An ass bartered against a sheep and sold for silver shall be sacrificed. Canon : An ass, if he be bartered against a sheep or against silver, shall be sacrificed (the sheep) ; for it was hallowed by the Lord sitting upon it. But it shall not itself be eaten.

The word bracketed is an intrusion. This canon proves that a donkey might be presented in sacrifice, yet not eaten ; so answering to the *holokautōma* or whole-burnt offering of the Jews. With such a sacrifice the idea of alms-giving could not be associated. It was wholly a gratification of the Deity.

4. About not slaying (as a victim) unclean animals and taking their pelt. Canon : [But they who slay (as victim) it (the ass) and sell its coat, shall be excluded from the church.] And all who shall slay (as victims) the unclean among wild animals and brutes, and sell their coats to the heathen and eat the money, it is as if one should eat a dog. Let them be excluded from church, for the custom is a heathen one.

The words in square brackets must be an intrusion, and in any case belong not to this, but to the preceding canon ; of which, however, they do not contradict the sense, for the word, translated "slay," has a ritual sense, and does not mean to kill in general, but to slay as a sacrificial victim. For the ass might be offered as a sacrifice or *patarag*, but not eaten in a sacrificial meal.

5. About those who hunt clean (*or* holy) animals, and eat them without (ritual) slaying of them, and snatch the pelt of the carcass. Canon : Hunters who have snared pure animals, and having wounded them, have eaten them without (ritual) slaying, shall be excluded from church. But also, if they shall have flayed them, or merely touched their dead bodies. For this is a vice of heathen madness.

What exactly was the heathen custom referred to we cannot tell. But it is clear that in Christian Armenia a "pure" animal, fit for sacrifice at the church door, could not without scandal be killed except in due ritual form, *i. e.*, not by strangulation, but with the holy knife of the priest. The directions about the hide in these canons are intended also to secure his perquisites to the priest. Other canons, less ambitiously ascribed to St. Basil of Cæsarea, enact that no animals taken in the chase, or by violence, are fit for sacrificial use. The more important of these will be cited later on.

Let us now turn to the various rites themselves. These were the rite of :

1. The Paschal lamb. The rite is entitled in the manuscripts : The canon of blessing the lamb of the tabernacle (*or* booths) of Zatik

(i. e., Easter). It is a simple rite, a single psalm being sung, No. 65, vs. 14 to the end, followed by a prayer :

Lord of feasts and God of all vows, who ever replenishest with thy blessings them that fear thee, accept the lamb of sacrifice which we offer up to thee. Increase and multiply the household of thy servant, as thou didst that of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Let this sacrifice be for thee a reconciling like the sacrifice of Abel. And at all times do we offer unto thee a sacrifice that is favorable and reasonable. And to thee may we give praise and glory, to Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever more. Amen.

Perhaps because the Paschal lamb may be killed and eaten in a private household as well as in church, the above rite is not found in the oldest codices of the Armenian Encologion, which only contains rites celebrated in church. The patriarch Nerses (died 1175)¹¹ has left a description of the feast as it was celebrated in his day on Easter Sunday.

The priest shall bless the salt with Christ's cross, reciting over it the appointed psalm and prayers ; and shall give it to the animal to eat, that, as it is written, it may be purified by the words of God and by prayer. For, although it is pure by nature, yet when it is to be offered to God, it must be made still purer. They shall cut the throat of the lamb wherever it suits best to do so.

Nerses then proceeds to condemn the popular practice of collecting the blood of the lamb and eating it, on the ground that to do so is as bad as to eat the flesh of an animal that died by strangling. For God said to Noe : Ye shall not eat the flesh along with the blood. His words demonstrate that orthodox Armenians only ate *Kosher* meat, as prescribed by the first Christian council of Jerusalem. The precept of the New Testament on this point is somewhat arbitrarily set aside by modern Christians. The Armenians took it seriously. Nerses also condemns the custom of smearing the lintels with the blood of the lamb ; but in spite of his exhortations this practice still goes on in Armenia, not only at the sacrifice of the Easter lamb, but on all occasions of animal sacrifice. The church walls are also smeared with it, and Greek writers record that even a cross was not holy among the Armenians, till it had been dipped in the blood of a *matal* or animal victim.¹²

¹¹ *Opera Latine*, Venice, 1833, vol. I, p. 49.

¹² Combefisius, in his notes on *Constit. Apostol.*, lib. II, chap. 24, cites a document "About the Impious Cult of the Armenians" ascribed to St. Nikon (1059-67) from the Paris MS., 1818, as follows : ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ νομικὰ σχεδὸν πάντα, ἃ κατηγορήθησαν, εἰσέτι τελοῦσι. θύουσι γὰρ τὸν ἀμνὸν τῇ μεγάλῃ Κυριακῇ, καὶ τὰς φλιάς χρίουσι, καὶ τὰ

The lamb, continues Nerses, is to be roasted, and his due portion given to the priest as an oblation to God. The rest might be eaten before or after other food as they chose, without offense. We infer that it was still a popular custom in Armenia, as elsewhere, to eat the lamb fasting, and follow it up with the eucharist. In ecclesiastical history we can usually learn better what was the old religious custom from the prohibitions of a prelate than from the positive directions laid down by him.

The other sacrificial rites occupy much room in an Armenian Enchologion. In the oldest codex I know of, one of the ninth century in Venice, the first in order is :

2. The canon of blessing a dominical sacrifice. This was a victim vowed to God, as an offering for sin or release from sickness. The animal, so the rubric directs, shall be brought to the church door, and in front of the cross. They lay scarlet and cotton wool on the victim, and cover it with a red garment. But the victim must be without blemish and a yearling, in order to be acceptable to God.

This is, I think, the meaning of the rubric of this manuscript, as of most others which I have consulted. Such directions were, however, already disapproved of by Nerses in the twelfth century, and he forbade his priests to follow "the injunctions placed by ignorant priests in the rubrics, namely, to dress up the animals in red garments, and entwine their horns with fillets, according to the old law." It is evident that he shrank from the criticism of the Byzantine Greeks, who constantly cast in the teeth of the Armenians their "Jewish" blood-offerings.

Over the animal thus arrayed are to be sung Psalms 31, 33, 50. The deacon then cries : Let us pray in faith and concord, etc. Then after giving of praise, begins the canon proper, viz. : Psalm 19, vss. 3 ff.

There follow these lections : Lev., chap. 1 ; 2 Kings 6 : 7-19 ; Isaiah 56 : 6-7 ; Peter (*sic*) Cath. Ep. (=Hebrews) 13 : 10-16 ; Luke 14 :

ὁστὰ τοῦτου καίοντες, τηροῦσι τὸν χοῦν μετὰ τοῦ αἵματος εἰς τύπον καθαρσίου . . . καὶ μὲν τοὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν θυσίας προβάτων καὶ βοῶν ποιοῦσι· καὶ οὐκ ἄλλως ἡγούνται σωθῆσθαι τὸν τεθνεῶτα εἰ μὴ ἐν τοῖς τρίτοις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἐννῆτοις, καὶ τεσσαρακῶτοις αἱ τοιαῦται θυσίαι ἐπιτελεσθῶσι. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ τυθῆναι τὰ τοιαῦτα θύματα, ὅλας ἐπευλογοῦντες, εἰς τροφήν αὐτοῖς διδῶσι· καὶ μὲν τοὶ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς αὐτῶν, εὐχὰς τινας ἐπιλέγουσι, καὶ οὕτως σφάζουσιν. ὀνοματίζουσι δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας θυσίας Ματάλια. This writer, whether he was Nikon or not, knew what he was writing about. The victims were slain at the grave, and the Armenian Enchologia provide prayers for recitation at the tomb. In these it asked that God will keep the graves sealed and shut, so that evil demons may not come near and molest the dead. The original purport of such rites was, of course, to check *revenants*.

12-15. It may be observed of these lections that they contain the gist of all that the Bible has to say, both in favor of and against animal sacrifice. Having, as it were, weighed the *pros* and *cons*, the priest then begins the rite itself with a long prayer, in which he beseeches God to accept the sacrifice promised, and now offered, and to regard it with the same favor with which he erewhile regarded the holy offertories of the forefathers of the Armenian church, whom he rescued and freed from the false and vain and polluting sacrifices of pagan madness. The prayer recites how by God's command Moses instituted sacrifice of victims selected from the flocks and herds before the door of the tabernacle of witness, and how the priest and Levite laid his hand upon their heads, and shed their blood on God's holy altar. But all this, so the prayer continues, was but a shadow of things to come. God, through his prophets, cried: "I accept not the fat of your bulls, but tender the sacrifice of praise to God, and with willing heart offer to God a bloodless sacrifice," etc. After this disclaimer, the prayer continues:

Incline, O Lord, to our offering, and accept it from our hands, as thou didst the holocaust of rams and bulls, and of countless fat lambs. Grant our petitions, that we be not the scorn of our enemies, but may rejoice in thy salvation, etc.

3. In the oldest codex there follows the Blessing of the Salt. This rite consists of Psalm 66: "O God, have mercy on us," and a short prayer beseeching the Lord in his mercy "to bless this salt, to the end that all things with which it may be mingled shall be for us unto holiness of expiation and for remission of sins."

4. There follows: The Canon of Winning Repose of Souls or Commemoration of the Dead.

First they sing the psalm: Blessed is he whose sins are forgiven; then Psalms 36, 37, 40; then a prayer beginning: We fall down before thee, kindly and merciful God, and ask for pity of Thee with all our hearts, even as Thou didst promise to Thy servants. . . . Then follow these lections: Proverbs 3:9-12; Acts 14:14-18; 1 Peter 4:6, 7; Luke 19:1-10.

Then the priest offers a long prayer, in which we read this:

Accept in thy pity this sacrifice, which we offer, who believe in thee, as a commemoration of those who are fallen asleep in thy name. For thou art our God, who didst establish in our hearts the hope of resurrection as the reward of good to all those who shall have faith in the advent of thine only-born.

The repose of the dead and the welfare of those who assist at this feast are prayed for. It is instructive to note that in the twelfth century it was still the popular belief in Armenia that the eucharist was of little or no avail for the dead, unless accompanied by the slaying of animal victims. Nerses sternly condemns such a belief in a description of the rite which must be quoted:

Let the rite of immolation, in case anyone desire to perform it in memory of the fallen asleep in Christ be thus conducted. Let the priests, be they one or more, meet at the door of the church along with the master of the oblation (*i. e.*, the layman who presents the sacrifice). And let them lay salt before the holy cross, and duly recite the written psalms and offices, and read through the lections and prayers with much reverence, and with devout heart mention the name of him that sleepeth, and beseech the Lord to forgive him his sins. Then shall they hold out the salt to the animal, immolate it and give the statutory parts to the priest. With what is left, however, they shall first feed the hungry and needy, and then, if aught remain, their friends and relations. And, except on the first day of the week, they shall not keep any part of it as food for their household on the following days, because it has been offered to God. Let no one, however, foolishly say that without immolation of a victim, the sacrifice of Christ is of no avail for the deceased; for it is the greatest impiety to propound that opinion. The sacrifices of animals have, in fact, no more utility in gaining favor for the living or the dead, than the giving of alms.

The salt, Nerses informs us in the sequel, "permeates the victim's body, and purifies it from the later curse, so that it receives the primeval blessing, and becomes meet to be offered to God."

5. In the same codex follows another rite of similar import with the last entitled: "Blessing of a dominical table and of the sacrifice." In the prayer God is asked "to accept and bless the vow of this sacrifice, as he did that of Abel, of Noe and of Abraham, and to remember the souls of the departed along with the saints in His Glory."

In some manuscripts, but seldom in very old ones, we find a rite of sacrificing fowls, both chickens and doves. The rite must be an old one, for in the canons of Basil¹³ we read as follows:

Of animals caught in the chase, let no one presume to choose a *Matal* (or victim), but only the dove and other birds.

The reference must be to birds caught by the hawker. The next two canons of Basil, already referred to, may be quoted here:

Of the same:—Let no one presume to make a *Matal* of an animal surprised and strangled in a noose.

¹³Cited in Bodly Marsh, *MS. Arm.*, 467.

Of the same:—A man shall offer the very animal that he has vowed to the Lord. But if it inopportunately fall into a trap, he shall give it salt and distribute it among the poor.

In the very ancient Armenian document which enumerates the various rites of that church and names their authors, the rites of offering dominical victims and of the blessing of the salt is attributed to St. Justus, the fourth bishop of Jerusalem in succession to St. James. On what this very old tradition rested, we cannot now ascertain, but it indicates that the early Armenian fathers regarded these rites as of Judæo-Christian origin. They were incessantly reviled by the Greeks for their "Jewish sacrifices."

These Armenians, enemies of God, writes the renegade Isaac Catholikos,⁴⁴ have revived and renewed the Jewish sacrifices, and they sacrifice bulls and sheep and lambs, hoping thereby to obtain remission of their sins. They fix their hopes on these victims and think they are hallowed by partaking of them. It is in such sacrifices as these, and not in the body and blood of Christ that they make their boast. How are they not openly Jews and enemies of Christ? . . . They have afresh ceased to have hope in the light of Christ's body, and fix it on the shadow of the law. They openly deny our redemption through Christ.

And in the next chapter (col. 356) the same author declares that the Armenians

Regarded even the emblem of the cross as incomplete and unavailing in itself. They therefore had found a way of hallowing it, namely by Jewish sacrifices, as if it were unclean, and till they had so hallowed it they refused to adore it . . . They used first the cross to hallow their victims and then their victims to hallow the cross.

All the time that the Byzantines were thus reviling the Armenians, the incriminated rites found a place in their own Euchologia, and continued to be copied. While we are grateful to them for preserving so interesting a phase of the religion, we yet cannot acquit them of the charge of perfidy towards the Armenians.

In the Barberini collection at Rome is an uncially written Euchologion of the eighth century, which was laid on the table at the council of Florence by the Greek delegates as an authoritative exposition of their occasional rites. On p. 449 in this codex as also in two of the most ancient Euchologia of the monastery of Grotto Ferrata, we find a "prayer for the sacrifice of bulls," in which we read the following:

O thou who in place of thy beloved Isaak didst accept the ram from the

⁴⁴ See *Invectiva in Armenios* in Combesis's *Hist. Monothel.* col. 352.

patriarch Adam, and didst accept and wast well pleased with the widow's offering laid before thee.¹⁵ Thou hast also commanded us thy sinful and unworthy servants to offer sacrifices of irrational animals and birds in behalf of our souls; do thou, Lord, king that lovest mankind, accept the offering of these thy servants laid before thee¹⁵ in commemoration of this thy holy one, and deign to lay it up in thy heavenly treasures; bestowing on them plenteously enjoyment of the goods of this world of thine along with all things that are to their interest. Fill full their granaries with fruit, corn, and wine and oil, and make their souls worthy to be full of faith and righteousness. Multiply their beasts and flocks. (For him) in whose behalf they bring to thee as ransom and in requital this animal, for sacrifice, let its fat be as an acceptable fragrancy before thy holy glory, and the shedding of its blood bread of the richness of pity.¹⁶ Let the offering of its flesh be a healing of bodily sufferings. For not idly is this our task performed, but in commemoration of thy holy sufferings.

The same codex on p. 462 has a "prayer of the lamb" of similar tendency with the above but much shorter. This is also found in a Grotto Ferrata Euchologion F. B. 10 and in the Bodleian cod. Gr. Auct. E. 5. 13. Another Grotto Ferrata codex, Δ.VI.7, contains a prayer for the sacrifice of bulls and horses and other animals. The codex T. B. 10 also contains another prayer "for the blessing of the lamb and meats of the Pascha," in which the fatted calf slain in honor of the return of the prodigal son is represented as a sacrifice offered by command of his father. In the same spirit, as we saw above, John Mandakuni represents the feast in Luke 14:13 as a sacrificial feast given by a householder to the poor in expiation of his own sins.

In the Iberian or Georgian church of the Caucasus, which, ever since the middle of the sixth century, when it split off from the Armenian, has been in communion with Byzantium, the custom of sacrificing animals has ever been in vogue no less than in the Armenian. In Georgia also, so I have heard, as in Armenia, it is a pious duty to set up a huge block of stone in front of the church door, apparently as an altar. In Armenia the Christian church is the recognized and only possible place of sacrifice in a district, and even the Mahomedans, when they wish to keep a vow made in sickness or distress, bring their animal to the Christian priest for him to sacrifice in the narthex of his church.

¹⁵ κατὰ πρόθεσιν.

¹⁶ ὑπὲρ οὗ προσφέρουσιν σοι τὸ ἀντίλυτρον τοῦ ἀντικαταλλάγματος ζωῶν τούτου, θυσία γενέσθω στέαρ αὐτοῦ ὡς θυμίαμα δεκτόν, ἐνώπιον τῆς ἀγίας, δόξης σου· ἡ δὲ χύσις τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ ἄριστος πόσιτος ἐλέους. ἡ δὲ τῶν κρεῶν αὐτοῦ σωματικῶν παθημάτων ἰαμα.

In east Syria the rite of animal sacrifice has no more died out than in these countries. Archdeacon McLean in his account of his missionary labors among the Nestorians of Urumiah alludes to one church, where he heard that as many as two hundred sheep are sacrificed in a single year. In answer to my enquiries on the subject one of the clergymen who is laboring among them—not in order to convert them from their ancient faith, but in order to instruct and solace them in their lives of hardship and persecution—has sent me a letter full of interesting particulars, from which I venture to cite the following paragraphs:

"SACRIFICE" OF ANIMALS.

I have not a copy of "*The Catholicos of the East*" here, but I suppose the church alluded to as a place where two hundred sheep per annum are sacrificed, must be Mar Sergis, near Sfr. Mussulmans as well as Syrians bring offerings there—handkerchiefs, sheep, etc. In the Turkish mountains there is not, as far as I can hear, any special church where "sacrifices" are offered. Even at the great churches, such as Mar Giwrigis of Liwan, Mar Zay'a of Jflu, Mar Sawa of Tyari, and Rabban Pithyun of Tkhuma, where people assemble in great numbers for their festivals, or which they visit in fulfilment of a vow, it is unusual to have "sacrifices" of animals. Of course, great provision of meat and other food is made for the visitors at festivals, partly by the (churchwarden) Sirdir, who is enjoying the usufruct of the church lands, etc.; partly by some persons, who either by the custom of their family, or in fulfilment of a vow, contribute a sheep, or corn, or dairy produce; but there is no sacrifice or killing of the animals ceremoniously before the church door, except in rare instances, which I will speak of presently.

If a person visits, for instance, the church of St. John at Shmuninis, in hopes of his rheumatism being cured, he will of course take a present of incense, or wax tapers, or a hanging for the church; and he might give a sheep to a church which has sheep, or he might "sacrifice" a sheep by way of alms to the poor.¹⁷

At Mar Audishu in Tal, there is a hole through the wall through which, either on the festival, or on any day, a man or woman will creep. Some of them (they creep one by one) are "held" by the Saint, and cannot move backwards or forwards, whereupon they promise sums of money (rarely), or a mule, or a sheep, and so on, till the Saint, often passing by expensive objects and accepting a poorer offering, lets them go. This "holding" is a sign that their petition is accepted, and that a child will be born to them.

Other churches shew *℣* in various ways on people who treat them with contempt. For instance, I was nearly thrown from my mule and only saved by its owner holding me up, my hat fell off and my stethoscope was chipped,

¹⁷I am only *narrator*, not defender, nor explainer, nor attacker.

as soon as we came in sight of this Mar Audishu; whereupon a priest who was walking with me apologized for not having warned me to dismount, as all must walk while opposite that church. The Church of Beth Khanya (pr. Khanya) in Gundiktha, and some others are fatal to false swearers. They shew ~~us~~ by killing or wounding within forty days the litigant who has sworn to what is untrue, or his family, or his sheep, etc., according to the formula of imprecation.¹⁸

But none of these or similar things are related to sacrifices.

At any church a man may make an offering. A man's son is ill, and he promises to such and such a church a curtain, or a sheep, etc., if his son gets well. Here in Qudshanis at any rate, two sheep were given as a "sacrifice" to beg the driving away of the locusts. This was preceded by three days' fasting from all but vegetable food, and absolute fasting till midday, and by a celebration of the Holy Communion. But I do not think that anybody—perhaps there are some—thinks of the sheep as a "sacrifice," but as an alms done to the poor to please God, for all almsgiving is looked upon here, as in the New Testament, as a cause for which God will be favorable to the giver. The sheep are slain before the church because the alms deed is a solemn act done before God. So on certain known days the House of Mar Shimun, and on one or two days certain families, distribute at the church door, to the communicants as they come out, bread and meat, bread and *martukha*, or in the fast, dry bread; and on some of those days the rest of the sheep, etc., are eaten by all comers in the Patriarch's house. I am assured that these are all instances of the carrying out of vows to give alms, whether made years ago, or *pro hac vice*, and that there is no idea of supplementing the sacrifice of Calvary, or of the altar, whichever one may please to call it. I must say that it appears to me that all are made sharers in the almsgiving, or in the petition, or the thanksgiving, of the donor of the sheep, or of the *martukha* (flour and *mishkha* boiled together), because portions are given and even sent to all the communicants, or to all the houses.

I think I have heard the word sacrifice (ܩܪܒܢ) used here of this offering of the sheep. But I am told that it is not used here by people speaking in their ordinary way, and certainly the usual word is "vow" (ܩܒܠܐ) and the verb is "promised" (ܩܒܠܐ). It may be that the person who spoke to me of (ܩܒܠܐ) was condescending to my ignorance of Syriac and used an Urmi expression.

Petros says that if you ask a man if he calls them offerings (ܩܒܠܐ) he will (if he has heard the word) probably say "yes," as he would if you had asked if they were ܩܒܠܐ, just as you can make a child say he loves his father best, or his mother, as you please to put it to him.

In some places, when there is a celebration of the Holy Communion on

¹⁸ At the expiration of the term, the now justified man will be formally declared free by the priest, and will make an offering to the church of two and one-half piastres.

behalf of a dead person, sheep are also killed and their meat distributed. In such a case a priest prays over the sheep, which are then killed by a deacon. (See our edition of the *Anidha*, p. 10.)

On Easter Monday a man promises something, in order that the soul of the deceased may plead at the eucharist for the repose, etc., of the soul of the deceased whom the man has in his mind, that the merciful promise made to the repentant thief may avail for him. Then a deacon (or someone on the deacon's back, that lay feet touch not the holy ground) enters the sanctuary, paying the thief, and the departed friend, as received into Paradise.

The parent of the first of several children at a baptism (*ḥarḥar*) gives a few shillings, a sheep, etc., to the church.

Another form of vow is the vow to go yourself, or to send your son, to take your baby, to a certain church. At the time of fulfilling the promise the donor will kill and distribute sheep to the poor and the communicants, give bread for them, or give a robe, handkerchief, or bracelet to the church.

These offerings of what can be eaten seem to be not only alms, but also a love-feast, or a fellowship.

I add the following from an article on the Tyari contribution by F. N. H. to No. 48 (July, 1902) of the *Assyrian Mission Quarterly Paper*, published by the Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrian Christians:

There is in the valley a well-known spring, which for some reason or other, is gradually drying up. It was agreed, something must be done to remedy this. On a certain day at the beginning of the year, large numbers of people went up to this spring and there offered an animal sacrifice. Then they gathered round the slain victim and feasted on it, bringing their feast bread and wine, and rice, and other kinds of food. This thing was done as a religious act. It is quite true to say that the thought of this people in distress, or public calamity, is of God. And this is very good; but see how they approach God—with the sacrifice of animals, and with this they hope to conciliate God, or as they express it, "to bring God smiling from them."

Turning to the Western world we detect everywhere the same custom during centuries of animal sacrifices, especially at the Paschal festival. In the Greek Christendom the Paschal lamb is killed and eaten with great ceremony and regularity as in Armenia. And Nerses Shnorhali, whom we have quoted so much, asserts¹⁹ that Gregory the Illuminator did not of his own initiative institute the custom of sacrificing the paschal lamb, but took it from the Roman church, and handed it down to the Armenians, just as it was performed all over the West of Europe. For in Europe, Nerses says, it is more regarded than

¹⁹ *Z. C.*, p. 46.

us. For the lamb is roasted, and placed under the altar on the day of Pascha at the time of the Mass, and after communicating in the sacrament, the priests divide the lamb and give each his portion, and they eat it inside the church before taking any profane food.

Here Nerses asserts that in Europe they eat the lamb after the eucharist; but three hundred years or more earlier we know from Walafrid Strabo (*ca.*, 850 A. D.) that in a more primitive fashion still went on, though under condemnation, of eating the lamb before and not after the eucharist. Walafrid's own opinion of course was, "that the simple offering of bread and wine suffices for the faithful instead of different rites of sacrifice," but he notes that the old sacrifices continued, in these words:

Unde quorundam simplicium error de Judaicarum superstitionum seminario natus, et ad nostra usque tempora quaedam uetustatis extendens vestigia, iam ex magna parte sapientium studio compressus est. Et sicubi adhuc perniciosum hujus pestis germen reuirescere fuerit comprobatum, mucrone spiritali, radicitus est amputandum: illum dico errorem quo quidam agni carnes in pascha, iuxta uel sub altari eas ponentes, benedictione propria consecrabant et in ipsa resurrectionis die ante ceteros corporales cibos de ipsis carnibus percipiebant. Cuius benedictionis series adhuc a multis habetur. Quod quam sit supernacuum et a sacramentis Christianae perfectionis abhorrens, facile perspicit qui ueraciter intelligit quod *Pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus* (1 Cor. v.) et uult epulari non in fermento veteri, sed in azymis sinceritatis et ueritatis (*ibid.*)

The phrase in the above, that they eat the lamb before partaking of other corporeal food is perhaps unfairly pressed, if we take it to mean that the lamb preceded the Eucharist. It probably did so, for the next section in Walafrid is entitled:

Non ab aliis quam a ieiunis communicandum.

In this we read:

Hoc quoque memorandum uidetur quod ipsa Sacramenta interdum ieiuni, interdum pransi percepisse leguntur, ut legitur in canonibus concilii Africani, capitulo octauo, his uerbis: "ut sacramenta altaris non nisi a ieiunis hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die anniversario quo coena Domini celebratur" et reliqua. Isti quidem eo die post prandium communicandum esse censebant, quia Dominus post legalis paschae coenam, Noui Testamenti sacramenta legitur discipulis tradidisse.²⁰

I append an English version of the passages cited from Walafrid:

Thus there sprang up out of the seed-plot of Judaic superstitions the error of certain simple-minded people, which has led to the continuance up to our

²⁰ *De Rebus Ecclesiasticis, capita* 18, 19. Migne *P. L.*, 114 cols. 938-939.

own days of certain vestiges of the old time, and has now to a great extent been put down by the zeal of the better instructed. And the time has come for this mischievous and pestilential plant to be cut down at the very root with the spiritual sword, wherever it can be proved to be springing up. I allude to the form of error according to which certain persons were wont at Easter to consecrate with special rites of benediction the lamb's flesh, and use it beside or under the altar, and used to partake of the flesh itself on the day of the resurrection before any other food passed their lips. This custom of benediction is still kept up by many. How superfluous it is, and how opposed to the sacraments of Christian perfection, is easily perceived by any one who truly realizes that *Christ our Passover has been slain*, and therefore desires to feast not off the old leaven, but off the azymes of truth. . . .

That only the fasting shall communicate :—

Of this precept we must take note, because we read about the sacraments that people took them sometimes fasting, sometimes after supper. This is read in the canons of the African council, chap. viii, as follows : "The sacraments of the altar shall be celebrated by persons fasting and by none else, with the exception of the single day, which is the anniversary of the institution of the Lord's Supper," etc. Those who framed this canon were of opinion that on that day communion was to be after the repast, and not before the Lord, so we read, delivered to his disciples the sacraments of the New Testament after the supper of the legal passover.

Nor was it only the Paschal offering that survived. Of the religious customs those connected with death are the longest lived. Therefore we are not astonished to read in Augustine's *Confessions* how his mother, St. Monica, pinned her faith to offerings of food for the dead, and it needed all the influence of her loved Ammonius of Milan to make her discontinue her African practice of going round the shrines of the martyrs with her porringer full of porridge mixed with bread and wine." However, these humble parentalia involve the killing of victims. In the Greek church the same custom prevailed, and the name of the *Κάλυβοι Κοιμηθέντων*, a prayer for the consecration of the dead, which is given in Goar, *Rituale Græcorum* (Ed. 1647, p. 66). In Armenia saucer-like excavations are regularly made at the corner of the tombstone for the reception of meats and drinks for the dead, and with whom it is also the habit in Armenia to bury their most valued books, especially copies of the gospel, in Georgia their jewels, and if they be ladies. According to the Wisdom of Ahikar it was better to pour out your wine over the tombs of the saints than to drink in the company of fools.

²² Augustine, *Confessionum* vi., 2, 11.

Walafrid Strabo, in the work already alluded to, reminds us (chap. 18) that "in the first ages of the church there were some who were accustomed to offer other kinds of oblations" than the mere eucharistic elements. This, he says, is clear from the canons, especially from those of the Apostles, in the third chapter of which is written as follows :

If any bishop or presbyter against the ordinance of the Lord offer on the altar in sacrifice certain other things, such as either honey or milk or instead of wine fermented liquor (*pro vino siceram*), and certain prepared meats, either birds or other animals or vegetables, he contravenes the ordinances of the Lord and shall be deposed for a suitable time.

And in the fourth canon :

It shall not be allowed to offer anything at the altar except new blades of corn, and grapes, and oil for the lamps, and incense at the time when the holy oblation is being celebrated.

As, therefore (concludes Walafrid), certain things are forbidden to be offered, it is clear from the above that these things were used as oblations by some, although irregularly.

Among the letters of Pope Gregory the Great is one (*lib. XI, ep. 76*) written early in the seventh century to Mellitus, Bishop of London, full of wise directions as to the best way of converting our forefathers to the new religion. This pope had begun by advising King Ethelbert to destroy the pagan temples, but had made the discovery that such fanaticism did not advance the cause of Christianity. Accordingly in this letter he counsels Mellitus only to destroy the idols, but not not the *fana idolorum*. These fanes are simply to be sprinkled with consecrated water, altars are to be set up in them, and relics deposited in them.

If the fanes are well built, they must be changed from being places of the cult of demons to places of worship of the true God. In this way the people themselves will see that their fanes are not destroyed, and will dismiss from their hearts their error, and coming to know and adore the true God will flock more familiarly to places to which they were accustomed to go.

(Then Gregory continues): And as they are accustomed to slay in sacrifice to the demons a great many oxen, you must take up this custom also and make up for them out of it some new ceremony. For instance, on the day of dedication or on the birthdays of the holy martyrs whose relics are laid in these places, the people must make their booths of branches of trees around the fanes which are now altered into churches, and celebrate the festival with religious banquets. But they must not any more immolate the animals to the devil, but in praise of God shall they kill them and with a view to eat-

ing them themselves. And they shall, when they have eaten and are full, tender their thanks to the Giver of all things. In this way their gaudies (*gaudia*) will be left to them so far as externals go, and at the same time they will be able to better appreciate the joys that are of the inner man (*interiora gaudia*). For with such obstinate people you cannot cut off old habits all at once. That is certain. A man who is trying to rise to the heights of religion must lift himself up step by step, but not by great leaps.

These *convivia religiosa* conceded by the Pope Gregory to our forefathers correspond exactly to the *agapês* of the Armenian church, and the words *donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant* may imply that the grace after the eating of the beef took the form of the eucharist.

There are several passages also in the correspondence of Boniface of Maintz and of his contemporaries, Popes Gregory and Zachariah, from which we can infer that the Celtic missionaries on the continent allowed the same latitude to their converts. Thus in the eleventh epistle of Zachariah²² addressed to Boniface we have this passage:

Pro sacrilegis itaque presbyteris, ut scripsisti, qui tauros et hircos diis paganorum immolabant manducantes sacrificia mortuorum, habentes et pollutum ministerium, ipsi que adulteri esse inuenti sunt et defuncti; modo vero incognitum esse, utrum baptizantes trinitatem dixissent annon.

Boniface's own letter to which Zachariah's is an answer is lost, but the context proves that the sacrilegious presbyters who were in the habit of immolating bulls and goats to the gods of the pagans, eating the sacrifices of the dead, were no other than the evangelists of the Celtic church, who were still in the eighth century a thorn in the side of Rome. They were doubtless only making the same concessions to the old cults which Mellitus was allowed in this country to make. But unlike Mellitus they were not in communion with the popes of Rome, who had forced disunion on them by arrogantly insisting that they should cease to baptize in the name of Christ alone, as they had done from the beginning, and should invoke instead the whole trinity in baptizing. Here too the Roman church stultified itself, for in his controversy with Cyprian of Carthage, Stephanus, pope of Rome, had expressly laid down that such baptism was valid.²³

But a practice that was licit within the Roman fold was illicit outside it, and exposed the Celtic presbyters to the charge of being sacrilegious and adulterers.

²² Migne, *P. L.*, Vol. 88, col. 944.

²³ See *Cyprian*, *ep.* 73, 4, p. 781, 4, and 73, 16; p. 789, 22.

The above are some of the more salient cases in which the church betrayed a spirit of compromise and allowed its converts to continue old customs under a change of names. But a careful reading of the fathers would reveal many more, and for one instance recorded there must have been millions which were not. The student of religions, who knows how pertinacious beliefs and customs are, especially such as center around death, will not be surprised that the sacrifice of animals lingers on in the Georgian and Armenian and Syrian churches, perhaps in the Bulgarian and Abyssinian as well. He will marvel rather that a custom and a belief so deeply rooted in the souls of Jew and Gentile alike should have so rapidly decayed. Toward this decay the New Testament was far from being the only or most potent factor in operation. It was specially the unceasing battery of what we may term vegetarian criticism which hastened in the great or official Greek and Roman churches the decay of the old beliefs and either abolished the *agapê* or reduced it to a mere eucharist. This criticism was not primarily or essentially Christian, for its fathers were such writers as the old Greek sceptics (from whom also the Christians borrowed their arguments against astrology), and such ascetic thinkers as Theophrastus, Apollonius of Tyana, Porphyry, Plotinus, and all the great thiasos of Neo-Pythagoreans and Neo-Platonicians. It is from their writings, quite as much as from those of the New Testament, that Eusebius of Cæsarea filled his literary armory when he was minded to attack the old religion of sacrifice. Marcion and his Manichean successors followed the same path, and never tired of representing the Jewish Jehovah as a greedy demon, hungering and thirsting for the blood and reek of slain victims. The Christian monks who eschewed a flesh diet were more or less conscious advocates of similar doctrines. It was specially the Manicheans, however, who not only in the far East, but over all Europe, combated in and out of season the practice of sacrificing and eating animals. To their influence more than to that of any circle of religious teachers the modern world owes its emancipation from this form of superstition. Many reasons combined to deter them from eating flesh. They had the scruples of an Indian Jain against taking life at all, even the life of a flea. They held the old opinion that flesh diet exposed a man to the risk of the spirit or demon-soul of the animal going down his throat, a risk to avoid which the Jews and earliest Christians forbade the eating of animals strangled to death. The flesh was also the creation of the evil principle in nature, and therefore no offering meet for God, who is a spirit per-

petually at war with the evil one. Both in the East and West, where, according to the old pagan notions, every meal of flesh was a sacrificial meal, where the priest was the butcher and the butcher the priest, and in the market places no meat was usually to be had save what had been offered to demons, the Manicheans must have been the pioneers of a higher Christian cult, of a more spiritual conception of things divine. Their hatred of the Jewish law must have been to a great extent due to the fact that it was—as we see in the Armenian book of rites—a vast make-weight on the side of those who, though converts in name to the new and more spiritual faith, yet continued to cherish in their hearts the old unspiritual beliefs and customs.

CRITICAL NOTES.

"THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION."

I. FROM THE PHILOSOPHICAL STANDPOINT.

PRINCIPAL FAIRBAIRN'S teachings involve three considerations, viz., a philosophy, a philosophy of religion, a philosophy of the Christian religion. The treatment is cumulative, but the controlling factor is the author's philosophy. We shall, therefore, proceed to set forth this philosophy, to estimate its value, and to indicate its influence upon the remaining factors.

I. Principal Fairbairn presents his readers, first, with a theory of knowledge; second, with a theory of action.

The theory of knowledge resolves itself into three separable, though ultimately related, inquiries, viz.: How is knowledge as an affair of the individual mind, possible? How is knowledge as a system of objective fact, possible? How is the correspondence of subjective knowledge with objective fact, possible? With reference to the first question, the author offers an argument as follows. The content of mind is originally a series of separate conscious states. In themselves these can give no knowledge, for knowledge involves a perception of their unity in relation. To illustrate, we may imagine the letters f, a, e, separately and without reference beyond themselves. Taken so, they *mean* nothing. If, however, we take them *with reference* to the alphabet, or as symbols *united in a single whole*, meaning emerges, knowledge is constituted. Subjectively considered, knowledge presupposes, therefore, the presence to these separate states of a *synthetic principle* which distinguishes itself from them and yet weaves them according to its own laws into that organized whole which constitutes the content of its concrete reality. Such a principle is permanent as opposed to the flux of the elements of content. As permanent, it is the pure *ego* or mind; as active upon its changing content, it is the concrete *ego* or personality. Personality, accordingly, is the presupposition of all knowing, subjectively considered. Furthermore, as each personality is on the one side (as permanent principle) out of

¹A. M. FAIRBAIRN, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902; pp. xxviii + 583; \$3.50.

time or eternal, and on the other (as content) in time or temporal, every finite self constituted by the union of these factors contains an infinite potentiality.

Principal Fairbairn gives to the second question an answer similar to that made to the first. Nature as known is a cosmos of related objects. These objects, in themselves, cannot account for the permanent relationships or laws by which they are woven into a unified known whole. Once again we must presuppose the presence to every known fact of a principle other than the fact yet contained within it, a principle to which (because of its synthetic, permanent character) we can give no other name than that of "self" or "personality."

This leads at once to the third question: How is the *correspondence* of subjective knowledge with objective fact possible? Principal Fairbairn answers after this manner:

Because of the *identity of principle* between the synthetic activity which is presupposed in finite knowledge and the synthetic principle which is presupposed in Nature as a system of objective fact. Just as men have commerce one with another because of a common nature, so also, because there is final identity between the principle which is the soul of man and that which is the reality of Nature, there can be such thing as knowledge. Moreover, the concrete difference between the two principles is a further possibility of knowledge. The Mind of man, although eternal in Nature, is infinite only in potentiality; the Mind presupposed in Nature is infinite in actuality; the soul of man develops in knowledge by reproducing, within its own experience, that system of fact which is the experience of the eternally complete and perfect Mind.

Principal Fairbairn builds his theory of action immediately upon his theory of knowledge. He proceeds by emphasizing the contrast between Mind and its content of objective known fact, while at the same time he emphasizes the identity between Mind and the principle which objective fact implies. Objective fact or Nature is ruled by universal and inviolable laws. Antecedent and consequent are bound together by inexorable causal principles. Facts, in their movements, ask no questions; they perceive no alternatives; they simply go. Were it otherwise, science would be impossible. That universal and necessary causal laws are inseparable from science and from a Nature which is a system, Hume demonstrated for all time, although he could not explain on his system how such a presupposition is made good. But, if Nature is governed by inviolable mechanical laws, it is impos-

sible that the mind of man can be considered as a product of Nature. Man, as we know him, is a moral being, one to whom the construction of alternatives and the self-direction of conduct are fundamental attributes of his being. There would thus appear to be an irreconcilable yet necessary dualism between the Mind of man and Nature. On the one hand Nature knows only mechanical laws; on the other, morality demands freedom, self-determination. The difficulty is removed only when we recognize the spiritual principle which is the soul both of Nature and of man. Mechanical laws may account for the order of natural events and for the content of human knowledge, but mechanical Nature itself rests in a spiritual unity, in and through which it is and whose free nature accounts for its (Nature's) mechanical laws. If, then, the Mind of man in its essential principle be not an event among events, but an existence not of the natural order, we are free to predicate of it the freedom and creative character which morality demands. But the theory of knowledge has shown that knowledge is possible only because of the presence to and action upon the phenomenal content of consciousness of a non-temporal principle. Morality rests, therefore, upon a metaphysical and not upon a scientific basis; freedom is an attribute of the eternal spiritual essence of man. There is, therefore, that in man as his essential being, of which no temporal scientific account can be given, an aspect of his nature not evolved from lower forms. Here epistemology and psychology meet, for the added factor which an adequate theory of knowledge demands, accounts for the mental residuum which remains to every attempt at resolving the human mind into a product of lower forms. However much plain fact may enforce the similarity of structure between human and related subhuman forms, attention to fact also enforces upon us the unbridgeable gap, mentally, between the human and the subhuman. Furthermore, in this supernatural character of the Mind of man is to be found the origin of that ideal which as the expression of his essential being should guide and regulate his conduct. Because of the creative potency of man's soul, the ideal arises as the expression of his reasonable best course of action; because of his affinity with the eternal, creative principle implied in the order of Nature the ideal is eternally progressive. Hence out of the supernatural character of man and out of his relation to an infinite supernatural spirit like unto himself arise, on the one hand morality, and on the other religion.

Adequate theories of knowledge and of action, therefore, alike

demand the recognition of a supernatural, personal agency both in the experience of mankind and in the system of Nature. Science, morality, and religion are brought into intelligible and harmonious relations. To science, with its mechanical laws, is given the entire field of the phenomenal; to morality, the entire field of active human experience; to religion, human experience in its wholeness as this is guided and directed by the recognition of that infinite spirit of which the human spirit is the reproduction, and Nature the vehicle. Personality is thus the final word of philosophy.

In estimating the value of Principal Fairbairn's philosophy, three lines of argument will be followed: (1) Certain metaphysical difficulties will be indicated; (2) certain fundamental scientific errors will be pointed out; (3) an attempt will be made at a more adequate theory of knowledge and of action.

1. The metaphysical difficulties of Principal Fairbairn's philosophy are essentially those of the system of Professor T. H. Green, by whom he has evidently been deeply influenced.

(a) If the infinite Personality is from eternity the actuality of all that the finite has the potentiality of becoming, several stumbling-blocks appear in the path of logical procedure. First: How are we to conceive Nature? If it be taken as the content of Divine experience, and that experience is one eternally complete and realized, there would appear to be no room for change. The world of phenomena — events coming to be and passing away — disappears, and we are left with a rounded and completed system of static facts. If answer be made that the Divine is a completely realized but active personality, and that in successive moments He recreates identical experiences, two difficulties face us. While such a theory might account for change it would not account for evolution. Again, eternal repetition of identical events would soon destroy the Divine self-consciousness, if what we know of mental life be worth anything. Again, if Nature be taken as a system which reproduces, but is not the Divine experience, we become curious at once and wonder what possible value such a secondary world can have and how it is to be conceived. Value it can have none, for that value has already been given in the primary experience. Conceivable it is not, for if the Divine experience is Reality and is completely realized, there can be no room within the Real for the reproduction. "Complete realization" and "reproduction" as applied to ultimate Reality are essentially contradictory terms. Second: What is the character of Matter, and how is it related ultimately to Mind? Principal Fairbairn

draws such a sharp line of distinction between the mental and the material in his treatment of the origin of the finite mind that, if matter be admitted to have any ultimate reality, he must find himself at last with an irreducible dualism on his hands. This consequence Principal Fairbairn seeks to avoid by indicating that, although Matter with its mechanical principles can never be the explanation of Mind, yet Mind may be the explanation of Matter. But we ask: What function (according to Principal Fairbairn) is exercised by Mind both in knowledge and in Nature? The answer comes that Mind is a relating, systematizing, organizing activity. If, therefore, Mind is to explain Matter, the latter must ultimately be analyzable into relations. However, as critics have pointed out and as Principal Fairbairn himself admits, relations without terms are unthinkable. Matter would thus appear to remain ultimately as the terms which actualize mental relations. As Kant pointed out long ago, such an argument as that pursued by Principal Fairbairn may serve to explain the *unity* of knowledge or the *system* of Nature, but leaves forever unresolved the *stuff* of both.

(*b*) If personality be essentially a principle of synthesis, it is difficult, nay impossible, to see how it can be an absolute principle. If it is conceded that terms unrelated have no meaning, it must also be conceded that relations without terms are unthinkable. Synthesis, in short, presupposes material to synthesize. Again, such a good Hegelian as Principal Fairbairn should be the first to admit that unity without differences is no unity at all. Therefore, if synthesis be necessary to knowledge, terms are also necessary to synthesis. If a spiritual unity be necessary to systematize Nature, Nature (as difference) is equally necessary to render Spirit an essential unity. Were it otherwise, Spirit would at once resolve itself into a blank and meaningless identity. In brief, Principal Fairbairn's spiritual activity, whether merely potential or completely realized, is a system of universals, and as such has no meaning when taken apart from the particulars organized. Such a result, however, sets organizing activity and organized material over against each other as correlative realities. In other words, Mind presupposes Matter as thoroughly as Matter presupposes Mind. But to admit this is to deny the absolute reality of personality, if we identify it with mental synthesis.

(*c*) If the absolute be an eternal Personality (in Principal Fairbairn's sense) there would seem to be no place for finite personality or for moral agency. In avoiding one difficulty, the author runs headlong into another and graver difficulty. Freedom is vindicated by tak-

ing the synthetic activity present in the knowledge and action of man, out of the temporal succession of events and placing it in the eternal system. But what is this activity when once it has been called eternal, and how does it "reproduce" the eternal Spirit? Is not this contradiction? If the Spirit in man be eternal, how distinguish it from the absolute Spirit? If it be a "potential Spirit," how free it in origin (as a reproduction) and in development from the mechanical limitations of temporal succession? On either basis morality vanishes. If the Spirit in man be Divine, there is no action of "mine" or "thine;" all is immediately and directly God's. If the Spirit of man be a "reproduction," then either words mean nothing or we have not escaped the toils of mechanism.

(d) If knowledge be a reproduction within the finite mind of the eternal verities of the Absolute, how concretely can we tell when our thought "corresponds" with Reality? Apparently Principal Fairbairn takes for granted, as do also many other thinkers influenced by Professor Green, that Reality is reached and "correspondence" assured when we have developed the "universal" in our experience. Absurd as the question may appear to some minds, we must ask: "What is meant by this universal, and how do we know it when we get it?" Every universal is an abstraction, and the process of thought by which it is reached involves a substitution. Now, abstractions are of all kinds, and substitution has a varying value. What, then, is the token by which we may know a real and universal abstraction when we have made it? A mere reference to correspondence will not do, for by hypothesis the reproducing knowledge is not the reproduced Reality.

Principal Fairbairn's metaphysic would thus appear to be unworkable. With all its plausibility it is satisfactory neither to science, to morality, nor to religion.

2. (a) Principal Fairbairn's metaphysical position rests upon a fundamental psychological fallacy. He assumes a series of separate conscious states empirically given, *i. e.*, the work of Nature. Before these can be transformed into unities which have meaning they must pass through a synthetic medium. Inasmuch as the author assumes conscious states which are separate one from another, his combining agency must appear as an activity other than the states themselves. Furthermore, inasmuch as the given mental states come and go in succession, the combining principle must appear as non-temporal. Principal Fairbairn's entire argument rests, therefore, upon his placing of the synthetic factor in knowledge. That such a synthetic factor is

resent in and is necessary to knowledge cannot be denied. It will ever remain the glory of the followers of Kant that they have made the overlooking of such a factor an impossibility. Admitting the necessity of synthesis, we may, however, be led to other conclusions than those of Principal Fairbairn. Since Professor James wrote his memorable chapter upon "The Stream of Consciousness," psychologists have come to recognize that the assumption of original separate elements as the datum of mental content is a mistake. From its first appearance consciousness is a unity. In its process of development the factors of analysis and of synthesis appear. In their operation they give rise to discrimination of content and to the recognition of meaning. Both operations, however, fall inside the movement of the stream of consciousness itself. Hence the real gain of the Kantians can be conserved without the necessity of calling to our aid any metaphysical non-temporal activity. When this point has once been recognized, strict considerations forbid breaking Mind up into existentially distinct, empirical and transcendental factors. The time has come to recognize that empiricists and transcendentalists were alike in error in setting up separate mental elements. A psychology more true to fact cognizes the movement of analytic and synthetic processes with all that they imply—but as processes which occur within the concrete whole, which, taken in its wholeness, is the concrete personality of every man.

(b) Principal Fairbairn also fails to recognize another fundamental principle of contemporary psychology, viz.: "Every mental process is correlated with a physical process." However we may ultimately interpret the relations of mind and body, the absolute correlativity of mental and physical states has been so thoroughly demonstrated by physiological psychology as to be regarded as axiomatic. For reasons mentioned in the immediately preceding section, it is impossible to maintain from the transcendentalist's point of view that the argument touches the content but not the essential principle of mind. The separation between synthetic unity and analytic elements we find to be an error. Mind is not a union of two different kinds of material; it is a single thing and must be treated as such. Moreover, that we know of pathological states goes to show that the *Ego* undergoes transformation in abnormal conditions just as certainly as empirical content. If, then, body and mind be thus intimately bound up together, it would seem impossible to admit the evolution of one and to claim for the other a mysterious supernatural origin.

3. We now come to a more serious undertaking. It has been shown that the metaphysic of Principal Fairbairn is involved in hopeless contradictions. These may be traced to inadequate theories of knowledge and of action. It remains therefore to indicate the lines upon which more satisfactory theories may be laid down.

The primary error of Green, Fairbairn, and their followers, is that they hypostatize the idea function. And by this I mean that they regard ideas as the reproducing vehicles of a Reality whose nature can finally be stated in terms of ideas. Knowledge resolves itself into the means by which ideas are constructed in correspondence with the Reality known through them. Hence to these theorists Reality finally discloses itself as an all-comprehensive active meaning — a meaning permanent, eternal, complete. To this various terms may be given, but in the end there is no disguising the fact that on such a basis Reality must be described as an all-inclusive concept, finally, absolutely articulated. As already indicated, such a doctrine gives rise to difficulties. If the Real be finally stated in terms of knowledge, it presents us with an abstract and not a concrete world; a static system instead of one that is dynamic; a universe so complete and final that there would appear to be no rational place for the finite world which reproduces it. Then as to truth and falsity, we lack a concrete criterion for testing our ideas as we construct them. Furthermore, if the contention be strictly carried through that ideas are true or false according as they do or do not “correspond” with the Real, we find ourselves in difficulties. Either truth is relative and we accept what we take to be partial correspondences for truth, or we can never know truth until we see each idea in its final relation to the completed system of Reality. In either case truth is far from us, for a truth which changes with every new construction is no truth and the Eternal is infinitely beyond us.

In every sense, therefore, a “correspondence” or “representative” theory of knowledge is inadequate. Moreover, it points to the fact that every attempt to take the knowledge function as an end and not as a means is doomed to failure. The correction of this initial error is the attempt made by what is known as the functional theory of knowledge. It maintains that the work of knowledge is the construction and use of ideas. Instead, however, of regarding ideas as limits to knowledge, this theory goes deeper and finds in the movement of ideas a different significance. Analysis of ideas exhibits their practical origin and function. On the one hand every idea is

an anticipation of possible experiences, and on the other a statement of the conditions by which the aforesaid anticipations may be realized. In other words, ideas are means to the directing, controlling, and elaborating of our experiences. Here there is no question of "correspondence" or "non-correspondence" of our ideas with Reality. Reality is with us in every experience, and the only question of the real and the unreal is: Have we the conception which will enable us to control, to manipulate it? Truth and falsity are thus matters practical and near at hand. Can we realize our conceptions? Then the reality in question is what we took it to be, and we have attained to a true conception. Do we fail of our anticipations? Then our conception of conditions and of anticipations in their relation to each other was false and we must begin again. Does knowledge come short? We are made aware of this by failures in action. Certain projected courses of conduct cannot be carried out; difficulties bar our path; we turn back and go to work again until the failure has been resolved into manageable conditions. When we have gotten hold of the difficulty, we see what to do and how to do it. Action is restored, knowledge in constituted.

Such a theory, aside from the fact that it is founded in a direct analysis of the knowledge function and carries its criterion within itself, has this added mark of truthfulness, viz., it is a statement of the method both of science and of concrete living. To the scientist ideas are constructive agencies. He values them for what he can do with them. To him truth and falsity are determined experimentally. The scientist measures his conceptions universally by their working power. His one demand of conceptions is: "Do they give results?" His ideal of knowledge is that of reducing his world to a system of anticipations which can be accurately defined and to a system of conditions which can be as accurately measured. In ordinary life we proceed after the same manner. From childhood onward we define "what" anything is in terms of its "why" and "how." Examination of these terms shows that by the "why" of anything we mean the practical end which it serves, the experiences which we anticipate in connection with it, while by the "how" we mean the means by which the end is brought about, the conditions according to which our anticipations must be governed.

The metaphysical implications of the functional theory of knowledge, pertinent to the present discussion, may now be stated.

(a) Knowledge never furnishes us with entities. Hypostatization

is far from it. Its business is to abstract, to determine, to categorize, but by so doing to control, to regulate, to concrete. The more completely it is developed, the more accurate and extensive are the instruments which are placed in our hands for the regulation of life and for the intelligent interpretation of the various experiences which are ours. Metaphysic must consequently confine itself strictly to the organization of the ideas which science furnishes us.

(b) Knowledge and action cannot be separated the one from the other. They are but phases of a single process. Knowledge provides the means of action, whereas action is the touchstone of knowledge.

(c) The self is not to be considered as a reality which lies outside knowledge, but as the vehicle or medium of all knowledge. It is active experiencing itself, brought to consciousness of its own nature and meaning.

II. Principal Fairbairn's position with reference to the philosophy of religion may be stated briefly. As one might expect, the distinction between the eternal and the temporal, which appeared to be so fruitful in the author's theory of knowledge, is made use of to explain the permanent and the changing aspects of religion. However religions may change according to historical circumstances and to location, they are fundamentally at one, in that they recognize implicitly or explicitly an essential relation between the soul of man and the eternal spiritual reality. For this reason, although the natural growth of religions furnishes us with a description of the process in time by which the idea of religion has been universalized and brought to consciousness, such growth is not an adequate explanation of the idea of religion itself. Religion is supernatural and is grounded in the impulse of the spiritual principle, which is man, to seek the realization of its infinite potentialities by the reproduction in its own nature of those activities which are eternally actual and infinite in the divine. In this we have the explanation of the fact that religion is the fundamental institution of society and that it must realize itself through the progressive development of the ideals of mankind.

A point of attack upon Principal Fairbairn's conception is not far to seek. Inasmuch as we found it impossible to admit a distinction between an eternal and a temporal factor in the mind of man, but were led to consider it as an organic progressive unity, we are compelled, in considering the institutions of mankind, to set aside every attempt at separating form from content and must investigate religion entirely in its historical sense. In this position we are further confirmed by the

results of our theory of knowledge. Every true idea is objective and leads us to the deeper appreciation and experience of Reality, but it in no way pretends to define for us an ultimate and fixed Reality. In other words, it is not the business of idea to take us away from life to some Reality beyond, but rather to bring us closer to life and to a deeper appreciation of that reality which is in all life. Philosophy, therefore, can never be anything more than systematized science, for science is the workshop of ideas. But, on the other hand, science does no more than bring to light, to organize and to test the varied realities which life differentiates. And the point here pertinent to the present discussion is, that the philosophy of religion must systematize the results of the science of religion, as this sets before us the outcome of investigation into what religion in the past and in the present has contributed to the life of man. In every stage of investigation the final question of truth and reality with religion as with everything else is: What form of life does it pretend to organize? What conditions does it make use of? Does it accomplish its aims? What we require from the exponents of religion today is an understanding of the methods and processes of religion in the past, of the success of its methods as measured by the standards of its own times, of the character of its methods and processes today, together with a setting forth of the way in which it enters into and rationally organizes that life.

III. Principal Fairbairn evaluates religions according as they set free and universalize the transcendental ideas immanent in them. To his mind Christianity has accomplished this labor in a unique and final sense. Its success further has been accomplished not so much by the life and teaching of its founder as by the doctrine of His nature and mission which His personality set free.

Here again the author's argument rests upon his untenable metaphysic. For this reason his Christian apologetic must be set aside. The cumulative result of the volume is therefore, as regards its specific aim, nothing. Such must be the result of every attempt to organize facts on the basis of conceptions which, whatever their history, have given way to more workable methods. In conclusion the writer would suggest that Principal Fairbairn threw away his opportunity by neglecting the life and teachings of Jesus. Whether these be unique or not, the question which rises in the mind of the thinking man today is: What has the Christian religion as a *life* to give me? How is it to be made rationally effective in and for this work-a-day world of ours? In other words: How are vitality and naturalness to be given

to that institution which has lost its hold upon the lives and minds of a large and increasing number of intelligent men?

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II. FROM THE THEOLOGICAL STANDPOINT.

THIS work is the outcome of its author's visit to India as Haskell lecturer, where he

suddenly found himself face to face with a religion he had studied in its literature and by the help of interpreters of many minds and tongues, and this contact with reality at once perplexed and illuminated him. . . . Hence he was confronted with certain philosophical problems which he had to attempt to solve before he could think of undertaking any large historical investigation.

These problems created this book, "for they compelled the author to study his own faith in their light."

He could not but feel that Christianity stood among the religions which must be historically investigated and philosophically construed; and that no greater injury could be done to it than to claim for it exceptional consideration at the hands of the historical student or philosophical thinker. (Preface, p. ix.) . . . This book is then neither a philosophy nor a history of religion, but it is an endeavor to look at what is at once the central fact and idea of the Christian faith by a mind whose chief labor in life has been to make an attempt at such a philosophy through such a history. (Preface, pp. ix, x.)

This central fact and idea is Christ, "not Jesus of Nazareth," but the deified Christ, and the principle is further expressed thus:

The conception of Christ stands related to history as the idea of God is related to nature, *i. e.*, each is in its own sphere the factor of order, or the constitutive condition of a rational system. The study of nature has been the means of unfolding, explicating, and defining the contents of the idea of God; the study of history has developed, amplified and justified the conception of Christ. (P. 18.) It is the deified Christ who has been believed, loved, obeyed, as the Savior of the world. The act or process of apotheosis, then, created the Christian religion; and who was responsible for it? If the imaginative peasants of Galilee, they were doing a deed no less wonderful than the creation of the world, and the power or providence which allowed them to do it was consenting by fiction and make-believe to govern reason and form character. (P. 15.) The deification—if we may call it so, though the term is radically incorrect—has all the effect of the most finely calcu-

ated purpose formed after all the needs of man and the whole course of his history have been considered. There is nothing in nature nor in art that can so well illustrate design or adaptation to an end. And, though it be illusory, yet it works, not as illusion, but as truth, and for it, in a most miraculous way; true men receive it, are made truer by it, so use it as to build the world up in the love and pursuit of the truth as it had never been built up before. (P. 14.)

Then follows the conclusion :

But what kind of reflection is it upon the Maker and Master of the universe, if we conceive him as consenting to this thing? Nay, in what sort of light does it set reason if we imagine it capable of being so deluded and deceived, seduced to martyrdom or compelled to enthusiasm by a mistake? Indeed, if the doctrine of the person of Christ were explicable as the mere mythical apotheosis of Jesus of Nazareth, it would become the most insolent and fateful anomaly in history. (P. 15.)

In these quotations we find the purpose, the theme, and the method of the book. Its purpose is the reassuring of the author's mind, the theme is the Logos conception as essential Christianity, and the method is rhetorical assertion and questionings.

Thus the book belongs to apologetics only in the narrowest sense. It attempts not to convince the unbelieving, but to comfort the faithful. The need for such works is apparent, for it is not only Principal Fairbairn who has found his faith disturbed by contact with world-wide problems. Many men ask with him: "What is religion in general? How and why has it arisen? What causes have made religions to differ? . . . Can a religion whose institutions are at once local and essential be universal?" (P. viii.) Accustomed to hold our faith as divinely imparted and the ethnic religions as man's blind gropings after God, the situation forced upon the Christian world is grave beyond question. Add to this the problems of modern philosophy and science, and we may well look eagerly for the line of thought which shall reconcile traditional faith with present knowledge.

Dr. Fairbairn's treatise meets wide approval, and doubtless it will help to sustain the faith of many. Manifestly its author regards its line of argument as triumphant, but it is characteristic of our age that no apologetic can long satisfy even the defenders of the faith which does not attempt at least to meet doubt upon its own ground, which is not purposed to win men who have lost their faith. The main points at issue must be frankly stated and fairly met, if Christianity is to regain its old position of intellectual supremacy. The world of modern philosophy and science will not so much as consider seriously our

author's argument, notwithstanding its wide learning, its often acute reasonings, and its confident tone, and we have the separation made only the more apparent, an argument deemed cogent on the one side and unworthy a thorough review on the other.

The oratorical manner is far removed from the calm of scientific discourse. For example, consider the following passage delivered in the presence of men who, really impressed by the spirit of the age, are already separated from the Christian faith :

But suppose we abandon all logical reservations and make a present of the conception of matter to the venturesome thinker who would deduce from it the nature we know, are his difficulties ended ? Nay, they are only about to begin. He is at once faced by the questions: When and why did the creative process commence ? What moved the atoms toward their miraculous work ? What had they been about before ? Why did they begin then ? Why not earlier ? Why not later ? Matter on this hypothesis has always been : it is eternal, it is indestructible, and in its existence that of its properties is involved. Now, however far back the primary movement is carried, eternity lies beyond it. Why in that eternity did not the eternal matter work itself into a world ? Why at this specific moment was it started on its creative career ? (P. 53)

Would not our listener say : "This is the old list of queries hurled so often by the atheist against the theist with the change of God to matter and he to it. It has as much or as little cogency in the one case as in the other. Science is not concerned with questions which apply to all attempts to conceive eternity under time-forms, and the action of the infinite in terms of the finite. Nor are we ready to accept Dr. Fairbairn's implied alternative : "Answer my hard questions or accept my philosophy."

This oratorical and belligerent form not only repels him we should wish to convince, and not merely leads the believer astray by making him suppose that the response of his feelings to an appeal is the answer of his intelligence to an argument ; but it conceals from the writer himself the points at issue.

Two lines of religious thought contend for the mastery. Tiele named them "theocratic" and "theanthropic," the transcendent God who from without rules man, and the immanent God who within man constitutes the deepest reality. The first is best set forth in Semitic religions, the second in Aryan. Can the two be harmonized ? In the first centuries of the church the two lines came in contact, and through the mediation of the Logos doctrine were reconciled, the doctrine of the Trinity being the completed statement. In our own day the con-

flict of theology with philosophy, and with science in so far as it is a theory of the universe, involves similar lines of thinking. But the situation is not the same. The Greek philosophy, in spite of resemblances, is far other than our modern monism, and the Nicene and early Greek Fathers were without the modern scientific conceptions of the world and of history. Their problems were not our problems, and if we make their solutions our own, it can be only by importing meanings which originally did not belong to them. So the question arises again: Can we accept the anthropomorphic God of the Hebrew Scriptures and at the same time hold the modern philosophic and scientific view of the world?

Dr. Fairbairn, notwithstanding his knowledge of historical facts, fails to show the historic spirit, but confuses the different periods and problems. After showing the differences which lie on the surface between the Jesus of the evangelists and the Christ of the creeds, he writes:

But now what precisely is this double argument of rational logic and analytical criticism worth? Is it not cogent simply because it is narrow? The dexterous logician is not the only strong intellect which has tried to handle the doctrine. The contradictions which he translates into rational incredibilities must either have escaped the analysis of men like Augustine or Aquinas, or have been by their thought transcended and reconciled in some higher synthesis. It is a wholesome thing to remember that the men who elaborated our theologies were at least as rational as their critics, and that we owe it to historical truth to look at their beliefs with their eyes. (P. 13.)

But as we look at their beliefs with their eyes, we know that their beliefs differ from our beliefs, though called by the same names, that their problems are not our problems, and that their conclusions, however venerable, cannot be final authority for us, nor prevent our attempting to study for ourselves as they studied for themselves. This inability to put himself in the historic attitude affects the main proposition of our author and his forms of proof.

The main proposition, as we have seen, is this, that Christ is in history as God is in nature, that is, as its principle of order. So the book falls into two parts, one discussing God in nature, the other Christ in history. Now, as it is the divine Christ who is thus the principle of history, so it is the transcendental, the noumenal, God who is the principal of nature.

The real nature which needs to be explained is not the phenomenal, but the noumenal; not the world which appears to reason, but the reason which

organizes, into an intelligible whole, the world of appearances, making it real to experience through its reality to thought. (P. 38.) The transcendental in philosophy is the correlate of the supernatural in theology. The former uses abstract speech, the latter employs concrete terms ; but it is only when the abstract becomes concrete that it receives application and reality.

We are thus thrust into the heart of the modern problem of philosophy, and one is led at the start to expect its discussion. For after a little preliminary play with Hume, the author describes briefly how the mind forms its world, and how the world does not explain the mind, but the mind the world. One would suppose a study of Kant in this passage (pp. 30 ff.), but suddenly we jump Kant's great gulf and arrive with startling rapidity at our conclusion that the noumenon of the universe is a personal God. But man, as Dr. Fairbairn points out, weaves his world out of the appearances which are given him. Without these phenomena he knows nothing. How then does he argue from the world formed by his intelligence to the reality which forms his intelligence, from the phenomena which constitute his world to the reality beyond and behind all appearances ? How does man, whose world is in time and space forms supplied by his own intelligence, argue thence to the eternal which is timeless, and to the omnipresent which is spaceless ; from his own intelligence relative and conditioned to an all embracing consciousness, absolute and unconditioned ? The questions belong to the problem as our author states it, but he ignores them and argues for his immanent, noumenal Nature on lines laid down in the past by men who strove to prove the existence of the supernatural, manlike God, above and beside His little world, the theocratic God whom Dr. Fairbairn denies.

The same difficulty emerges and remains without discussion in the second part of the book :

The supernatural is not identical with the extraordinary, the abnormal, nor the miraculous : nor is the natural synonymous with the regular, the orderly, or the uniform. Each may be said to be the other under a changed aspect. (P. 307.)

Here we recognize a God like Pfleiderer's, a pan-en-theism. But later the gospel miracles are accepted in the usual sense, and Jesus is described as dealing with nature precisely as the most realistic theologian might describe him as doing. For it is characteristic of our author that Pfleiderer's problem is left unmentioned and undis-

ussed. How, then, can He who is *Causa causarum* be also a particular cause among particular causes?

Consider another instance: Repeatedly the argument is from the nature of the effect to the nature of the cause:

Now one thing is evident: the more severely natural the process is, the less we can allow anything to emerge in its course which is not really contained within the terms of the nature which inaugurated the process, forms the bosom within which it proceeds and the energies which move it onward. What nature evolves, nature must have *involved*; and to emphasize as natural both the process that leads to the end and the end to which it leads is to bind ourselves to find in the primary or causal term of the process the sufficient reason for all that follows. (P. 40.)

Here is the ancient notion of causation, a chain which leads back to its first term, with effect and cause alike. But modern science discards the notion. Causation is not so much a chain as a network with every term cause and effect at once, and the effect is by no means like the primary or like any term of the process. The book supplies an illustration: "Just as his organism lives within and through its environment, absorbing into itself the elements without that are needful to growth and health within." (P. 84.) Thus man's physical structure is formed by this combination; is the effect, we may say, of the organism, of the elements absorbed, and of the environment within and through which it lives. Neither organism in this sense, nor elements absorbed, nor environment is the cause of his physical structure, but all combined, with others the subtlest science cannot discover nor the most untiring unravel. But none is like the effect, nor are all of them. No prophetic eye from these causes could foresee him, nor could any careful reasoner from effect to cause find his type in any of the elements which make his being. But if this be so, and we take it science has no question here, we find it difficult to argue without more ado from effect to cause, and assert that because man knows, his cause must be a knower, or because he is moral, his cause must be righteous. To say that what nature evolves must first have been *involved* and then to argue to God as cause is to fail to convince because it conceals the issue by an epigram.

The main proposition disappoints us likewise in its definition and discussion. It is the conception of the divine Christ, formed by the disciples and perfected by the church, which has wrought so powerfully in history. But, since the phrase "divine Christ" may conceal divergent meanings, we ask for further light. Dr. Fairbairn inter-

prets it in terms of the Logos; it is the "factor of order" in history. Now, whatever we may think of this description of the "deified Christ," we shall agree, I fancy, in the proposition that it is not this conception which has created our religion. Here is the final illustration of Dr. Fairbairn's failure to understand and interpret history. According to him the disciples created the Christian religion through their interpretation of the person of our Lord, and this interpretation, and not the historic Jesus, has had "all the effect of the most finely calculated purpose formed after all the needs of man and the whole course of his history have been considered." (P. 14.) But again we ask: What conception of the Christ has wrought so powerfully? Dr. Fairbairn rejects the notion of a legal atonement and the sacramentarian conception. But, may we not modestly suggest, it is these ideas and what they involve, and not the Logos conception, which have been really most influential in the ages past. Without them we may well wonder what would have been the course of Christian history. But if, say, sacramentarianism with all its results be not accepted as true, is reason discredited and may we even exclaim, "What kind of reflection is it upon the Maker and Master of the universe if we consider him as consenting to this thing? Nay, in what sort of light does it set reason, if we imagine it capable of being so deluded and deceived, seduced to martyrdom or compelled to enthusiasm by a mistake?" It is only by bringing the most heterogeneous notions together under a single term that a semblance of reality can be given to Dr. Fairbairn's claim, and his philosophy of the Logos has had the smallest share in the total result. Surely the want of the scientific spirit as of its method is apparent in these sentences we have twice quoted.

For by its method we can "prove" anything. Buddhism, according to Dr. Fairbairn, was created by the fanciful apotheosis of Gautama; but within the circle of its believers why should we not argue for its truth, else would this be "the most fateful anomaly in history"? Where may we draw the line between this charge against God and reason, and the possession of absolute truth by man? Science, on the contrary, admits that its own truth which seems fairest and works most wonderful results may be inadequate in statement, erroneous in generalizations, or temporary in its value. The development of knowledge implies nothing less, and nowhere can we lay hand upon the proposition which if disproved shall carry with its fall the temple reason raises to truth, crushing at once God and reason in its fall.

That Christ is the principle of order in history is a proposition of great importance, if true, to science and philosophy. Since many philosophies of history strive for mastery, each with its array of facts, surely we may ask for scientific proof. But Dr. Fairbairn fails utterly. Instead of concrete facts we are given irrelevant discussions, and instead of proof, assumptions and assertions.

It does not matter much, after all, for the conclusion of the whole differs from the theme announced. We are in a different sphere and concerned with widely different issues. For it is not that Christ is the principle of order in history, but that his teaching of love is worthy to be such.

It is a small thing to say, He made a universal religion possible; it is a greater thing to add, The religion He made possible is one that ought to be universal, for its ideal is the humanest and the most beneficent that has ever come to man. (P. 550.)

Here we emerge on solid ground, but it is not the point to which attention was directed when we set out.

We have dwelt upon the defects of the book. It goes without saying that it has many and high merits: it is fresh, learned, up to the times in the results of criticism; it has many telling phrases and eloquent passages; it contains sound argumentation and acute criticism. It would be pleasant to dwell on its good things, but, after all, they are incidental, while the defects are fundamental. It sets forth the philosophy of the Christian religion as the philosophy of the universe. So we are set right, *ex cathedra*, about everything — free will, Darwinism, the noumena of God, man, and the world, history, philosophy, the theory of knowledge, the problem of evil, the ethnic faiths. On we go in a torrent with debatable points decided authoritatively, often without discussion, every moment. So that finally, notwithstanding disclaimers, religion seems identified with knowledge, theology with a theory of the universe, and Christ himself with the principle of an idealistic philosophy. Yet Dr. Fairbairn himself points out that "there is indeed in all history nothing more tragic than the fact that our heresies have been more speculative than ethical, more concerned with opinion than with conduct." In our judgment the book will do its share in continuing the "tragedy," making men to suppose that "where there is no knowledge the highest, if not the sole, reality is absent" (p. 57), and to identify religion with opinion, a Christian theology with a Logos speculation.

To define Christ as "the factor of order in history," "the consti-

tutive condition of a rational system," transforms Jesus of Nazareth into the most insubstantial of abstractions. To suppose that this conception has worked "as truth," that "true men receive it, are made truer by it, so use it as to build up the world in the love and pursuit of the truth as it had never been built up before," is to misread wholly the story of the past; and to suppose that it is a message for our day is equally to misunderstand the present, for the truth of the Christian religion is only obscured and its power diminished by such identifications of its essence with the phases of a passing philosophy.

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RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA: A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography and Natural History of the Bible. Edited by REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A., D.D., and J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, M.A., LL.D., Vol. III, L-F, Cols. 2689-3988. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1901. \$5.

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE, Dealing with its Language, Literature and Contents, Including the Biblical Theology. Edited by JAMES HASTINGS, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D., Vol. IV. Pleroma-Zuzim. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1902. Pp. xi + 994. \$6.

THE third volume of *Encyclopædia Biblica* presents no features which distinctly mark it off from the preceding volumes and hence requires no detailed discussion. The same is true of the concluding volume of the Hastings *Dictionary*. In the case of the former, it is true, an already recognized position is perhaps more definitely taken, and tendencies revealed in the earlier volumes are carried to a further extreme, but neither attitude nor tendency is essentially changed. It is becoming unquestionably clear that the two works appeal to different classes of readers. The *Dictionary* is for Bible students who want help and light in understanding the Bible practically as it lies before us, as illustrated by archæology and as modified by a conservative but open-minded "criticism." The *Encyclopædia* is for scholars who desire to know the latest and boldest steps in advance taken by their fellow-workers, and are willing to listen to new hypotheses involving the most radical departures from current views. The one is a presentation of the consensus of critical scholarship; the other gives the original and independent views of scholars standing on the verge of the uncertain and the unknown, who have taken the consensus of the past as the point of departure for the future. The one tells what is today; the other what *may* be tomorrow. The one is the more informing; the other is the more exciting.

The Old Testament portion of the new volume of the *Encyclopædia* centers about Canon Cheyne's contributions. It is true that one does not forget the able work of Benzinger and Kennedy in the archæo-

logical subjects, or the fundamental articles of G. F. Moore on Leviticus and Numbers, of Toy on Proverbs, of Gray, Bertholet, Kautzsch, Meyer, Deissmann, and half a dozen others on the subjects assigned to them. The usefulness of the shorter articles, written from a full mind and with critical accuracy, unspoiled by adventurous conjecture, is simply beyond estimation. Such work saves the *Encyclopædia* from flatulence and doctrinairism. But the pervasive critical personality of Canon Cheyne is the outstanding fact of the volume. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that his name or his ideas appear on every page. Particularly does his new Jerahmeelite theory offer itself at every turn. A word about it may not be out of place. Although Jerahmeel is a clan mentioned only in two places, in 1 Samuel and in the second chapter of 1 Chronicles where its genealogy is given, Canon Cheyne holds that it had far more to do with Israel's history than has hitherto been imagined. This is exhibited in an examination and reconstruction of the Hebrew text in a great variety of places, and particularly by a rewriting of place and personal names. Everywhere in our present Hebrew text he finds remnants of the name Jerahmeel. We have looked over the first three hundred pages of this volume of the *Encyclopædia* and have found over sixty such reconstructed remnants ranging from "Lemuel," "Mulberries," and "Moles and Bats" to "Mephibosheth," "Nimrod," and "Nergalsharezer." The scenes of many events in Israel's history are transferred to the Negeb of Jerahmeel. Elijah, Elisha, Jezebel, and Amos were from this region and some if not all of the quartet never emerged from it. Prophecy found its deepest truth in the land of Jerahmeel; the Psalter was profoundly influenced by the men of the same. There is not an element or an epoch in Hebrew life that is not more or less transformed for our knowledge by this thorough-going theory. The article "Israel" in this volume, by Guthe, is fundamentally defective in the light of it. Indeed, if it be true, all existing histories of Israel will have to be rewritten.

On what does it rest? Primarily, if not entirely, upon a system of conjectural text-criticism. Yet the text-criticism rests also upon the demands of the theory. "If our general theory is sound, nothing indeed is stranger than the regularity with which scribes make their mistakes and editors under the influence of historical theory their conjectural corrections." Another prop of the general theory is the generous acceptance of double geographical names and the significance attached to the confusion wrought by them in the Hebrew history. There are two Mutsris, two Bethels, two Hazaels, two Asshurs, etc.

There is a whole series of substitutions and reconstructions to be made, in addition to that of Jerahmeel, *e. g.*, Zarephathites for Philistines; Geshur for Asshur, Hauran for Haran, etc. Altogether this is tremendously exciting; one does not know what the next turn of the wheel will bring up. The full weight of the argument will be felt when Canon Cheyne's promised *Critica Biblica* appears, to which frequent reference is made. Meanwhile to use his own words, when referring to the solution of difficulties by doubtful hypotheses, we will wait until "by a gradual clearing up of our mental atmosphere one of the possibilities becomes a very strong probability." At present there is a thick haze over the whole horizon, and the vague outlines of Jerahmeel are projected against it like a critical Brocken-giant.

The same difference in spirit distinguishes the treatment accorded the New Testament in the two dictionaries, subject to one modification. Canon Cheyne magnifies Jerahmeel; Professor Van Manen minimizes Paul. It is in fact a singular contrast—this certainty of the man who would positively reconstruct Old Testament history by the use of a shadowy reference or two in documents belonging to an all but forgotten past, and this skepticism of the man who works with documents belonging to the best-known and most studied period, one had almost said, of history. Is it then true that for the type of criticism represented by the *Encyclopædia Biblica* the certainty of conclusions is inversely as the data? Van Manen's articles simply cannot be taken seriously. One might almost say the same of some of the "reconstructions," *e. g.*, in the papers upon Nicodemus and Nathaniel, of Canon Cheyne.

Fortunately, however, Van Manen is no fair representative of the writers upon the New Testament subjects as a whole. Jülicher, Nestle, Allen, Usener, Abbott, Hatch, Cone, Robinson, W. R. Smith, belong to quite another class of scholars. Schmiedel himself, whose work more than that of any one man gives character to the volume, knows the value of historical data, and despite the general impression left by his articles, is possessed of the constructive rather than the philologico-speculative spirit. The chief criticism to be passed upon his work is twofold; with all its wealth of learning it is in the main a study of the problematical rather than the more positive elements of the gospel, and therefore lacks perspective; and in the use of material it is dominated by philosophical presuppositions that, in many cases, result in *petitio principii*. No close student of the New Testament, however, can afford to disregard the problems which he opens up and discusses so

elaborately. Much of his work is done finally, but there are still left the reconstructive processes in which the minimum of undeniable fact reached by him shall be used as a critical criterion, or supplemented with other data to be gained by a less infinitesimal treatment of documentary material.

The fourth volume of the *Dictionary of the Bible* contains at least two articles of first importance in the New Testament field—that of Sanday upon “Son of God” and that of Driver upon “Son of Man.” It will be interesting to compare the corresponding articles in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, but one risks little in prophesying that they will not surpass these in method or probability of results. In the work of both Sanday and Driver we have admirable examples of a sane scholarship that recognizes difficulties, but knows also method and perspective. They, and not Van Manen, are the true representatives of the great current of critical scholarship; and if Sanday in the article mentioned is often overcautious, it is because he recognizes that historical method demands that reasonably good data are to be utilized and not declared non-existent.

The man who masters the contents of the *Dictionary of the Bible* may have to revise his opinions in the light of evidence therein contained, but he will find his confidence in the historical validity of the New Testament strengthened, and will never be tempted to mistake ingenious phantasy for scholarship or naive guesses for criticism.

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THE VARIETIES OF RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE: A Study in Human Nature. Being the Gifford Lectures on Natural Religion, delivered at Edinburgh in 1901–1902. By WILLIAM JAMES, LL.D., Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. Pp. 534. \$3.20, *net*.

It is safe to say that this is the most unconventional and the raciest treatment of the philosophy of religion which has yet appeared. As one reads the quaint characterizations of religious phenomena and the witty comments which they occasion he is inclined to question whether the author is not playing with his subject. He soon learns, however, if he did not already know it, that Professor James is constitutionally humorous, and that his aim in these lectures required him to exhibit

especially the abnormal and bizarre manifestations of religious sentiment.

The work is mainly occupied with the morphology of the subject ; in a later treatise the author promises to take up its philosophy more adequately. Here he aims to describe the phenomena "from the purely existential point of view." He will "handle them biologically and psychologically, as if they were mere curious facts of individual history." He then proceeds to review the various explanations of the phenomena, and by a process of sifting and testing prepares the way for an hypothesis of his own. Some of these characterizations are very amusing. For example, in reviewing the theory that religious experiences are only the product of certain diseased physical conditions, he says : " Medical materialism finishes up St. Paul by calling his vision on the road to Damascus a discharging lesion of the occipital cortex, he being an epileptic. It snuffs out St. Teresa as an hysteric, St. Francis of Assisi as an hereditary degenerate. Carlyle's organ-tones of misery it accounts for by a gastro-duodenal catarrh."

The test by which the author will measure the phenomena in question is that of utility. They cannot be tested by their supposed origin, because their origin is what we know the least about. No more can they be tested by argument and demonstration, because (as is shown in the latter part of the volume) they are not amenable to proof. In the end, then, we always come back to the "empiricist criterion : By their fruits ye shall know them, not by their roots." Religion is born and nourished in the warm atmosphere of feeling, and the final test of its truth is its agreement with our practical needs and its issue in wholesome and useful results in conduct and character.

There is a suggestive treatment of rationalism whose "inferiority in founding belief is just as manifest when rationalism argues for religion as when it argues against it." Under the caption "The Religion of Healthy-Mindedness," the modern metaphysical healing and Christian Science movements receive a sympathetic and illuminating discussion from a psychological, and to some extent from a theological, point of view. The lectures on "The Sick Soul" and "Conversion" canvass what theology calls the doctrines of sin and salvation. The naturalistic optimism of "healthy-mindedness" our author calls the "once-born type" of religion, while the theory that there is something radically wrong with human nature is the "twice-born type." As between these the author's judgment is :

The method of averting one's attention from evil and living simply in the

light of good is splendid as long as it will work. But it breaks down impotently as soon as melancholy comes. . . . Healthy-mindedness is inadequate as a philosophical doctrine, because the evil facts which it refuses positively to account for are a genuine portion of reality.

The phenomena and motives of asceticism — that “divine irrationality of devotion” — are fully illustrated and discussed. This type of “saintliness” is very complex, ranging all the way from St. Teresa’s “endless amatory flirtation” and St. Louis’s craving to be humbled by false accusations, to the noblest types of heroism and devotion. In mysticism Professor James believes that there is a deep truth, but the subjects of mystical experiences must not make them normative for those who are not susceptible to them. Philosophy may help to confirm religious beliefs when once they are *there*, but it can neither originate nor prove them.

What keeps religion going is something else than abstract definitions and systems of concatenated adjectives. . . . No one knows this as well as the philosopher. He must fire his volley of new vocables out of his conceptual shotgun, for his profession condemns him to this industry, but he secretly knows the hollowness and irrelevancy.

The closing lecture has suggestive remarks on the relation of æstheticism to religion. Newman is instanced as illustrating the type of mind which “needs formulas.”

Intoning them as he would intone a cathedral service, he shows how high is their æsthetic value. It enriches our bare piety to carry these exalted and mysterious verbal additions just as it enriches a church to have an organ and old brasses, marbles and frescoes, and stained windows. . . . The more venerable ecclesiasticism [of Catholicism] offers a so much richer pasturage and shade to the fancy, has so many cells with so many different kinds of honey, is so indulgent in its multiform appeals to human nature, that Protestantism will always show to Catholic eyes the almshouse physiognomy.

The author’s general conclusions are stated with great brevity and reserve, and we must await the forthcoming volume, in which he has promised to develop them fully. For the present, being an empiricist and a pluralist, he is a “piecemeal supernaturalist.” He thinks there is *something there* “other and larger than our conscious selves.” “Anything larger will do, if only it be large enough to trust for the next step. It need not be infinite, it need not be solitary.” The Professor is, on the whole, a theist, but whether a monotheist or a polytheist, he has not fully decided. There is, then, something or other — anything large enough will do — which makes incursions through the

"subliminal door" into our conscious life. This is the rather succinct volume of dogma which the empirical philosophy of religion yields up to date.

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EVOLUTION AND MAN HERE AND HEREAFTER. By JOHN WESLEY CONLEY, D.D. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1902. Pp. 172. \$0.75, *net*.

THIS little volume does not attempt to harmonize science and religion, but only to sketch, in the first part, the intimations of immortality which the doctrine of evolution supplies and, in the second part, the bearings of that doctrine upon certain leading biblical teachings. Very properly on the threshold we are met by the definition of evolution as a process and in its causal relations. The modification of Le Conte's definition is good in the way of condensation, but not good in its unwarranted restriction of the process in two particulars, namely, to the realm of organic nature only and to such changes only as are upward. What of inorganic nature and of degeneration? There is a wise discrimination between the process of evolution and the proposed explanations of the process. In the discussion of its causal relations our author finds that "theism is the only rational basis for evolution."

The leading idea of the book may perhaps be stated in the following way: Dead matter has the capacity for the various forces of nature, which, however, cannot influence it except under appropriate conditions. In the process of evolution such conditions arise successively, and a new form of force from the Infinite Energy flows into the process and gives rise to a new stage. Mechanical forces became operative first, chemical forces next, then vital force [*sic*] in its lowest form, and then in successive stages mental, moral, and spiritual forces appeared.

Upon this basis, which does not quite free itself from the suspicion of being logical rather than historical, Dr. Conley discusses man's origin and place in nature, the psychical perfecting of man in the coming age, and life after death—at least of "every man who is in the way of growth." Much of this discussion is suggestive and clearly and strongly presented. The chapters which follow, treating of the future body and the transition to the coming age, are not impressive. They show here and there traces of confusion and either less firmness of grasp on the body of scientific truth, or the dominance of ideas

derived from another source. But any man may be expected to stumble in so dim a region. And it must be added that Dr. Conley is cautious and ever and anon sounds the warning of our deep ignorance.

The general subject of Part II is "Evolution and the Biblical Teachings Concerning Man." The chapters deal with the creation of man (and of woman considered separately), moral responsibility and sin, Jesus Christ, salvation, inspiration and revelation, and things to come. In this section the student of organic nature will find, along with much that is helpful, little to criticise, except the treatment of the facts relating to sex in the first and sixth chapters. Such a book as Geddes and Thomson's *Evolution of Sex* would probably suggest some revision of these passages.

We are grateful to Dr. Conley for this serious study of the deeper problems of human life and destiny. It has not the breadth of view and illumination of Griffith-Jones's book, *The Ascent Through Christ*, which covers much the same ground, but its more modest purpose and its clear and direct style may suit it to the convenience of many readers.

WILLIAM L. POTEAT.

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DIE RELIGIÖSEN UND PHILOSOPHISCHEN GRUNDANSCHAUUNGEN DER INDER. Aus den Sanskritquellen vom völkergeschichtlichen Standpunkte des Christenthums aus dargestellt und beurtheilt. Von JULIUS HAPPEL. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1902. Pp. viii + 252. M. 10.

THE purpose of this work is the confrontation of Christianity with "Hinduism" of the period in which it brought forth its highest creations in the field of religious and philosophical thought. This period is not more closely defined, but a perusal of the book shows that it corresponds to those periods in the development of the religions of India which we term the Vedic and Brahmanical, and excludes what we technically call Hinduism with its sectarian developments. In five chapters the author discusses "the deepest and most imperishable truths of Hinduism" in respect to its belief in divinities, its cosmogony and cosmology, its view of the nature, dignity, and object of man, its perception of sin, and its theory of the redemption of the world. The first, second, and fourth of these subjects are treated first from their immediate-religious and then from their philosophic side.

To indicate briefly Happel's conclusions: The Vedic belief in

gods is a retrogression and distinctly on a level with the beliefs of savages; the philosophical concept of *Ātman* does not rise above this and in some points is inferior to it. The gloomy idea of the constitution of the world that is characteristic of savages is found in India also (pp. 117 ff.). With regard to the nature, dignity, and object of man, the early peoples of India retained (p. 185) the views of savages or half-civilized peoples. In their concept of sin they are also inferior to other branches of the Indo-European family—the fundamental fault being that they ascribe sin to ignorance and not to perversion of the will. They are in error in believing that the suffering of the world is merely physical, and their means for its redemption are insufficient. The consequence is that Happel believes that this early Hinduism is inferior, not only to Christianity, but also to the religions of the Germanic and Hellenic peoples. The cause of this is found in the influence of the aboriginal inhabitants of India, and this may be said to constitute the central idea of the book.

Space forbids any criticism in detail, but I may add that the attempt to carry the doctrine of metempsychosis (p. 169) to the earliest times is wrong, and so also the refusal (pp. 39, 199 ff.) to recognize "survivals" in the representation of the gods under animal forms, the importance of which seems exaggerated. Furthermore, the Indo-European name for God is utterly unable to support arguments of the kind that are built up (p. 4 f.) on this *schönes Urdatum*. There are besides a number of matters that would incline one to question the sufficiency of the author's philological equipment; inability correctly to divide the Sanskrit words appears frequently; in evidence also is his mis-accentuation of Greek. On p. 7 he has been misled by the Rig Veda orthography *dūlabha-* for *dūdabha-* into connecting this word with the root *labh*. Compare also page 15, where *sukṛtām ulokam* (Rv. 10. 16, 4) is rendered by *in die Welt der guten Werke* and out of *ajo bhāgaḥ* of the same stanza is made *den ewigen Theil*, of the deceased, which Agni sends to the *Pitaras*, instead of the goat which is given to Agni as his portion and which he is asked to burn. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* is invariably cited as if the initial of its name were the unaspirated surd.

The favorable opinions of the Greek religion rest in part upon ignorance of its features. The high moral purpose that makes the gods take part in the battles around Troy as the "Richter, Ordner und Strafvollstrecker einer ewigen im Volkerleben, und nicht im Einzel- und Privatleben waltenden Gerechtigkeit" (p. 35) is not apparent in

the *Iliad*. That the Greeks did not represent their divinities in animal or partially animal form (pp. 39, 205) is also incorrect. In the case of Pan it is done in abundance (*cf.* Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexicon der gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, Sp. 1407 ff.); note also the addition of rams' horns to the head of Zeus when he is identified with Ammon, the more or less complete representation of Dionysos as a steer, the idea of Boreas wavering between horse and man, the statue of Eurynome in the temple near Phigaleia, the representation of river gods as steers or serpents, and the legend of Leto's change to a wolf at the time of the birth of her children, hence *λυκηγενής* as an epithet of Apollo. Then, as Happel is equally shocked by the Vedic gods assuming at times the forms of animals, we must include the similar cases in Homer, and also the appearance of Zeus in his adventures with Leda and Europa. That the author is not too familiar with his Herodotus may be seen on p. 211, where the review of Xerxes's army is put on the wrong side of the Hellespont.

With regard to the outward appearance of the book, it is guilty of bringing a new system of transliteration, to which may be added that the system is in itself bad. Page 252 contains a considerable list of misprints which are far from being all that the book contains.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

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THE WORLD'S EPOCH-MAKERS: PLATO. By DAVID G. RITCHIE; M.A., LL.D., Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of St. Andrews; late Fellow and Tutor of Jesus College, Oxford. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Pp. xii + 226.

THIS little volume is not a popular exposition of Plato's philosophy. The greater part of it is devoted to a critical interpretation, which will be of chief interest to those who already possess a general knowledge of the problems at issue. These problems are discussed in the light of the recent literature of the subject, including the work of M. Lsutoslawski on *The Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic*. The interest of students will naturally center about the chapter on "The Parmenides and Plato's Later Idealism." The limits of the present notice will permit only a brief statement of the conclusions reached.

Professor Ritchie minimizes the realistic element in Plato's doctrine of ideas, and emphasizes the reconstruction period represented

by the *Parmenides*, *Sophistes*, and *Philebus*. While recognizing the objections to the acceptance of the *Parmenides* as Plato's own work, he finds the most satisfactory solution of the problem in the theory of a thorough self-criticism and reconstruction which leads "in the direction of what became Aristotle's philosophical position." "Plato," says Professor Ritchie, "has not given up the doctrine of ideas, but we hear less about them, partly because the carrying out of his great principle of the manifestations of the ideas has become more important than the mere assertion of their reality" (p. 117). The result may be summed up, he thinks, by the statement that "for a hard-and-fast dualism Plato has been endeavoring to substitute a doctrine of degrees in reality" (p. 118). Such an interpretation of the *Parmenides* has to face the fact that Aristotle fails to mention the dialogue, although he reproduces its essential criticisms. This difficulty our author meets with the bold hypothesis that the criticisms were originally Aristotle's own, and that the reference to "the young Aristoteles" may perhaps be "a kindly allusion to the argumentative youth who helped to put Plato on a fresh track" (p. 121).

In view of Professor Gomperz's well-known interpretation of the *Homo mensura* doctrine of Protagoras, it is interesting to note that Professor Ritchie suggests that "Protagoras himself may only have meant to assert the relativity of knowledge in the sense in which every careful theory of knowledge must recognize that we can only know things under the conditions of the human mind" (p. 82).

The general reader will find the greatest interest in the later chapters of the book on "The Soul" and "Ethics and Politics." The treatment of Plato's political theories is particularly fresh and suggestive.

The book is a worthy contribution to Platonic study, and its value for the student is greatly enhanced by the constant references to the various dialogues.

WALTER GOODNOW EVERETT.

BROWN UNIVERSITY,
Providence, R. I.

THE RELIGION OF THE ANCIENT TEUTONS. By P. D. CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE, D.D., Professor in the University of Leiden. Translated by B. J. Vos, Associate Professor of German in the Johns Hopkins University. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1902. Pp. viii + 504. \$2.50.

THIS excellent book, from the pen of a well-known scholar and author in comparative religion, fills its place admirably in the series of

"Handbooks on the History of Religions," edited by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania.

Aiming to give a careful "historical survey of facts concerning our present knowledge of Teutonic heathenism up to the time of the conversion of the individual tribes to Christianity," the author, after an introductory chapter on the history of the science, treats his subject in two main divisions: in the first (chaps. ii—xi, also published in Dutch) the data are "arranged in historical order, periods and peoples are delineated in accordance with their distinctive characteristics;" in the second (chaps. xii—xxi) the individual deities are "dealt with as well as the myths, the various conceptions and observances, and the cult."

Having thus presented the facts without attempting to construct a system, having fairly sifted the arguments of the different schools, without siding with any of them, and having woven an interesting connected narrative, the author in a concluding chapter cautiously presents his own view of the general characteristics of the Teutonic religion, pointing out admirably the mission of the Teutons in the onward march of mankind. To quote the author: "The ancient religion we have sought to depict shows numerous traces of that strength of character and serious cast of mind through which the Teutonic nations have won their paramount place in history."

To indicate the fearlessness of the author we would only refer the student to the author's sweeping remarks concerning the Swedish scholar, Professor Victor Rydberg, who belongs to the comparative school of mythology (p. 27). But later (pp. 84 ff.) the author shows his fair-mindedness in agreeing, as all historical schools must, with Professor Rydberg in regard to the immigration of the Teutons from the north instead of from Troy; so also in rejecting the meteorological interpretation of myths. Had the author had access to the second volume of Professor Rydberg's work, perhaps he would have modified even the remarks referred to above.

On the whole, this timely book of Professor Saussaye, the result of the latest researches, and containing a comprehensive bibliographical appendix, is as much a boon to the painstaking student of the "Religion of our Forefathers" as it will prove interesting to the general reader of the history of the world's religions.

A. P. FORS.

CHICAGO, ILL.

THE FOUNDER OF MORMONISM: A Psychological Study of Joseph Smith, Jr. By I. WOODBRIDGE RILEY. With an Introductory Preface by PROFESSOR GEORGE TRUMBULL LADD. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1902. Pp. x + 486. \$1.50, net.

THE work is a thesis offered by the author to the philosophical faculty of Yale University for the degree of doctor of philosophy. As Professor Ladd avers, it is a "conscientious and painstaking study." It is also a credit to the university and to the author.

The rise of Mormonism is one of the most complicated and entertaining puzzles in our modern life. America has supplied no better material for the exercise of the higher criticism than is afforded by the Sacred Books of Mormonism. Mr. Riley undertakes to solve the puzzle, not by profound studies in these Sacred Books, but by resorting to the aid of psychology. Though he is highly instructed in that science, he yet fails to render his theory that Joseph Smith was an epileptic either convincing or probable. Indeed he does not himself appear to have felt entire confidence in it, for he concedes that Joseph's epilepsy existed in an "attenuated form," and even speaks of his alleged seizures as "*quasi* epileptic seizures."

This so-called "working hypothesis" seems also to have affected the clearness of the author's vision. The *Narrative of Solomon Mack*, the *Biographical Sketches of Lucy Smith* and the *Visions of Joseph Smith* are all of them amenable to historical criticism, and yet under the influence of his theory Mr. Riley appears to favor accepting them all just as they stand.

But, despite the fact that it has been weakened by an apparently untenable theory, this is an important book. The author has had access to the Berrian and other extensive and valuable collections of Mormon literature. His industrious and often critical use of these has afforded him a distinct advantage. However, it is unfortunate that he should appear to have studied the outside literature so much more carefully than the Sacred Books of Mormonism themselves. At the very outset he assumes that Joseph Smith was the founder of Mormonism; but that point has never yet been proven. Mormonism is a form of religion, with a very complicated system of theology. The boy Joseph Smith appears to have enjoyed no opportunity whatever to become acquainted with that system and to acquire the use of its singular *patois*. Both of these must have been derived from the real rather than the reputed founder of Mormonism. It is almost inconceivable that Smith should have contributed them.

Mr. Riley also assumes that Smith was the author of the Book of Mormon; but judging from internal evidence that seems a mistaken conclusion. At any rate the considerations advanced by him in support of it are entirely unsatisfactory. A more thorough study of the Book of Mormon is the indispensable condition of further progress in these researches.

Mr. Riley likewise assumes without any evidence, whether external or internal, that Smith was the author of the *Lectures on Faith*. The three unfounded assumptions here recited pertain to fundamental issues in the Mormon puzzle. As long as they shall be retained it would appear impossible to reach a correct solution of it.

WILLIAM H. WHITSITT.

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THE STORY OF THE MORMONS: From the Date of their Origin to the Year 1901. By WILLIAM ALEXANDER LINN. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902, Pp. xxiv + 637. \$4, net.

RELIVING mainly on original church documents, Mr. Linn has presented the most exhaustive and the most trustworthy work on Mormonism that has yet appeared. As a secular rather than a religious narrative, the volume is divided into six books corresponding to the successive political movements of the Latter-day Saints. The Mormon origin is first properly traced to the Smith family, with their various superstitions and occult beliefs. But that the youthful Joseph was not the originator of the Book of Mormon before 1830 can no longer be held. Mr. Linn's treatment of the theological sources of that Yankee pseudograph is weak. To trace the origin of a Bible on plates through Smith's partner, Sidney Rigdon, back to the thirteenth century "Everlasting Gospel" of the Italian abbot Joachim, is as far-fetched as to trace the characteristic Mormon beliefs and doctrines to a formal Campbellism and not to local revivalistic notions and current Restorationist exegesis.

In Book II, "The Mormon Church in Ohio," the vagaries of the early converts are shown to have been matched by the socialistic schemes of the leaders. With the business crash of the Kirtland Safety Society Bank in 1837 came Smith's flight to Missouri, where the Twelve Apostles were accused, not merely of practicing polygamy, but of counterfeiting money and tampering with slaves. On the repudiation of the Mormon agreement of emigration with the Missouri "mob" arose a state of

civil war with unjustifiable atrocities on both sides and a final expulsion from the state. Book IV treats of the Mormon settlement in Illinois. The Mormon missionaries had meanwhile been gaining thousands of illiterate proselytes in England. With this increase of numbers the church became a political power, so that the ability of the prophet to swing votes brought unlimited charters both for the Nauvoo City government and the independent Nauvoo legion. Of especial significance are the chapters on the rotten social conditions of Nauvoo, Smith's complacent picture of himself as autocrat, his virulent attacks on his late companions — all of which were surface indications of the secret practice of polygamy. So the suppression of the *Expositor*, with its rebellion against Smith's esoteric teachings of spiritual wifeism, led to the uprising of the non-Mormons, the organizing and arming of the people, and the indefensible murder of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. The ensuing rivalries over the prophetic succession, leading to such schisms as that of the Reorganized Church, brought the final expulsion of the Saints from civilized communities.

In Book V is portrayed with dramatic power the migration to Utah. A "prophecy of the martyr Joseph" had announced a refuge for the persecuted somewhere beyond the Rockies. Brigham Young was now the leader of the Mormon hegira, and in the pioneer trip across the plains, and in the hard experiences of the following companies was disclosed all that was best and bravest among the first generation of Mormonites. Book VI contains a notable exposure of the inconceivable duplicity and wickedness in the mid-period of Mormonism. While glowing accounts were sent abroad, the Saints were starving at Salt Lake City; while farms were promised to new settlers, Young was appropriating the best lands. Then, along with the so-called "reformation," there occurred the church-inspired murders of the discontented, and voluntary human sacrifices for "blood atonement." Still using the official printed sources, Mr. Linn presents the Mormon policy toward outsiders as exemplified in the Mountain Meadows massacre, and the seditious attitude of the church leaders as shown in their contemptuous treatment of federal officers. The rise and growth of polygamy are then traced from the prophet Joseph's "Revelation on the Plurality of Wives" to the unseating of Roberts. The final chapter portrays the Mormonism of today—a hierarchy with a power as yet unbroken, a theocracy with ambitions to political dominance, a theology with polygamy as a still living doctrine.

I. WOODBRIDGE RILEY.

FREDERICTON, CANADA.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Part I : *The Historical Books*, by Rev. FRANCIS E. GIGOT, S. S., Professor of Sacred Scripture in St. Mary's Seminary. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benzinger Brothers, 1901. Pp. 381.

THIS volume is a sequel to the author's *General Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, and is devoted to the consideration of the authorship, date, purpose, literary standing, and historical value of the Old Testament books, Genesis through Esther, including, according to the classification of the Greek and Latin Bibles, Tobias, Judith, 1 and 2 Maccabees. It is the outgrowth of class-room work and is intended as a text-book. A vast array of important facts is presented lucidly and concisely. The method in which the many difficult problems involved are treated is direct, sane, scholarly and reverential. Copious references and full bibliographies, including books representing every shade of creed and scholarship, are introduced. Although the traditional views are presented fully, the results of modern critical study are stated with equal fairness and the reasons for their acceptance clearly set forth. It is significant to find convincingly urged, in a volume which bears the *imprimatur* of the archbishop of New York, the following :

It does not import much to the Catholic faith that any book was written by this or that author The question concerning the authorship of the first six books of the Bible is a scientific problem, which meets indeed a tradition which no one should rashly set aside, but also no formal dogmatic truth which would preclude its examination according to a strictly scientific method (page 33).

The author proceeds to apply this method and to adopt the conclusions of higher criticism in a manner which will be a revelation to most Protestant readers, unacquainted with the scholarly spirit which is developing among certain of the Roman Catholic leaders in America. In championing the critical positions concerning the Hexateuch, Professor Gigot writes as follows :

Even some Catholic scholars, whose traditional views are well known, have already made admissions which may perhaps be regarded as an omen of a complete endorsement, at no distant date, of the other positions already regarded as certain, or nearly so, by other no less orthodox writers (p. 140).

Of great interest in this connection is the recent appointment by the Pope of a biblical commission. The leaven of modern biblical methods has permeated the entire western church. There are many indications that the time is not far distant when Roman Catholic, Protestant, and

Jew will sit down together in harmony under the broad banner of higher criticism.

C. F. KENT.

YALE UNIVERSITY.

DER ALTTESTAMENTLICHE UNTERBAU DES REICHES GOTTES. Von JULIUS BOEHMER. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. v+236. M. 4.50.

THE purpose of this treatise is to give an account of the origin and development of the idea of the kingdom of God in the Old Testament as a basis for the New Testament doctrine. The author begins his discussion by giving a very valuable tabular view of the employment of the various roots in Hebrew which signify authority, dominion, and the like, classified by books, and also according to their reference to men, heathen deities, and Yahweh. He then enters upon his discussion, marking three periods in the development of the idea: (1) from the beginning to the time of David; (2) from David to Deutero-Isaiah; (3) from Deutero-Isaiah to Daniel.

In the first period it is held that the Israelites, like their Semitic neighbors, applied the title *melek* to Yahweh in the common Semitic sense of possessor, or lord, of a smaller or larger tribe, thus laying the emphasis on the idea of power or force. But the fact that this conception of Yahweh conflicted with the conception of him as a merciful and redeeming God introduced by Moses, together with the fact that with the introduction of the monarchy the title *melek* was applied to the human ruler, led the Israelites to give up calling Yahweh *melek*.

The monarchy was regarded by the people as a blessing from Yahweh, and hence, while Yahweh himself was not often called *melek* during the monarchical period, yet the result of the monarchy was that at its close the people had learned to transfer the title of king as the source of blessing and the upholder of righteousness to Yahweh himself. The consequence was that in Deutero-Isaiah and the prophets of the post-exilic period and in the Psalms, Yahweh, the king of Israel, was regarded as the author of the future salvation, a salvation in which the heathen, occasionally by the prophets and more frequently by the Psalms, were regarded as sharing.

Under the influence of Hellenism and the stress of persecution the book of Daniel lays emphasis on the power and authority of the divine king and the coming supremacy of Israel and the accompanying subjection of the heathen, rather than on the prophetic and poetic concep-

tion of the kingdom as consisting chiefly in the joyous fellowship of Israel and the heathen with Yahweh, their king.

We should be inclined to take issue with the author in the interpretation of individual passages. Furthermore, it must be said that the system seems at times to cause a forced interpretation of the authorities, and also that the author has not recognized sufficiently the existence of similar ideas when the ordinary phraseology of the kingdom has not been employed.

But, when all has been said, we are glad to acknowledge that the author has made a most valuable contribution to the understanding of this interesting and difficult subject, and also to the history of the development of the religion of Israel.

WALTER R. BETTERIDGE.

ROCHESTER THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
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THE GRAMMAR OF PROPHECY: An Attempt to Discover the Method Underlying the Prophetic Scriptures. By R. B. GIRDLESTONE, M.A., Hon. Canon of Christ Church, and formerly Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1901. Pp. xiii + 192. \$2.50.

THIS is a book in which great merit and high value are combined with serious defects. Whether the predominating element is that of merit or of a lack of value is a matter about which there will undoubtedly be varying judgments.

The book is an attempt to show what are the leading facts in the matter of prophecy, and how prophecy ought to be interpreted. But the author uses the word "prophecy" "in the sense of prediction," although he admits that "the word is by no means necessarily confined to this sense in Scripture." Thus he seeks to set before us the real character of the predictive portions of the Bible, and the true method of their interpretation. It is not easy to see, since this is the real motive and aim of the book, either the relevance or the correctness of either part of the double title.

The book is rich in material; but this material lacks orderly and systematic arrangement. So far as a plan can be seen in the book, it seems to be that of three kinds and divisions of the material. In chaps. i-xiii, under various headings, the author sets before us the leading facts in the matters of the ministry of the prophets, and the predictive portions of the Bible. In the main, the work of this part of

the book is well done, and is scholarly. In chap. xiv we have given to us the method in which the predictive parts of the Scriptures ought to be studied, and the general principles by which they must be interpreted. Here the author is sober, sound, and scholarly, and all students of the prophetic books of the Old Testament will do well to note carefully and to follow the principles which he lays down. There is, however, appended to this chapter a lengthy "Note on the Structure of the Apocalypse," which is of doubtful value. Moreover, there does not seem to be any good reason why this note should be introduced at this point. In chaps. xv-xxi our author states the results which, in his judgment, follow from the application of the principles of interpretation which he has laid down, to the predictions relating to special subjects, the principal of which are Christ, the ten tribes, Israel's future, the second advent, the millennium, and the final judgment. This is the least scholarly part of the book, and the part of the least value. The author has peculiar theories about the future of Israel, the first resurrection, the character of the millennial kingdom, and the future judgment, and these affect his ideas of the nature of the Scripture teaching, and appear in his interpretations of the passages he expounds. His interpretations do not seem to be warranted, at least in relation to the subjects specified, by a sound hermeneutics. In the first part of the book he errs also by giving too large and too important a place to the typical element in the Old Testament. This is notably the case in chap. xii, "The New Testament View of Old Testament Prophecy."

S. BURNHAM.

HAMILTON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
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THE DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE SCRIPTURES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By DAVID M. M'INTYRE. Drummond's Tract Depot: Stirling. Pp. 160.

THE INTEGRITY OF SCRIPTURE: Plain Reasons for Rejecting the Critical Hypothesis. By REV. JOHN SMITH, M.A., D.D., Broughton Place Church, Edinburgh. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1902. Pp. viii + 283. \$1.25.

NEUSTE PRINZIPIEN DER ALTTESTAMENTLICHEN KRITIK GEPRÜFT. Von EDUARD KÖNIG. Berlin: Runge, 1902. Pp. 80. M. 2.

THESE three works have a common subject, but treat it from two widely divergent points of view. The so-called "higher criticism"

and its principles are made to pass through the ordeal of criticism. The first two are identical in their attitude toward the questions at issue. Their authors regard the literary criticism of the Old Testament, as it has crystallized in the current modern hypotheses, as a determined attack upon the citadel of Protestant Christianity. Hence both may be considered apologetic in purpose; they were written to steady the faith of those who may have been perplexed by the critical view. Mr. M'Intyre compares the success and spread of the critical hypothesis with the rise of Arianism in the ancient church. As the latter, for a time almost triumphant, finally decayed and now has no place in any of the historic churches, so he thinks the time is fast approaching when these critical hypotheses will suffer a like fate.

More than ordinary interest attaches to Dr. Smith's book because he was a classmate of W. Robertson Smith and sat at the same desk with that coryphæus. That his brilliant fellow-student did not carry the author with him is abundantly evident, for this book is a studied effort to rebut the arguments of the critical school. He thinks that Old Testament scholars "are forcing upon the British churches the gravest issue that any of them has had to face in living memory." The various chapters were delivered as lectures before the author's congregation and do not contain any new contribution to the subject. The book may be characterized as a plain popular presentation of the traditional view.

When we take up the German work, we find ourselves in a different atmosphere. Not all critical results are rejected, but only those which have an uncertain subjective basis. It is refreshing to come in contact with the master-mind of this great scholar. Professor König uses *criticism* in its broadest sense, so as to include textual and historical as well as purely literary criticism. This brochure is timely because it discusses the validity of the criteria used by the latest and most advanced critics. According to König there are nine criteria used at the present time in this science. Some of these are very familiar, and so may pass unnoticed. The fifth he terms "stylistic correctness and congeniality;" under it he treats of the wholesale excision of verses such as has been practiced by some recent commentators of Isaiah. Meter and strophic structure are will-o'-the-wisps to the critics. The seventh is the "comparative norm," the eighth, "the principle of personification," the ninth, "the poetizing method." Under these are discussed the historical theories of Guthe, Gunkel, *et al.* On all of these

falls the verdict "subjective and unsatisfactory." Every Old Testament scholar should peruse this brochure.

JAMES A. KELSO.

THE WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,
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THE THEOLOGY AND ETHICS OF THE HEBREWS. BY ARCHIBALD DUFF, M.A., L.L.D., B.D., Professor of Old Testament Theology in the Yorkshire United Independent College, Bradford, England. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902. Pp. xvii + 287. \$1.25, *net*.

THIS is a volume of the "Semitic Series," edited by Professor J. A. Craig, of the University of Michigan, being the fourth volume to appear. Day's *Social Life of the Hebrews*, Sayce's *Life and Customs of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, and Paton's *Early History of Syria and Palestine* have already been issued. It may be noted at the outset that the visible marks of the editor's hand consist of some half-dozen footnotes. It would seem, therefore, that the author was left perfectly free, and that the editor exercised due restraint.

The work is divided into six parts, with four appendices. Each part is subdivided into a small number of short chapters, Parts II and IV containing but two chapters each. The subjects of the various parts in regular order are: "Religion and Morals in Early Hebrew Life;" "The Early Narrative Literature, 900 to 800 B. C.;" "The Prophets of Goodness, 800 to 700 B. C.;" "The Formal Doctrinal Teachers, 750 to 700 B. C.;" "The Theology and Ethics of the Period of Political Reorganization in Judah, 700 to 600 B. C.;" "Religion and Ethics in the Exile, 500 B. C., onward."

The general plan of each part is to discuss the original sources or to sketch the history and conditions of the period treated, and then to deal with the religion and ethics proper.

It appears that there is great sacrifice of space in the writer's plan of minute sub-divisions. To separate two hundred pages into six parts containing twenty-six chapters involves many blank spaces. Whether the resultant clearness is adequate compensation for this loss may be seriously questioned.

Professor Duff has written an interesting and useful handbook, and one well worthy of its place in this admirable series. His learning is abreast of the times; his conclusions are generally in harmony with the sound biblical criticism of the present day; and occasionally he makes a

valuable contribution of his own, as, for example, his working out the analysis of Deuteronomy, and his distinguishing both in form and original meaning the Hebrew *Mashich* and the later Aramaic *Messiah*, which latter first appears in the New Testament. Though this distinction was indicated, I think, by Delitzsch, so far proper use has not been made of it.

But the reader takes up this book with the distinctive purpose of learning something of the theology and ethics of the Hebrews. That is a large subject to be handled in less than three hundred pages. A period of upwards of a millennium must be covered, and a whole national literature must be searched, and that a literature the richest in theological and ethical material. One who would set forth only the great ideas would need to condense to the utmost to crowd so much into a handbook.

It is just in this respect that we find the most serious defect, and it must be confessed that it is a vital one. We might read this book from cover to cover, and scarcely become conscious that it was a book about theology and ethics. There is a great deal of analysis and criticism, a candid statement of new readings of history, but very little about theology and ethics. To be more specific, let us look at Part III. Here are treated three great prophets, Amos, Hosea and Isaiah. A short preface and three chapters are devoted to what is properly biblical introduction, that is, critical analysis, historical conditions, life and character of these prophets, etc. Then in a final chapter the theology and ethics of these great teachers is crowded into two sections together covering less than ten pages. Seventy pages of higher criticism and three pages of ethics and six of theology! We can scarcely wonder that laymen think scholars criticism-mad.

It would be quite unjust to ignore the difficulty under which a scholar of today writes a theology and ethics of the Hebrews. To disregard critical questions is impossible. A writer must form his critical judgments, and upon them base his higher conclusions. But is it necessary to set forth these critical judgments in detail? Surely enough has been published, so that with references and a few footnotes all necessary preliminary information could be given. It is also a matter of justice to say that Professor Duff is following the bad example of many other scholars of the present time. No matter what special subject may be under treatment, we are apt to find a large part of a modern book on an Old Testament theme devoted to biblical criticism.

The four appendices, to which allusion has been made, occupy in

word-space considerably more than a third of the whole book. Therein we find an interesting résumé of the contents of the documents ascribed to the Yahwist and Elohist; and an elaborate analysis of Deuteronomy. This work is well done, and is valuable, but it is out of place here. It is high time critical results were taken for granted, and the much needed higher conclusions clearly and adequately laid before the world.

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DIE BÜCHER EZRA UND NEHEMIA. Erklärt von ALFRED BERTHOLET. ("Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament," herausgegeben von Karl Marti, Lieferung 17.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1902. Pp. xx + 112. M. 2.50.

THIS new commentary in the Marti series is fully up to the standard of its predecessors, among which no less than four—Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Ezekiel, and a part of the Megilloth volume—are by Bertholet himself. Moreover, the position held by this volume among the existing commentaries on Ezra-Nehemiah is an honorable one. The author's critical and exegetical theories as to the book as a whole and its several parts are in the main those now almost universally adopted, and he presents them clearly, forcibly, and as fully as the somewhat unsatisfactory plan of this series of commentaries will admit. He exhibits a wide, though not always thorough, acquaintance with the more recent literature of the subject, and plainly wishes to deal fairly with all parties. In matters of detail he not infrequently goes his own way, in the attempt to avoid the enormous difficulties which the modern theory of Ezra-Nehemiah introduces in such numbers. But in very few cases can it be said that he is successful in the attempt. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to avoid the impression that his rejection of the prevailing critical view is due to the fact that he has not fully mastered the evidence which has weighed so heavily with his predecessors.

As for the chronology of the book, Bertholet follows the universal custom in dismissing summarily the list of kings which the poor Chronicler has compiled with such care: [Darius "the Mede" = Darius I. Hystaspis; not mentioned in Chr.-Ezra;] Cyrus (Ezra 1:5); Xerxes (Ezra 4:6); Artaxerxes I. (Ezra 4:7-24); Darius II. (Ezra, chaps. 5 f.); Artaxerxes II. (Ezra, chap. 7 ff., Neh.); . . . Darius II. (Neh. 12:22)—a list whose one mistake, the transposition

of Darius I. to a place before Cyrus, was a part of current Jewish tradition, as we know with certainty from Dan. 5:31; cf. 10:1; 11:1, etc. In Bertholet's view, Artaxerxes I. is the only king of this name mentioned in the book; the king mentioned in chaps. 5 f. is Darius I. (as must, indeed, have been the case, in spite of the Chronicler); the arrival of Nehemiah at Jerusalem preceded that of Ezra. Moreover, he concludes that, in addition to the two expeditions of returning exiles led by Sheshbazzar and Ezra, we must assume a *third expedition* in the time of Artaxerxes I., of which mention is made in the one passage, Ezra 4:12.

In criticising the present order of the chapters and divisions of the book, he argues for the following principal changes: (1) Ezra 4:6-23 should be removed from its present place. The main argument for this is the customary (but quite unsound) one, that, whereas vss. 1-4 and 24 speak of the building of *the temple*, the intervening correspondence mentions only *the walls of the city* (as though the enemies of the Jews, who wished under these circumstances to hinder them from building, could have written in any other way, or have expected to stir up the king by telling him that the Jews were building *a temple*!). (2) The extra-canonical book 1 Esdras (3 Esra) has preserved the true order of chapters in the story of Ezra and Nehemiah; that is, Ezra 10:44 was originally continued directly by Neh. 7:73 b, 8, 9, as Sir Henry Howorth has more than once contended. This conclusion, it is safe to say, will not be adopted by any considerable number of Old Testament scholars. It increases, rather than diminishes, the existing difficulties. (3) Neh., chaps. 8 f., belongs to the "Memoirs of Ezra;" Neh., chap. 10, to the "Memoirs of Nehemiah." The chapter (or chapters) which originally formed the sequel of chap. 9, telling how *the Law* was formally accepted by the people, is now lost: "Damit fehlt uns auch jede Kunde über die Ausgänge der Thätigkeit Esras in Jerusalem" (the Chronicler must have turned in his grave when these words were written). Neh., chap. 10, moreover, originally formed the close of the Nehemiah memoirs; its proper place is after chap. 13. Just why chap. 10 should have been transposed so as to displace (*verdrängen*) the "lost" portion, we are not told; nor could any probable reason be given. So far as we are able to judge from the chapters which we now have in our Ezra-Neh., we should expect the conclusion of the Ezra story—especially of the part contained in Ezra, chaps. 9, 10; Neh., chaps. 8, 9—to be just about what we have in Neh., chap. 10. The slight "difficulties" remarked by Bertholet

are all removed by the arrangement of the chapters which I myself proposed in my *Composition . . . of Ezra-Neh.* It is plain from his discussion of the matter (pp. 75 f.) that he has not seen my demonstration.

The various official documents, letters, decrees, lists, etc., scattered through the book are in almost every case pronounced genuine. The one exception is the decree of Cyrus in Ezra, chap. 1. Just why it should be excepted is not apparent. It is true that Bertholet finds "Nachahmung des Stiles des fremden Königs" here, and says that "Cyrus müsste in der Prophetensprache daheim gewesen sein, um so haben reden zu können;" but then, he finds the "jüdische Färbung" of the Artaxerxes letter, Ezra 7 : 11-26, quite as unmistakable (p. 32). Cyrus did issue an edict of this nature, he thinks; why then hesitate to accept this one, with recourse to the customary hypothesis of an *Uebearbeitung*?—since we are so fortunate as to know the peculiar Jewish habit of rewriting official documents, memoirs, etc., changing the form of words throughout, so as to make the documents look no longer authentic, and yet leaving the material contents (so we are told) just as they were in the original! In the case of the Artaxerxes letter, to be sure, Bertholet adopts a new solution of the difficulty, namely, the "höchst einfache Annahme" that Ezra himself wrote the letter and that Artaxerxes only signed his name to it (p. 32, ll. 30-37). It seems to me that in making this important discovery Bertholet has reached only half of the truth. It is, indeed, extremely probable that "Ezra" (*i. e.*, the Chronicler) himself composed this document; but it is extremely improbable (to say the least) that any king ever signed his name to it.

In criticising the list of returning exiles, Ezra, chap. 2, Bertholet attacks successfully the view—defended by Kusters, Wellhausen, and others, and so popular of late—that the list originally served a very different purpose from that for which it is here used. He shows that the catalogue of riding-animals and beasts of burden—which cannot be "emended" away—must be accepted as conclusive evidence that the original character of the list was precisely that which is now given to it. On the other hand, he does not in the least succeed in answering the objections which the above-mentioned scholars have made to this document as a list of the Jews who returned from Babylonia in the time of Cyrus. That is, internal evidence shows that this (*if genuine*) cannot be a list of returning exiles; and yet equally strong evidence shows that it cannot be anything else; this is the perplexing situation.

It would be a great deal more perplexing if it were not exactly paralleled in a score of other cases in the Old Testament, namely, in the greater number of the lists compiled by the Chronicler (see, for example, Bertholet's own remarks, pp. 30, 84).

In the Introduction (p. xiv), the description of the "Memoirs of Ezra" begins in the following manner: "Am leichtesten lässt sich herauschälen, was Chr. von jenen Memoiren in unverändertem Wortlaute mitteilt." But the words: "in unverändertem Wortlaute" are surely due to a slip of the pen. Can Bertholet point out, anywhere in the so-called Ezra memoirs, half a dozen consecutive verses which he can confidently pronounce free of the suspicion of being "überarbeitet"? On the contrary, the style is everywhere that of *the Chronicler*, as anybody possessed of eyes and a tolerable memory can see. Nor is this denied by the great majority of scholars. Bertholet himself quotes with approval, on this same page, the naïve words of Driver (translated):

Esras Stil nähert sich schon etwas mehr als der Nehemias dem des Verfassers der beiden Bücher. Das mag z. T. darin seinen Grund haben, dass dieser Verf. sich erlaubt hat, in die Gestalt der aus Esras Memoiren entnommenen Stücke stärker einzugreifen; u. s. w.

The Chronicler, in other words, while leaving all of Nehemiah's writing (chaps. 1-6) almost absolutely intact, has re-written the whole of the Ezra document, preserving the material contents unchanged, but clothing it throughout in his own peculiar language and style. This would be an amazing thing, to be sure, for any human being to do; but never mind, we are dealing with that most useful expedient of an embarrassed criticism, an *Ueberarbeiter*, and to him all things are possible.

Again, with regard to Ezra and that most elusive of phantoms, the "Priest Code," Bertholet sees the difficulty, but not the obvious solution. The marriages with foreigners were forbidden only in Exod. 34: 16; Deut. 7: 3 (p. 78), and yet Ezra is not supposed to have "introduced" the whole Pentateuch at this time. Or are we to suppose that his great reform was in no way based on the "new law" which he "brought from Babylonia"? Bertholet says as to this (pp. 38 f.), that the reform was "vorbereitet durch die Gedankenwelt des Dtn's, eines Hesekiel, Maleachi und Tritojesaja," but this is a very lame explanation. It is sufficiently obvious that when Ezra tore his clothes and his hair, and berated the people for their grievous transgression, he was not reproaching them for a sin against a *Gedankenwelt*! In Ezra 10: 3, moreover, when one of the leaders of the

people, confessing their sin, proposes the carrying out of the reform, the words he uses are: "Let it be done *according to the law*." The attempt, furthermore, to prove the introduction of the "Priest Code" at this time from Neh. 8 : 17 is quite fruitless. Bertholet, in commenting on the latter passage, refers to Ezra 3 : 4, with the words: "Die Diskrepanz beider Stellen kann uns nur lehren, das unser Vers nicht von Chr. herrührt, der 3 : 4 geschrieben hat (gegen Torrey)." But has he quite overlooked 2 Chr. 7 : 8 ff.? A glance at that passage (observe how the original, 1 Kings 8 : 65, 66, has been studiously altered) might have saved him this blunder. He has simply misunderstood the verse in Nehemiah.

On the text-critical side, this commentary is rather weak; its author has taken no especial pains to make use of the versions, and where the evidence is all at hand, he very frequently stands over against it in a sort of helpless uncertainty, expressing no opinion. To be sure, when we think of some of the text-critical performances which the past decade has witnessed, we may perhaps be thankful even for helplessness.

Again, in handling the Palestinian Aramaic in which portions of the book are written, he shows himself to be not quite in his element. He thinks it possible, for example, to explain גְּמִיר, Ezra 7 : 12, by גְּמִירָא; the characteristic impersonal plural in 6 : 5 seems to be misunderstood (or is it rather the subject of וְיִהְיֶה?); שְׂמִיָּה, 5 : 14, is looked upon as difficult and possibly due to dittography (*sic!*). The suffix דָּם (one of Marti's "Hebraisms") is defended on the ground that it is also Nabatæan. But why not add that it is found in both northern and southern dialects of Aramaic, throughout the whole history of the language? The infinitive לִבְנָא, 5 : 3, 13, is both times "emended" to לִמְבָּנָא, although the same form used in the same way occurs twice in the Hadad inscription.

In commenting on the foreign word דִּרְכֻמוֹנִים, Ezra 2 : 69, Bertholet quotes with enthusiasm the argument of Eduard Meyer, that דִּרְכֻמָּן is not the same as אִרְכֻּן, and therefore these verses need not belong to the time after Darius I., but may well precede his reign. The fact that one of these words is borrowed from the Greek δραχμή and the other from δαρεῖός is not new, however; and as for the proof derived from the Phœnician inscription from the Piræus, this vanishes with the correct reading of the text; see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, p. 425; *Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pp. 147 f. And are we really to suppose that the Jews in the time of Cyrus reckoned in drachmas? On the contrary, the occurrence of the Greek

word here (also in Neh. 7 : 70, 71 f) has the same significance as have the similar occurrences in Ezra 1 : 9 (κάρταλος) and the book of Daniel. Greek words may be expected in compositions of the Greek period.

The foregoing remarks are, to a very considerable extent, of the nature of a criticism of the prevailing view of Ezra-Neh., quite as much as of Bertholet's own contributions to the discussion. His commentary illustrates anew the utterly untenable character of the current theory of the composition and historical basis of this book.

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COMMENTARIUS IN ECCLESIASTICUM CUM APPENDICE. Textus "Ecclesiastici" hebraeus descriptus secundum fragmenta nuper reperta cum notis et versione latina. Auctore Ios. KNABENBAUER, S. J. Parisiis : Lethielleux, 1902. Pp. 476 + lxxxiii. Fr. 13.00.

THIS volume belongs to the now well advanced *Cursus Scripturae Sacrae* of which several volumes have already been reviewed in this JOURNAL. It shows the same conscientious scholarship as its predecessors, the same sincere and successful effort to supply the Catholic Bible student with all that modern discovery and research can contribute to the right understanding of the Scriptures. All through his commentary, Mr. Knabenbauer has made a large and judicious use of the newly discovered fragments of Ecclesiasticus. He devotes a considerable portion of the prolegomena to the description of these fragments, and to his own personal appreciation of their nature. He also gives a very complete list of the recent works on this most interesting subject. Finally, in an appendix at the end of the volume, he gives the text itself of the fragments and a Latin translation on the opposite page. He leaves this text as it stands, without attempting to make the usual corrections or to fill up the lacunæ. Here, however, he draws the line, and we must agree with him, for, although he thinks, with the majority of critics, that the Hebrew text represents the primitive text and not a mere re-translation from some version, he does not propose to take it as a basis for a commentary. His course is to be commended, because considering the present fragmentary condition of the text and the divergence of opinions as to its critical value, to use it as a basis for a commentary would have been premature, not to say uncritical.

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DER ANTICHRIST IN DEM VORCHRISTLICHEN JÜDISCHEN QUELLEN.
 Von M. FRIEDLÄNDER. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1901. Pp. xxviii + 193. M. 4.80.

APPROXIMATELY two-thirds of the book do not come under the above title, but are virtually a repetition of the author's previous work, *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, in which he sought to prove that there were antinomistic Gnostic sects, mainly of Ophitic character, among the Alexandrian and Palestinian Jews in pre-Christian times, and that it is these sects which are meant in every case where *Minim* are mentioned in the rabbinical writings. This lengthy introduction is intended by Friedländer to embody a more extensive and thorough investigation of the subject, in order fully to convince his critics, who conceded that he had proved the existence of an incipient Gnosticism among the Jews in pre-Christian times, but maintained that the existence of definite Gnostic-Jewish sects could not be established, and that the identification of the *Minim* of rabbinical literature with antinomistic Gnostics could be accepted only to a limited extent.¹ It contains, however, nothing essentially new or convincing, for the passages upon which he rests his proofs, from the book of Jubilees and the book of Enoch (pp. 13 f., 43 ff., 82 ff.), and, above all, the *Zidim* of Psalms 119 and 19:14 (pp. 73 ff.) refer simply to apostates. Similarly, the material added here concerning the *Minim* (pp. 14, 25 ff.) carries no proof whatever of the points contended for.

This being the case, however, the study in the following part (pp. 118-93), the part really denoted by the title, is deprived of its basis and center, for Friedländer considers the antichrist saga the direct outcome of that Ophitic-Gnostic movement which, he believes, had been fermenting and growing in Judaism "for centuries," and of the struggle waged against that powerful tendency. The absence of method and deliberation in the investigation, and of a clear grasp of the problems involved, is even more noticeable in the second than in the first part. Friedländer confounds the appellative phrases אנשי בני בליעל and אנשי בליעל, wherever they occur in the Old Testament, and the Greek equivalent of the latter, *ῥῆς* or *ἄνδρες παράνομοι* in 1 Macc. 1:11; 10:61; 11:21 with the *Belial* (*Beliar*) of apocalyptic literature, signifying a demoniacal being (pp. 118 ff.). He misses the fact that the antichrist saga is a composite of several cycles of sagas, and that its formation is hence too complex to be traced so readily. Side by side

¹See CLEMEN's criticism of the author's previous book in this JOURNAL, Vol. IV (1900), pp. 104 f.

with the conception of antichrist as a pseudo-Messiah or -prophet, rising within the Jewish people, is the conception of him as a foreign, hostile, political power, and this latter is, really, the one presented in the Beast rising from the Sea of Rev. 13: 1-10 (*Nero redivivus*, typifying the Roman empire). As far as the New Testament is concerned, there is no example, except in the Johannine epistles, of the Antichrist's being interpreted as the collective body of antinomistic Gnostics who have gone forth from the bosom of the church. In spite of the exception, however, which must be taken to Friedländer's treatment of the Antichrist legend, this part of the book, too, possesses unquestionable merit, in view of the copious material it contains.

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A HISTORIC VIEW OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. The Jowett Lectures Delivered at the Passmore Edwards Settlement in London, 1901. By PERCY GARDNER, LITT.D. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1901. Pp. xii + 274. 6s.

THE student who is acquainted with Professor Gardner's *Exploratio Evangelica* will find in these lectures little that is new. They are in large part a restatement in briefer and more popular form of conclusions reached in the earlier work, with a general elucidation of the historic method and its application to the study of Christian origins. Though somewhat slight and fragmentary, the book is interesting and suggestive like all Professor Gardner's work, and is admirably fitted to do good in dissolving prejudice against modern biblical criticism as well as in preparing the way for a better understanding of primitive Christian history.

An introductory chapter on "Historic Methods and Christian Documents" is followed by another on "Revelation and its Embodiments," in which the religious bearing of modern psychological research is discussed and emphasis is laid upon the relativity of revelation and the necessity of studying Christian doctrine historically, if we would understand and estimate it aright.

After thus indicating his method and point of view, the author deals in the third lecture with the historic founder of Christianity. It is recognized that the materials for a biography of Jesus do not exist, but it is justly claimed that we can recover from the synoptic gospels the leading features of his teaching. The essence of it Professor

Gardner finds in the doing of God's will in the life of the individual and of the world, and he emphasizes the fact that all Christ's teaching had a religious basis, the second commandment to love one's neighbor being simply a corollary of the command to love God. The chief defect in this summary of Jesus' teaching is the failure to give due weight to his gospel of the gracious fatherhood of God leading to complete victory over the world and freedom from all fear. It was because this gospel was not fully understood and appreciated by Jesus' followers that the Christian church went into Catholicism; and no interpretation of the Master's message can be regarded as adequate which fails to put this element of it in the very forefront. The author also maintains in this lecture that we have not sufficient evidence upon which to base a doctrine of Christ's person, the views of the sacred writers being simply the outgrowth of religious experience and without historical validity.

The fourth lecture, on "The Messiah of the Synoptists," discusses the purpose of the synoptic gospels and the point of view from which they were written, and shows that they were the fruit of controversy and primarily apologetic, not historical, in character.

The fifth lecture, on "The Synoptists and Miracles," is a frank and fearless discussion of the miraculous element in the gospels, and in the recorded life of Jesus. A sharp distinction is drawn between wonderful cures and miracles proper. That Jesus wrought wonderful cures by faith-healing, similar to those wrought in our own day, the author thinks there can be no doubt, but the miracles proper must be pronounced insufficiently established and the reports of them due either to misunderstanding or to the natural desire to invest the founder of the new faith with a supernatural character. The virgin birth and the bodily resurrection of Jesus are also discussed, and the conclusion is reached that neither the one nor the other is established by the evidence.

The sixth lecture, on "The Logos Doctrine of the Fourth Evangelist," is chiefly devoted to the origin and purpose of the fourth gospel, the position being taken that while the gospel contains many accurate traditions, it is in the main a philosophical idealization of the life and teaching of Jesus, and belongs not to the first but to the second generation of Christians.

The seventh lecture, on "The Christianity of St. Paul," though interesting, and in some respects illuminating, is perhaps the least satisfactory portion of the book, for it fails to get at the heart of the

apostle's Christianity and does scant justice to his religious dualism and to his profound mysticism.

The concluding lecture, after a brief résumé of the points made in the preceding lectures, sketches briefly the theological tendencies of the present day and suggests the kind of expression the spirit of Christianity is likely to take in the immediate future. The subject is too large to be handled satisfactorily in part of a closing lecture, and the value of the book is not particularly enhanced by the attempt. It may be worth while, however, to quote the three suggestive propositions in which the author embodies his prophecy:

First: Belief in the continuity and inspiration of history must needs clear and exalt our views of the history of the Christian church, which must be taken as a whole. Second: Proper appreciation of the function of the will in active and religious life must have a direct effect on doctrine. Third: The growing habit of regarding society as an organism rather than a mere congeries of individuals must tend to revive the Founder's teaching as to the Kingdom of Heaven.

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THE LIFE OF CHRIST. By WILLIAM J. DAWSON. Philadelphia: Geo. W. Jacobs & Co. Pp. ix + 452.

THIS is a popular narrative and expository life of Christ by a London preacher. The style is clear and attractive, sometimes beautiful and strong. It is, however, marred by a tendency to a Farraresque rhetorical extravagance. A recent trip to Palestine and a lively historical imagination combine to produce vivid sketches of scenes, characters, and situations. There are many valuable suggestions concerning the connection of passages, motives of the personages, and the psychology of events. See an excellent chapter on the first cleansing of the temple. This virtue, however, sometimes runs into the vice of unwarranted and almost absurd conjecture in the face of all the data, of which the worst instance is a fantastic chapter on the temptation. We cannot help feeling that the author's analysis of the great crises lacks in real depth.

The book shows a knowledge of recent criticism of the gospels, and is quite open-minded in its treatment of it. It handles the question of sources suggestively, though somewhat inadequately, and concludes that "the gospels do succeed in giving us a portrait of Jesus

intrinsically truthful and beautiful." John is the interpreter rather than the historian of Jesus, and his discourse matter is the free rendering of Christ's conversations. Dawson is quite free with his data, and sometimes falls into self-created difficulties. His criticism of radical theories is often trenchant and suggestive, but occasionally extremely unsatisfactory. He seems to arrange his chronological scheme largely to suit the exigencies of the story, as he desires to tell it. Many of the hard questions are dodged altogether. This is perhaps done purposely, as he tells us in his preface that he proposes to neglect as far as possible "the vexed problems of theology and metaphysics." Still the omission of the baptism and of the feeding of the five thousand can hardly be pardoned in a life of Christ, to say nothing of the utterly inadequate treatment of the virgin birth and Christ's attitude toward his own Messiahship.

The book seems to contain a curious history of the author's thought with reference to the gospel miracles. He begins intending "to depict the human life of Jesus as it appeared to his contemporaries." In the first chapters he minimizes and explains away the miraculous element, though the event at Cana is regarded as miraculous. As far as possible a "magic" influence takes the place of miraculous power. But in the latter part of the book even Matthew's crucifixion miracles seem to be accepted without question. The preface explains this phenomenon in these words:

As the experiment proceeded, the mind became more and more an involuntary agent, acting on instincts which were not based on reason, but were superior to reason. It produced a conviction, at once profound, gradual, and irresistible, that in the very nature of the story itself, and therefore in the nature of Christ, were elements entirely incommensurate within the limits of the human. It is not possible to disengage the human elements in Jesus from the divine.

The book then changes as it grows. It begins on the naturalistic basis, and ends by frankly accepting the supernatural and the deity of Christ, "not," however, "by conversion of the Godhead into flesh, but by taking of the manhood into God."

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THE CREDIBILITY OF THE BOOK OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES ; being the Hulsean Lectures for 1900-1901. By FREDERICK HENRY CHASE, D.D., President of Queen's College and Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902. Pp. x + 314. \$1.75.

THE author realizes that the limits of his book—four lectures—necessitate the omission of several matters important to his theme. One cannot, however, but wish that in the attempt to show that in Acts “we have a truthful and trustworthy history,” he had had a different conception of the nature of a real proof of his thesis, and had accordingly given attention to several questions of vital importance. One can hardly be justified in assuming in such a discussion that several sections of Acts that would be pronounced legendary according to generally accepted historical standards are consistent with “a truthful and trustworthy history.” Unless the word “history” be employed in some peculiar and unusual sense, such an assumption vitiates not a little of the argument of the book.

That the crucial test of the credibility of Acts lies in the relation of the book to Paul's genuine epistles is substantially conceded by Dr. Chase. But he thinks that the discrepancies between Acts and the epistles that “do not admit of formal and complete reconciliation” are due either to gaps in the writer's knowledge or to “that change in perspective which fortunately comes with time.” The “gaps” are so many and so great as to render the book anything but a complete history of the period that it assumes to cover. It is evident that the omissions in a history may be of such a character as to make it untrustworthy. The relations existing between Paul and James, Peter and John, that are vividly set forth in Galatians are not represented in Acts. Rather quite a different situation is implied. If the author of Acts was acquainted with Galatians, he has disregarded matters that are central and vital in the epistle. The two accounts of Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion (Acts 9:26-29; Gal. 1:17-24), are altogether irreconcilable.

Dr. Chase devotes considerable space to a discussion of the speeches recorded in Acts, yet entirely fails to show that they are, or in the nature of the case could be, in any proper sense of the word, historical. The supposition of an “editing” of them by the writer, “if he did not invent them,” does not go far toward establishing their authenticity. That he was a hearer of any of them is quite uncertain, in view of the well-grounded doubts of Luke's authorship of the book.

Moreover, due account has not been taken of the absence in Paul's speeches of the most distinctive doctrines of his genuine epistles, and of the expression of Pauline ideas in those of Peter. On the whole, "the change in perspective" that the author of Acts presents is of a quite different character from that assumed by Dr. Chase, and is by no means "fortunate" for the historical credibility of the book.

ORELLO CONE.

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RICH AND POOR IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. A Study of the Primitive Christian Doctrine of Earthly Possessions. By ORELLO CONE, D.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902. Pp. viii + 245. \$1.50.

AS FAR as English and American thought is concerned, this volume is to be welcomed as almost a pioneer in method. A careful exegetical study of the teaching of Jesus in the synoptists and of the contents of the Pauline and other New Testament literature precedes constructive statements; critical processes are often in evidence, as well as always clearly presupposed; and the historical relations of New Testament thought with the messianic hopes of Judaism are recognized as criteria for discriminating between permanent and historico-formal elements in the teaching of Jesus and his followers. According to Dr. Cone, the "kingdom of God" is always an eschatological term, and the teaching of Jesus concerning wealth is not sociological but religious. In other words, his specific teaching is hardly other than an insistence upon the duty of alms-giving and the difficulty to be experienced by men who have not dispossessed themselves of wealth in entering the kingdom. At the same time Dr. Cone distinguishes between two sets of sayings of Jesus (p. 87), the one messianic and the other ethical. This distinction is certainly just, but, as applied by the author, does not give the best possible results. He too frequently fails to recognize the fact that the eschatological sayings embody ethical teachings, and even specifically concern wealth. This failure is particularly to be seen in his treatment of the parables. What, for instance, is the point of the parable concerning Lazarus and the Rich Man if it is not this: Moses and the prophets teach a proper use of wealth so distinctly that he who disregards it would disregard the warning of the rich man fresh from the torments of hell. So, too, even his elaborate analysis of the parable of the Unjust Steward can hardly justify the destruction of the explicit teaching that the proper use of wealth lies in making one's self friends

by means of it. In several other instances the author's interpretation seems mechanically literal, because of his failure to recognize the poetical, or, more accurately, the gnomic character of the sayings of Jesus. Nor, even in the face of his constant references to the matter, does it appear that he has quite grasped the full content of the messianic concept as it appears in Jesus and Paul. The matter is too vital to be treated by way of allusion. Jesus and Paul both have a distinct conception as to the present ethical significance of the age-life that awaits the members of the coming kingdom, while Paul, and Jesus also, especially but not exclusively, in the fourth gospel—no passage of which Dr. Cone treats—use another element of messianism, the spiritual presence of God in the life of the believer, as something full of social significance.

Dr. Cone's constructive statement at the close of his discussion shows at once the possibilities and the limitations of his method. Lacking a careful study of Christian messianism he is shut down to seeing in the social teaching of the New Testament little else permanent than ethical generalities. Yet, singularly enough, in giving the present significance of Jesus in the economic world he practically restates views that echo those of the very works he is constantly criticising. The reason is not difficult to find. His exegetical processes are really more barren than the general impression made by the unavoidable meaning of his material. The social significance of even eschatological messianism is to be exhausted not by archæological but by genuinely historico-literary exegesis.

These criticisms, however, should not obscure the real worth of the book. Its method is scientific, and most of its results must stand. Some of us may have erred in laying too much emphasis on matters which Dr. Cone has made less prominent. Though he has not given due weight to the exceptions to the statement, he is undoubtedly right in seeing in the term "kingdom of God," as used generally, an eschatological, rather than a present, social content, and in assigning so prominent a place to apocalyptic elements in the New Testament. Few of us who have written on the matter would deny that he very properly insists that the thought of Jesus was religious and eschatological rather than sociological. If he has failed to exploit the social significance of the principles of Jesus which he has gained by his admirable exegetical process, it is largely a matter of estimating the data which resulted from that process. If he has underestimated their economic importance it may be due to a lack of first-hand acquaintance with the problems of society,

and especially those of economics. At all events, the book is one that will bear study and will win an appreciative attention from every man who has worked in its field and knows the difficulties that beset all ethical restatements of New Testament references to economic and social matters.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

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DEMONIC POSSESSION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. Its Relations, Historical, Medical, and Theological. By WM. MENZIES ALEXANDER, M.A., B.Sc., B.D., C.M., M.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. xii + 288. \$1.50, *net*.

IN these times, when legendary and mythical theories, together with other forms of naturalistic and rationalistic teachings concerning the Bible, are reasserted, after a comparative silence of fifty years or more, it is refreshing to read a book whose author has been most painstaking in his investigations, who has studied his subject from all the more important points of view, and who at the same time is staunchly orthodox.

Few men appear better qualified to discuss the subject of the book under review than the author. He is a bachelor of science and of divinity, a master of arts and of surgery, and a doctor of medicine. He has made so remarkably successful a use of his classical, professional, and theological knowledge that on the subject of demonic possession he will be classed as an expert and his book will take rank as a standard authority.

The treatise consists of eight chapters, followed by several important appendices, and covers not only the history of the subject, but also its clinical, exegetical and theological aspects. The author shows a ready and thorough familiarity with ethnic and rabbinic literature, with the apocryphal writings, and with those of the church fathers. The discussions on demonology during the Middle Ages and the most recent publications on the subject are also made frequent use of.

The author gives attention more especially to three cases of possession—those of the demoniac at Capernaum, the two men at Gerasa, and the idiot boy at the Hill of Transfiguration. His reasons for doing so are thus stated :

The symptoms in these cases have been recorded in profusion. There are also duplicate or triplicate narratives of these three cases, which may be called "typical." The details are not identical; but they are never divergent. Their wealth of clinical material furnishes the clue to the right understanding of the physical basis of the "demoniac state." By the help of these three typical cases we are able to explore the more obscure.

The author's exegesis of the various New Testament passages discussed is thorough and accurate. He is not only familiar with such Bible scholars as Braun, Delitzsch, Ebrard, Ewald, Geikie, Gore, Steinmeyer, Trench, and Wetzstein, but sometimes is at variance with them, always siding, however, with the orthodox and traditional views, and giving the best of reasons for his advocacy of them; his knowledge of medical science affords him a decided advantage over one who is merely an exegetical scholar. The very great importance of being familiar with different departments of knowledge when interpreting the Bible finds forcible illustration in Dr. Alexander's treatment of his subject.

Our author's view that genuine demonic possession was local and temporary is stated as follows: "Its application proves that genuine demonic possession was a unique phenomenon in the history of the world; being confined indeed to the earlier portion of the ministry of our Lord." His explanation of the manifestation at that time is the following: "The incarnation initiated the establishment of the kingdom of heaven upon earth. That determined a counter-movement among the powers of darkness. Genuine demonic possession was one of its manifestations." Dr. Alexander also brings out the fact that demons were the first clearly to announce that Jesus was the true Messiah and Son of God, and that this announcement "from the mouths of the possessed was due to demonic inspiration." Our author's words concerning Jesus are such as will furnish an excellent antidote to opinions now in vogue, whose tendency is to degrade his life and work to the level of those of ordinary men. Loyalty to Christ and a belief in his supremacy and glory appear throughout the book.

When finishing the reading of this book one will be impressed, as perhaps never before, with the ridiculousness of many of the assertions concerning New Testament demoniacal possession made by men of the so-called critical school who know comparatively nothing of exegetical theology, less of the historic literature on the subject, and nothing at all of the clinical and scientific phases of the subject.

A preacher who has not gone over the ground with the same

thoroughness as has Dr. Alexander—and very few have done so—should not discuss the subject of New Testament demonology without first consulting this scholarly and timely book.

LUTHER TRACY TOWNSEND.

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DAS URCHRISTENTUM. Von C. F. GEORG HEINRICI. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. Pp. viii+143. M. 2.40.

DIE URCHRISTLICHEN GEMEINDEN: SITTENGESCHICHTLICHE BILDER. Von ERNST VON DOBSCHÜTZ. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. xvi+300. M. 6.

THESE two volumes are supplementary rather than parallel. The former discusses the organic development of Christianity; the latter treats exclusively of the moral life of early Christians.

Heinrici's task is to trace the process by which primitive Christianity became a universal religion, extending its sway over the Roman empire. He sees four stages: (1) The work of Jesus. Jesus' message was universal, rather than national; he required an inner obedience to law, instead of external observance of legal forms; he gave personal access to God, in the place of the intervention of priests, and he taught confidence in God and courage in the discharge of duty, in strong contrast to current pessimistic views of the present and the anxious expectancy with which men faced the future. (2) The constitution of Jewish Christianity. Had not Jerusalem been destroyed, Christianity would have been reckoned as but one more Jewish sect, along with the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the Essenes, and the Zealots. (3) The origin of gentile Christianity under the preaching of Paul. Paul, endowed with great organizing capacity, was still more remarkable for his breadth of view. He favored neither Jewish nor gentile Christians, but was impartial toward both. He insisted upon internal principles, and thus erected the ideal of Christian unity. (4) The triumph of Christianity over other religions and philosophies, and its spread as a world-religion. In this division the chief sources of information are the Johannine writings. While Paul conceived the idea of Christian unity, yet the fourth gospel gave to Christianity its expression as a universal religion.

Dobschütz sets out to harmonize the eulogy of the moral life of early Christians, which is contained in the *Apology* of Aristides, and

the reproofs and exhortations to more worthy living, such as are given in the Shepherd of Hermas. He inquires, not after ethics, but conduct. He examines first the Pauline church. In the different cities the church is in an immoral environment, yet it discountenances immorality, censures and punishes its members for immoral practices, and strives toward a pure ideal. In its failures it evinces not so much weakness as immaturity. The Jewish Christian church, which is next examined, did not need to develop a new ideal, in opposition to contemporary practices, as did gentile Christianity, but to strengthen and purify the ideals already at hand, derived from the Jewish law. In later gentile Christianity fluctuations are manifest, the stress changing at times from life to doctrine and then from doctrine to life, at times ascetic tendencies from without crowding in upon the ethical principles of the church; and yet the spirit of Christ prevailed, and Christians, compared with their contemporaries, have always exemplified in life loftier ethical principles, with exceptions which have ever been in the minority.

Both of these authors recognize the importance of the fourth gospel in the development of the church and the commanding influence of its author, although neither deems the apostle to be the author, Heinrici ascribing its composition to a pupil of the apostle, and Dobschütz ascribing it to the presbyter John. Each in his interpretation of primitive conditions is sane and informing.

Dobschütz renders his volume accessible by the addition of two carefully prepared indexes.

ALFRED WILLIAMS ANTHONY.

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EIN BISHER UNBEACHTETER APOKRYPHER. BERICHT ÜBER DIE TAUFJE JESU. Nebst Beiträgen zur Geschichte der Didaskalie der zwölf Apostel und Erläuterungen zu den Darstellungen der Taufe Jesu. Von ADOLF JACOBY. Mit acht Abbildungen. Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1902. M. 4.50.

THE hitherto unnoticed apocryphal account of the baptism of Jesus to which the author refers in this interesting monograph is a fragment from an Egyptian source. The author of the monograph thinks he has made probable, if not certain, that in this fragment we have the remains of a *Didaskalie of the Twelve Apostles*, now lost, but of which

we find occasional mention in Egyptian sources. Certainly such a writing was known in Egypt, though only a few traces of it now remain. This fragment, according to the author of the monograph, belongs to the latter part of the fourth century. After making a study of the title *Didaskalie* (a word which in the Greek text is known as the *διδασχί*, the *Didaché*, now so well known, having been in use in Egypt as late as the fifth century), the author of the monograph proceeds to show the influence of this Egyptian account of the baptism of Jesus, especially upon Christian art. Such apocryphal writings, from the fourth century on, says the author of the monograph, influenced the pictorial representations of the baptism of Jesus much more than the canonical gospels; as, for example, in the representation that the Jordan fled back terrified, that the Holy Spirit descended in the form of a fiery dove, that dragons were destroyed, etc., etc. The popular preaching and the legends widely circulated were influential in the same direction. Christian archæology, accordingly, must take account of these early representations of the baptism of Jesus, inasmuch as they have held fast conceptions which were dominant among the common people. As the author says, the piety of the common people, in the period to which this fragment carries us back, was nourished more by these apocryphal writings than by the too little known New Testament writings. Indeed, to us, this is one of the chief lessons which the monograph suggests, namely, that these pictorial representations do not reflect the teachings of the gospel narratives concerning the baptism of Jesus, but the teachings of narratives that had their origin in the fantasies and legends of a later age. Their study is of value from an archæological point of view, but not in determining what was the act of baptism in New Testament times.

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MARTYROLOGE DE LA SAINTE ÉGLISE DE LYON. Texte Latin inédit du XIII.^e siècle, transcrit sur le manuscrit de Bologne et publié avec préface, appendices, notes, et table onomastique. Par J. CONDAMIN et J. B. VANEL, du Clergé de Lyons. Lyons et Paris: Librairie Emmanuel Vitte, 1902. Pp. xxxii + 179.

ALREADY in the third century, martyrdom, with its heroic courage and the cult of suffering, forming the basis for the doctrine of merit and supererogatory virtue and the suggestion to an equally heroic

asceticism, was the religious and moral ideal of the church. If Christ's body was upon the altar, the relics of the martyrs, later of the saints, were actually under it. Here in the fifth century, when this cultus had come to full development, attacked only by a few voices, like Jovinian's, soon to be silenced, miracles were multiplied. The calendar already naturally used to commemorate our Lord's life, was crowded with martyrs' days. If the Nestorian liturgies still retained intercessions for the martyrs, whom the Cappadocians already regarded as heavenly powers, it was to request the prayers of saints that fifth century litanies were hymned. Martyr feasts lent themselves, by greater adaptability to local needs, to the religious-emotional habits retained from heathenism. Martyr festivals, from the fifth century on, were specially popular.

The needs of this cultus, especially of homilies to be read at the feasts, were sure finally to produce elaborate martyrologies, based on the calendar. Such arose with the intellectual revival of the ninth century. Venerable Bede (died 735) had already composed a martyrology, and it is preserved for us in the revision of Florus of Lyons. Another old martyrology is erroneously ascribed to S. Jerome. Urban (845), Ado of Vienne (860), Notker (912), Usuard (*ca.* 875), and the martyrologies in verse of Wandalbert of Prüm (851), and Erchempert of Monte Casino are all of this period.

A later age with the same needs would necessarily work over these materials, adding to the calendar the saints who had since been canonized.

Such a later martyrology, based on the ninth-century sources, is that in the Lyons Bolognese manuscript before us. Originally written in Lyons, this manuscript made its way first to the Vatican, then, from the private library of Benedict XIV. to Bologna, and thence back to Lyons, where, though occasionally referred to during the last few centuries and known to exist in the nineteenth, it has remained hidden till the praiseworthy efforts of MM. Condamin and Vanel have now brought forth this interesting monument of the early liturgic history of their diocese.

The codex contains, beside the martyrology, a number of other manuscripts (some of a merely local importance, however), such as a list of the popes, of the archbishops of Lyons, and an interesting obituary. The martyrology, with the lists of popes and archbishops and the obituary, is doubtless the primitive codex, into which the other manuscripts have crept.

The date of authorship seems fixed, by a name in the obituary—*Stephanus, presbyter bonae memoriae, . . . qui fieri fecit*—as October 30, 1163. Doubtless the original text may have been still older, for Stephen only *fieri fecit* (perhaps paid for the copy of an official text). The lists of popes and archbishops show that the present state of the manuscript is a recension of the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

The older martyrologies used as sources by our author seem to be those of pseudo-Jerome, Bede-Florus, and Ado of Vienne. Of the other ninth-century martyrologies no trace appears. Quotations from Gregory the Great, St. Cyprian, the "Ecclesiastical History," Dionysius of Alexandria, and others, show that the author was most undoubtedly broadly learned. The whole work might revise some persons' notions of the state of learning in the twelfth century. Not only does the author betray considerable reading, but his method is scientific. Miracles are not multiplied in his accounts. He was evidently not credulous. His style, which is very brief, brings out, for the most part, well-authenticated facts. Of course, some miracles were necessarily part of the ecclesiastical tradition, but he does not seek the marvelous.

From his earlier sources, following especially Venerable Bede, he has brought together a rich account, but he has also cut out and omitted much. He naturally adds many saints between the ninth and twelfth centuries to those in the sources. He especially emphasizes the martyrs and saints of Lyons and vicinity. He is full here and also when he comes to the local Roman saints, but one regrets the brevity of his notice of our own saints, British, Irish, and Anglican. This local emphasis is exactly the genius of all martyrology.

To the student of liturgical history this book must be very interesting, nor can any Christian read without a thrill this otherwise prosaic list of the heroes who won for us the triumph of our holy religion.

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DIE ETHIK DES TITUS FLAVIUS CLEMENS VON ALEXANDRIEN, oder die erste zusammenhängende Begründung der christlichen Sittenlehre. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der einschlägigen Wissenschaften. Quellenmässig bearbeitet von KONRAD ERNESTI. Paderborn: Schöningh, 1900. Pp. xii + 174. M. 4.

THE aim of this work appears in its title. It has two parts: one general, the other special. The first treats of Clement's teaching

respecting ethical good in general, including its expression in action and disposition, and in relation to God, one's neighbor, and self; also respecting moral evil, including sin, temptation, and the passions. The second part is much more elaborated. It deals with Clement's view of conversion, the Christian life, and Christian perfection. Under appropriate subordinate rubrics Clement's opinions are clearly presented, much use being made of his own language rendered into German. This survey is also fairly complete, though one could wish for greater thoroughness at some critical points. For instance, the important question as to the goal of perfection deserves fuller treatment. This would involve ampler discussion than is given of the relation in Clement's thought of its Hellenic and Christian elements, of the various senses which he attaches to knowledge, of the place he gives to contemplation and his elimination ultimately of the idea of service. Indeed, the interesting question that has been raised, whether his teaching is formally Greek but essentially Christian, or *vice versa*, is not proposed; nor is it sufficiently shown how elements from both of these sources are appropriated rather than fused.

The writer frankly professes that he judges Clement's teaching by that of the church, meaning the Roman Catholic church. In the account of Clement's views of justification (treated as sanctification) and confession, this ecclesiastical position of the interpreter is particularly apparent, to the disadvantage of his work.

Yet one of the most important advantages for our own time to be derived from a thorough, fair, critical study of the writings of this great Alexandrian teacher is hereby suggested. Modern scholarship has emphasized to the full his liberality, his breadth of view, his Hellenism. It needs to do justice to his sense of the authority and historic continuity of the Christian faith, and of the significance and value of institutional Christianity. We cannot say that the book before us, good as it is in its way, is a valuable help to such a use of Clement's writings, nor indeed, in general to their critical study.

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DAS PSEUDOTERTULLIANISCHE GEDICHT ADVERSUS MARCIONEM: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur sowie zur Quellenkritik des Marcionitismus. Von LIC. THEOL., HANS WAITZ. Darmstadt: Johannes Waitz, 1901.

THIS book is a very technical, critical discussion, interesting to

specialists, of the authorship of the Pseudotertullian's *Carmen adversus Marcionem*. That poem was first published in 1564, by George Fabricius of Basel, from a manuscript since lost. The text depends on the *editio princeps*.

Hans Waitz makes a strong argument for the identity of the author of *Carmen adversus Marcionem* with Commodian. He divides his treatise into introduction, five chapters, and conclusion. In chap. i he discusses the place and decides, on grounds of linguistic peculiarities (Africanisms) and the Tertullian tradition, that the poem must be African. If so, he shows in chap. ii the time must be the third century. Optatus Milevius says that Marcionitism had died out of Africa before the Donatist controversy. References to persecutions, etc., as well as the general theological and ecclesiastical development witnessed to by the poem, make the third century date certain. The sources used, especially for the list of the Roman bishops, catalogue of heresies, etc., would seem to be those used alike by Tertullian and Irenæus—again a confirmation of the date.

In chap. iv Waitz disposes of the claims to authorship of this poem for Tertullian, Victorinus Afer, and Victorinus of Pettau, and, in chap. v, by an elaborate comparison of language, style, and doctrinal conceptions, determines that the real author is the third-century Christian poet Commodian.

FREDERICK S. ARNOLD.

GRACE CHAPEL.
New York.

DIE KIRCHLICHE GESETZGEBUNG JUSTINIANS, hauptsächlich auf Grund der Novellen. Von LIC. THEOL., GUSTAV PFANNMÜLLER. Berlin: Schwetschke & Sohn, 1902. M. 3.60.

THIS book is a most careful and painstaking collection, from the laws of Justinian, of the ecclesiastical legislation, involving a systematic arrangement of the same. The laws are not quoted *in extenso*. The passages are cited and the content is summed up. The work is very well done and will doubtless be most useful as handbook and guide, as well to those who wish to make a thorough technical investigation of the subject as to those who desire, in conveniently short space, a good view of exactly what Justinian's ecclesiastical legislation was. Attention is given to the state of imperial law on ecclesiastical matters before Justinian's time and to the development up to Justinian, as also to the development, shown by changes in the law introduced by the later *novellæ*, within Justinian's reign. The work has three prin-

cial parts, "*De rebus sacris*," "*De personis sacris*," and "*De episcopali audientia et de diversis capitulis*, etc."—of church property, of ecclesiastical persons, of the bishop's jurisdiction, with other chapters appertaining to ecclesiastical affairs, including some local ecclesiastical legislation.

We see how far already in Justinian's time the development of that great body of ecclesiastical privilege and jurisdiction, which in mediæval Europe was to overshadow and seriously to encumber the civil authority, had gone. We see an emperor legislating in the spirit of a Becket and can understand how this was possible only when we realize that his position in ecclesiastical matters was more nearly that of the Tsar of Russia than of Henry II. Beyond Justinian, the immense step was taken, when this ecclesiastical privilege was declared independent, not merely of the subordinate civil authorities, but also of the supreme (royal or imperial) authority and traced back to higher sanctions than the emperor's edicts. Yet that step also was, perhaps, a logical advance from the principles that underlay Justinian's legislation.

The laws *De rebus sacris* show an extraordinary care of the perpetuity of the church's possessions, conceived in the spirit opposite to the English statute of Mortmain. Alienation of the church's real property was, at first, never to be permitted. Real estate could not be conveyed even under the forms of emphyteusis and fee-farm. Restitution and severe penalties were imposed upon both parties who violated this. In his later *novellæ* Justinian found it necessary to mitigate this strictness, in cases where the church had debts that could not be otherwise discharged, but the bishop and the civil magistrate had to decide that each special case came *bona fide* under this exception. The church at Jerusalem was also made an exception, because it had to entertain all the pilgrims of the world. Movables could only be alienated for the redemption of captives.

De personis sacris treats of monks and nuns, of bishops, and of the other clergy, and of deaconesses. Monks and nuns are to be subject to the bishop. Men and women are not to live in the same monastery, which they still did in the ancient British church; if they already are doing so, they shall separate. The law is strict in every way about the separation of the sexes and the confinement of the religious, who are not to wander from their own houses. The freedom of the election of abbots and abbesses is secured. The election is not necessarily to go by seniority. Monks and nuns, as also the clergy, are not liable

for military or civil service or to be made guardians, though the clergy may be executors. On the other hand, no *curialis* or *cohortalis* may become a monk or a clergyman without special permission, and such persons may then become celibate clergymen only. The bishops, but not their clergy, are exempt from the *patriae potestas*. Priests, if married, must be married to virgins, and before ordination. Bishops may not be married. Non-residence of the clergy is legislated against, especially their flocking up to the capital. Provincial synods must be held biennially. Excommunication is restrained, the beginning of a feeling that came out in the constitutions of Clarendon.

The most interesting part of the work is perhaps *De episcopalis audientia*. In all purely ecclesiastical cases the bishop has sole jurisdiction. So also, with considerable qualification, in civil cases between clerics and, with consent of the layman, between a cleric and a layman, though at first, here only as arbitrator. In criminal cases the clergy have not yet made good their claim. The bishop has extensive oversight over the civil authority in the cases of charitable and religious bequests, and the care of exposed children, and of orphans, lunatics, and fallen women. These are long steps toward the extravagant ecclesiastical privilege of the Middle Ages, and the great interest of this book lies in the foundation, which it shows was here laid for that superstructure. The student of mediæval church history will find it very valuable.

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GRACE CHAPEL,
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GESCHICHTE DER VANDALEN. Von LUDWIG SCHMIDT. Leipzig:
Teubner, 1901. Pp. iv+203. M.5.

THIS monograph upon the history of the Vandals abounds in scholarly research, but is a book to be shunned by the reader sensitive to literary form. The references are either cited in footnotes or embraced by parentheses in the body of the text, with no apparent rule of practice; there are no paragraphs to break the monotony of the page, and there is no index.

After tracing the early history of the Vandals the author proceeds to show the causes which made the Vandal conquest possible. He shows how the Vandals found support in the half-savage tribes around Atlas, and from the sect of the Donatists. But the nature of the Roman rule in Africa as a *foreign* domination is not enough emphasized. The roots of

the Donatist heresy were deep in the native population ; the strength of orthodoxy was in the official class. The devastation wrought by the invaders from Tangiers to Tripoli was terrible, but much of it must be laid to the licentiousness of the Moor, the vengeance of the revolting slaves, and the fanaticism of the heretic. The blind and wanton destruction typified in the word "vandalism" is not wholly just. Dr. Schmidt proves that Genseric—he prefers this form of the name—made the Vandal rule popular with the people of Africa ; that Mauritania was happier under it than under the late Roman domination. The most valuable chapter of the book, where he presents most that is new, is that upon the institutions of the Vandal kingdom. It is hard not to believe that the author here becomes a special pleader. Was the Vandal government so pacific and mild? Was there little violent dispossession of Roman proprietors, seeing that they were of the Roman official class? The author seems to have exhausted German authorities upon the subject, but the fine work of the French historians and archæologists, with the exception of Diehl, seems to be unappreciated. English research has been wholly ignored. Bury's *Later Roman Empire*, Freeman's brilliant essay in the *English Historical Review* upon the treason of Count Boniface, and Holmes's *Churches in North Africa*, the luminous Hulsean prize essay of 1895, all fail of mention. One misses also the work of the Mohammedan scholar, El Kairouani.

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LES GRANDS PHILOSOPHES. SAINT ANSELME. PAR LE COMTE DOMET DE VORGES, membre étranger de l'Académie Romaine de Saint-Thomas, président honoraire de la Société de Saint-Thomas d'Aquin de Paris, etc. Paris: Alcan, 1901. Pp. vi+329. Fr. 5.

THE name of Anselm almost inevitably suggests the most distinctive and original of his contributions to theology, the famous ontological argument for the existence of God. This argument has had a history important enough to warrant a strong interest in its origin. Accepted with more or less reserve by many of Anselm's successors and modified by Descartes, it was given its death blow, as it seemed, by Kant. But in a changed form it soon reappeared as the chief argument of an important school of modern philosophy. The change in the form of the argument, however, must be kept clearly in mind. Otherwise the use of the same term to indicate the argument of

Anselm and that of the Hegelian and neo-Hegelian idealists is confusing to the student. The modern argument is more strictly the ontological argument. That of Anselm might better be designated as ideological, if I may be allowed an unaccustomed use of this term. For Anselm sought from the nature of our idea of God to prove his existence, whereas the modern idealist who uses the ontological argument seeks to prove the existence of God from the nature of being in general, and concludes that for anything to be at all means that it exists as an element in the all-embracing, conscious life of the absolute, or God.¹ While both forms of the argument have the same goal, they start from different centers. The pre-Kantian argument started with the idea of God existent in the mind; the post-Kantian, with the idea of being, which it elaborates dialectically. For the rest, the old form of the argument was very short; the modern is very long.

Any suggestion of such a transformation in the ontological argument, or of its use by modern idealists, is wanting in the present volume. But meager space is given to Kant's criticism, and the statement fails to make the point of his attack clear. Hegel's attitude also receives but brief attention. Far more space is devoted to the opinions of Catholic theologians concerning the validity of the argument, which in its Anselmic form might well have received short shrift.

The author does well in emphasizing the other elements of Anselm's theology, and it would be interesting, if space permitted, to follow him through the chapters dealing with the criterion of truth, the nature of the soul, freedom, and allied topics. The entire discussion is made to yield comparisons with the teaching of Thomas Aquinas. The opinions of the "angelic doctor" are, of course, accepted in thoroughly orthodox fashion. Apropos of the relation of Anselm to Thomas Aquinas, the thesis presented is that the Aristotelian philosophy of the thirteenth century was not a complete transformation of earlier views, but that the chief solutions which it offered existed even in the eleventh century, though confessedly in much less exact and developed form. In keeping with this view the author seeks to minimize the realism of Anselm's teaching. There break through the discussion, however, indications of the motives which drove such a thinker to realism. Thus, *e. g.*, in the doctrine of the Trinity nominalism was abhorrent because it seemed to lead inevitably to tri-Theism.

The book is written in clear and pleasing style, and illustrates in

¹ *Cf.*, *e. g.*, the elaborate use of this argument by PROFESSOR ROYCE in *The World and the Individual*.

this respect the merits of the school from which it issues. On the other hand, its defects are obvious. With considerable freedom of thought, within the limits allowed by Roman theology, there goes an easy credulity which, at times, is painfully childish. Miracles ascribed by tradition to the holy archbishop are recounted without any suggestion of criticism, and the Christian theology of the thirteenth century is regarded as a scientifically complete system of thought. How invulnerable is pious (?) credulity when the conscience is enlisted in its support by the belief that intellectual doubt is moral delinquency.

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QUELLEN UND FORSCHUNGEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DER DEUTSCHEN
MYSTIK. VON RUDOLF LANGENBERG. Bonn: P. Hanstein's
Verlag, 1902. Pp. xi + 204. M 5.

THE portion of Holland's religious history which appeals to our sympathies more than any other is probably the mysticism of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of course, we do not forget William of Orange and the Spanish barbarities, nor the synod of Dort and the controversies which were waged around it. There is something genial in the pietistic movement which claims such names as Ruysbroeck, Gerard de Groote, John Celle, Radewyns, Broderinck, and Thomas à Kempis and the convents of Zwolle and Windesheim. The Brothers of the Common Life were in the deeper sense precursors of the Reformation, not because they made public protest against unscriptural ceremonials and dogmas, but because they were striving after close communion with God by inward devotions and scriptural studies.

Langenberg gives us a fresh insight into the piety of those two centuries in the Lowlands, that loosely defined territory from Cologne and Aachen to the western side of Holland and Belgium, where the High German shaded off into Dutch. Here we have, first of all, the lost tract on simony, *De Simonia ad beguttas*, written by Gerard de Groote. Langenberg found the manuscript in the convent of Frenswegen, near Nordhorn. Of Groote's writings we have only a small number in Latin and a few sermons and translations. When he died in 1384 the pope was adjudicating his case upon his appeal from the decision of the archbishop of Utrecht. The decision went against him, but he lives as the advocate of a practical form of piety. He was

a sort of Theodore Fliedner of the time. He went alongside of the church in all its ritual and in fact was called a "hammer of the heretics,"¹ and yet through sermon and writing and benefaction he breathed out a new spirit of helpful religious devotion and admonition. He knew Ruysbroeck and spent several days with him at Groenendal, but probably too much is said when Dr. Lea calls him the "most distinguished disciple of Ruysbroeck." How far Groote was dependent upon him, as a pupil is upon the master, we do not know. Certainly Ruysbroeck's life was one of retirement, Groote's one rather of public activity.

In this long-lost tract Groote gives answer to a question propounded by some Beguines who had asked whether it was simony to purchase a prebend in a Beguine convent. The author says that simony "prevails very much everywhere," and that it was not punished by the church. He declares that it is simony when the place purchased involves spiritual prerogatives. He goes on to apply the principle to civil offices and declares it to be simony when they are purchased for money. The work is written in Low German. It is valuable, not as an argument, but for the insight which it gives to the pious circles of the Lowlands at that time.

The other documents with which Langenberg's volume is filled are also valuable for this end. Here we have a poem on the wise and foolish virgins :

Van viff juncfrouwen de wis weren
Unde van vif dwasen wilt nu hir leren.

Another is on the evils of the May pole and dancing. A third is a translation of Bernard's *Jesu dulcis memoria*, and in the same tender pulsation of style. Here are rules for good living, some of them taken from Ephesians on the relations of man and wife ; and here is a letter on "Unchastity, or against Earthly Love," by a monk to a niece of Münster who had yielded up her virtue. The kinsman warns young women against displays of dress and gestures, intended to attract young men, especially on the cathedral square. The volume closes with a chapter on the relation of the mystics of the Lowlands to Meister Eckart—a subject the author has before discussed in a dissertation in 1899. His conclusion is that we are completely in the dark about any immediate connection between them.

If Langenberg publishes the hitherto lost Latin writings of Groote

¹ See HANSEN, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hexenwesens*, p. 361.

which he announces he has found, he may prove to be the chief contributor to our knowledge of that good man since Thomas à Kempis wrote four hundred years ago and more.

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DIE BRÜDER ALFONSO UND JUAN DE VALDÉS. Zwei Lebensbilder aus der Geschichte der Reformation in Spanien und Italien. Von WILHELM SCHLATTER. Basel: R. Reich, 1901. Pp. v+244. M. 4.

THIS monograph on the twin brothers, Alfonso and Juan de Valdés, is based on careful study of the sources, and is a really valuable contribution to our knowledge of the reformatory movements in Spain and Italy during the Reformation. Alfonso was secretary to Charles V., and an enthusiastic and valued friend of Erasmus. He defended the sack of Rome as a judgment of God on the pope, lent his friendly mediation to Melancthon at the diet of Augsburg at a time when the friends of the cause were timid and few, but was repelled by Luther's quarrelsomeness and remained to the end a humanist and Erasmian.

His brother Juan idled away ten years of his youth with the romances of chivalry, but ended by becoming a religious teacher of remarkable spiritual elevation and power. He was a man of weak body, but of acute mind, a self-restrained, Christian gentleman, a writer of remarkable fertility, and an author of classic Spanish style. He wrote a treatise on his native tongue at a time when everybody was mad for Latin, and was the first, so far as we know, to translate the Bible into Spanish from the original. He wrote expositions of the Scriptures that are modern in their grammatical and historical method and their rejection of allegory, and also in their delicate psychological insight. He was a layman, a self-taught theologian, modern, too, in his distrust of dogma and his self-limitation to religious experience. He was the spiritual guide of cultured men, and of women like Julia Gonzaga and Vittoria Colonna, the inspirer of eminent preachers like Ochino, the moving spirit of the reformatory movement in Naples, which was nipped in the bud by the Inquisition. His early death probably saved him from rupture with the church or martyrdom.

The author gives us excellent summaries of his books and his teaching; he fails to trace the spiritual ancestry of Valdés. He was not a Lutheran. He was so little a Calvinist that Calvin and Beza united

with the Holy Office in destroying his chief work, the 110 Considerations. He has been charged with being an Anabaptist. Schlatter defends him against so grievous an accusation. But it is clear that he belongs to none of the doctrinal types of the Reformation, and that he does belong to that older evangelical school to which Tauler and the *Deutsche Theologie* belong, and by that fact he is more closely related to the Anabaptists than to the German or Swiss Reformers. I surmise that the author has missed the most interesting and important historical meaning of the man by his unwillingness to recognize that connection.

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PHILIPP MELANCHTHON: Ein Lebensbild. Von GEORG ELLINGER. Mit einem Bildnis Melanchthons. Berlin: Gaertner. 1902. Pp. xvi + 624.

A NEW life of Melanchthon may be justified either by the accumulation of new materials for it or by the desire to reach a circle of readers hitherto but little interested in the subject. Both these reasons have made their influence felt in the production of this book. Since the appearance of Schmidt's *Life and Writings of Melanchthon* in 1861, many pamphlets concerning him have been published, each containing some small discovery, and all together affording a rich gleanings. The memorial year 1897 was especially prolific of these brochures. Ellinger has made good use of them. He has been led to write also by the desire to extend the knowledge of Melanchthon among the German people, to many of whom he is little more than an honored name.

But this book is not adapted to the popular taste. Though "a hero of the Reformation," Melanchthon is not a popular hero. His quiet and uneventful life was one which no literary skill can make romantic to the world at large. But were it in itself more stirring and fascinating, Ellinger would not be read by many of the common people. For, first, his book is too bulky. And it is too bulky because it is diffuse. He seems to have supposed that condensation would make it difficult for ordinary readers, whereas few of them will have leisure for his prolixity. But, still further, his book lacks a dramatic element which he might have given it. In this respect it contrasts strongly with Richard's *Philipp Melanchthon*, which consists largely of excerpts

from letters and other documents of the sixteenth century, and is varied with dialogues and anecdotes from the pens of eye-witnesses. Ellinger has worked everything over in his own language, often to the sacrifice of vigor, of point, of raciness.

But, after we have made these deductions, the value of the book remains great. It shows us, more clearly than any other biography of Melanchthon, the formation of his character, the genesis of his opinions and conduct, and the motives which led him to change his views of Christian doctrine at certain points. Its delineation of the inner Melanchthon has not been equalled. Especially is it to be commended for its frank abandonment of all efforts to make Melanchthon and Luther see exactly alike, and for its recognition of the early and long-continued divergence of some of their opinions. It is refreshing also in its portraiture of those characteristics of Luther by which Melanchthon was frequently wounded.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON. *

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BISHOP BUTLER. By W. A. SPOONER, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford, and Honorary Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1901. Pp. vii + 262. \$1, *net*.

TWO ELABORATE and sumptuous editions of Bishop Butler's works have been published within the last six years. This would seem to indicate that they still have an interest for the reading public—a matter of no surprise when we reflect how much there is in the temper and methods of Butler which falls in with the needs of our times and suits its scientific spirit. This new book, in no way pretending to compete with these larger works, has yet a worthy object of its own, which is: first, to view Butler in his historical setting, "to see him in the light of the times in which he lived, the questions with which his thoughts were occupied, the controversies in which he bore so leading a part." But, in the second place, the author endeavors to appraise the value of Butler's contributions to English thought. This task, philosophical rather than historical, is difficult, and requires here as elsewhere the ability and learning to separate the solid and permanent element in his writings from the more or less ephemeral and transitory. So only can the lessons of abiding interest be determined. Of these lessons which Butler taught, the author—rightly, as it seems to me—gives first place to his vindication of the originality, independence, and

authority of conscience. This truth is the bedrock on which Butler's whole system rests, and crops up in *Sermons*, *Dissertation on Virtue*, and *Analogy* alike. Against this ultimate belief the skepticism of the times beats in vain, and will ever do so.

Again, the author points out suggestively how, while Butler's contemporaries approach God from the side of the logical intellect, he himself advanced to the belief from the side of conscience—a point in which modern theology, especially the Ritschlian type, is continuous with Butler. But a third characteristic of Butler's writings must not be omitted—the conspicuous fairness and impartiality with which he states his case. This is Butler's great moral merit. Butler deserves honorable distinction among all theologians for his readiness to face unwelcome and unpalatable truths, if only they are supported by sufficient evidence. Closely connected with this was his clear apprehension of the great extent of human ignorance. All this, and much more, Mr. Spooner sets forth with admirable insight and poise, and the book is to be heartily recommended as an introduction to the great *Analogy*.

One feels like adding that such a mind as Butler's has a peculiar value and a special message for times of transition like our own, when discovery is active and speculation almost unlimited. For what men at such times need more than anything else is "in patience to possess their souls," and this is just the frame of mind which the bishop's works inculcate and encourage.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

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ENGLAND AND THE HOLY SEE: AN ESSAY TOWARDS REUNION.

By SPENCER JONES, M.A. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Pp. 440. \$2.25.

THIS is a curious book. The author is a clergyman of the Anglican communion, though it is hard to divest oneself of the feeling that he must be a Roman priest. The whole atmosphere of the book is decidedly papal. The design of the volume is the promotion of the reunion of Western Christendom, especially the reunion of the Anglican and Roman branches. The way to do it, according to the author, is as simple as falling off a log. Some center of union is necessary. Rome, being the largest and oldest religious body, seems the proper center. Now, it is evident from long experience that Rome will not change. The Protestant bodies often do change. The thing, then,

to do is for the changing bodies to flock to the unchanging — for us all to seek union with Rome. If the mountain will not come to Mahomet, why Mahomet must go to the mountain! It is probable that many people will say such talk is neither sane nor serious, but the author does not think so. He really seems to think that there could be such a method of reunion. The arguments he uses are ingenious, but they are often flimsy and superficial, and he goes over a great deal of old straw which has been threshed a hundred times. But all this does not prevent his saying many good and pointed things, and while his style is jagged he is often interesting. He makes a good point in exposing the absurd notions so many Protestants have about Roman Catholics, thinking, for example, that their religion consists in crossings, etc., and prayers to the Virgin. He shows that the Roman church nurtured some of the loftiest types of personal religion and sacrifice of self for Christ's sake that the world has ever known. He punctures the bladder that Romanists do not read the Bible or preach the Bible. He shows, what is known to every scholar, that the sermons of the priests and friars in the Middle Ages were crammed full of scripture, and that before Luther was born many editions of the German Bible were in free circulation. He also shows how absurd much of the Protestant talk about Jesuits really is. When, however, you meet such statements as the one on p. 110, that Peter was the visible head of the council of Jerusalem, or the one on p. 315, that the immaculate conception of the Virgin has ever formed part of the original revelation committed to the apostles, you close the book in despair.

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A HISTORY OF THE PLYMOUTH BRETHREN. By WILLIAM BLAIR NEATBY, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901. Pp. xii + 348. 6 s.

THE author is the well-educated son of a somewhat eminent member of the Plymouth Brotherhood, and, having for many years been intimately associated with Brethrenism in its various phases, is in a position to enter sympathetically into the higher and nobler features of the movement and at the same time to appreciate to the full the weaknesses and pettinesses of the system. He has the advantage of being the first to attempt a connected history of this remarkable movement and of having had access to all sources of information, printed,

written, and oral. It is probable that no other individual could have commanded so complete a body of information. Understanding the spirit of the movement as no outsider could hope to do, and now fully emancipated from the thralldom of its dominant ideas, his qualifications for his task are well-nigh ideal. The author's scrupulous care to state the exact facts and to point out the degrees of credibility, where certainty cannot be attained, is manifest on nearly every page. Owing to the nature of the subject-matter, the work is literally filled with controversial materials. While the volume before us is a most admirable piece of work, its story is inexpressibly dreary and sad. The irony of the situation is most remarkable. Repudiating his own church (the Church of England) and all other denominations of Christians as apostate because of their sectarianism (gathering, as he said they did, not to the name of Christ, but to some particular doctrine or practice or to some party leader), Darby became himself the most arbitrary and intolerant of all party leaders, and carried the principle of sectarianism further than it was ever carried in the whole history of Christianity. Professing to be guided in everything by the Spirit of God, he manifested in his attitude toward such of his followers as came to differ from him in some point of speculative theology an intolerance, a rancor, a willingness to impute improper motives, and a disregard for truthfulness that are hard to reconcile with his remarkable devoutness, his half-century of ceaseless and self-sacrificing labors, and his gentle and affectionate bearing toward those that remained faithful to him.

Any attempt to characterize the movement or to indicate the schisms that have occurred, and their causes, would unduly prolong this notice. It must suffice to call attention to Darby's view of the church and to his mode of exercising discipline. He limited the church of Christ to those who were "gathered to Christ's name" in complete agreement with himself as regards open ministry, rigorous exclusion from communion of all who in doctrine or in practice were out of accord with his teachings, and all other matters of doctrine and practice. He denied the existence of local churches. The unity of the church he constantly insisted upon. The retention in its fellowship of a member whose doctrine or practice differed from his own by any local assembly was a sufficient ground for the disfellowshipping of the entire assembly. When an assembly had been disfellowshipped all other assemblies were required to refuse communion with any individual member of it. If a member of an assembly otherwise in good fellowship communed with a member of a disfellowshipped assembly and was not disciplined there-

for by his own assembly, the latter likewise incurred the penalty of excommunication. It was not the privilege of a Darbyite assembly in any part of the world to hold aloof from a controversy that had arisen in any assembly. Each assembly must consider and pronounce upon every question that might be mooted in any assembly and exclude any member that refused to accept Darby's view, or itself as a whole suffer exclusion from the brotherhood. The point in dispute might be purely speculative, and, to any sane mind, of very slight importance. The result of this view of the church and this method of exercising discipline has been endless subdivision, the various parties not only dis-fellowshipping each other and refusing even to sustain social relations with each other, but also charging each other freely with untruthfulness and imposture. Brethrenism from the first laid great stress on premillennialism and the study of the prophetic Scriptures with reference to this doctrine. It has greatly promoted a certain kind of biblical study and a certain kind of evangelism. But the system as such has experienced a complete *reductio ad absurdum*.

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LE LIVRE DE LA PRIÈRE ANTIQUE. Par R. P. DOM FERNAND CABROL, Prieur de Farnborough. Paris : Oudin, 1900. Pp. xvii+573. Fr. 3.75.

DAS GEBET IN DER ÄLTESTEN CHRISTENHEIT. Eine geschichtliche Untersuchung. Von EDUARD FREIHERRN VON DER GOLTZ, Pastor zu Deyelsdorf. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. Pp. xvi+368. M. 6.80.

THE similarity of titles would naturally suggest that these two monographs not only have the same topic, but are alike in intention. Yet but a little reading in each reveals the fact that, however close they may be in the objects which they consider, their points of view are so far apart that they seem hardly to belong together. They offer a striking illustration of how diverse are the angles from which antiquity is regarded by modernity, especially where ecclesiastical influences strike in to fix the method of vision and the media through which the facts are seen. For this very reason, however, there is a peculiar suggestiveness in examining the two books in close succession.

Father Cabrol is a Benedictine monk, brought by his position as prior of Farnborough into contact with minds not born into the tradi-

tions of Rome. He has written his book, therefore, as an apologetic and a manual for inquirers. "If the church," he says in his preface, "is, as we believe, the true society founded by Christ and blessed by God, not only ought she to teach her members to pray, but also her prayer ought to be the most excellent, the most true, and the most efficacious." The entire purpose of the book is to show how elaborate and how fine is the provision of the manuals of the church, particularly the Breviary and the Missal, for this purpose, and at the same time to offer to those who may not know them the means to understand them and to use them as devout Catholics do. He justly complains that many Protestants show themselves at great disadvantage when they inveigh against usages that they have not actually learned to know.

But to this half-polemic purpose is added a considerable amount of historical enthusiasm, which would carefully trace the growth of usages in a purely scientific spirit. Evidently the author has been a diligent student of the treatises of his own school of research. His many references and his critical remarks evince a wide acquaintance with the technical literature of the subject and a power to assimilate it. The difficulty here is, as always for such students, that they are bound to assume that what the church has ordained from time to time is endowed with a "divine right," and not seriously to be criticized either as to logical consistency or as to practical efficiency. The peril of liturgiolatry is not easy to escape under such conditions.

The plan of the book includes the following parts. After showing how much of the Biblical formulæ of prayer is incorporated into "the liturgy," though without indicating whether wisely utilized or not, there follows a suggestive sketch of early Christian usages as to assemblies, formulæ and customs of prayer—all pressed somewhat far in justifying the Roman Catholic claims as to the authority of antiquity, but of real value in itself nevertheless. The next sections treat of the historic usages connected with the day, the week, and the year, of the adoration of Christ, of the Virgin, and the saints, of the sanctification of edifices and cemeteries, and of various ritual implements, like oil, lights, incense, and bells, and of the rituals connected with baptism, confession, pilgrimages, sickness, and death, ordinations of every degree, marriage, and burial. Finally, a collection of forms of prayer for various occasions and times is made up of well-selected extracts from patristic literature, some in the original Greek or Latin and some rendered into French. (Incidentally it is proper to remark that either the author or his printer needs to make a new study of Greek accents

and breathings, which are rather recklessly tossed about in a way to make the punctilious grieve.)

In spite of the writer's care in referring to all the varieties of prayer usages in the Catholic liturgical system, and of his apparent desire to trace the genesis of these usages from very early times, and of his fullness of reference on many details to authorities, we must confess that the total value of his treatise is disappointingly small, except for popular information. It embodies no specially independent research. It avoids critical and philosophical questions. It constantly betrays what must be called a shallowness of reflection and of experience about prayer that seems to be due to a lifelong slavery to formalism in worship. The scholar finds himself in doubt whether the book contains anything not readily accessible elsewhere, while the more general reader gains nothing especially stimulating from it except a new sense of the multifariousness of the Catholic system. Those who would be specially benefited by it—namely, the many Protestants who have no idea of how a serious and cultivated priest thinks about his system—are not likely to take time to read and digest it.

The moment we turn to von der Goltz's book we find ourselves in a totally different atmosphere. This is a treatise on the doctrine and substance of prayer, rather than on its mere liturgical history. Yet the method is rigidly historical—a study of the matter of prayer as treated, first, by Jesus; second, by Paul; third, by the Early Christian period generally; and fourth, by the mediæval church as it gradually took shape at the end of that period. To this survey is added an exhaustive collection of prayer forms from the New Testament and from early patristic writings. A mere glance at the table of contents, at some of the notes, at the minute indexes of passages and early documents quoted, shows that this is a sweepingly thorough piece of work, elaborate, precise, critical.

But when one begins to read in earnest he discovers that the writer is much more than a keen searcher after data. He is an analyst and interpreter of the first order. We wonder whether there is a better summary available of the material about prayer in the New Testament, including both the Christian teachings about the prayer attitude and the early illustrations of how that attitude expressed itself in words. The author is perfectly at home in the modern criticism of the New Testament and marshals his treatment accordingly, but his criticism does not clog the step of his determination to find in the teachings and utterances of Jesus and of the great apostle the injunctions and implications

that have lasting significance. As illustrations it is enough to refer to the masterly handling of the Lord's prayer (pp. 35-53), or of the prayer in John, chap. 17 (pp. 30-35), which he freely admits is not a verbal transcript, but a true "picture of the Savior" nevertheless, or of the relation of Paul to the development of the Christian prayer idea (pp. 81-122). In summing up his results regarding Jesus he urges that the main thing to observe is the new *Gebetsgeist* that he exhibited and taught—the spirit of a child with his father—a spirit which our author acknowledges in advance was not always properly appreciated by the periods that followed, but which not even persistent ecclesiastical misconception could repress or set aside. The chief conservative influence in the evolution of Christian prayer—apart from the general guidance of the Spirit among believers—he finds in the notable indications given by Paul, a true "man of prayer," of how prayer was to be maintained and cultivated in the church, with emphasis always upon praise, thanksgiving, trust, and the inner needs of individual experience.

As the author passes to consider prayer in later periods it is significant that the working of his analytical acumen leads him to trace in the phenomena before him certain elements of the prayer attitude (*Gebetsgesinnung*), especially veracity, humility, purity of heart, assurance, and the like—elements which he rightly calls "*katholisierend*," though not consistently recognized as such. The ideality of standpoint which such an analysis as this implies does not interfere with the cool, critical examination of the rather scattered and somewhat puzzling references to prayer in Clement's First Epistle, in the *Didaché*, in Ignatius, Justin, the new-found collection of Serapion, Hippolytus, and Books VII and VIII of the Apostolic Constitutions—all of which are discussed briefly, but with conspicuous insight.

The examination of the growth of usage in the more definitely ecclesiastical periods that followed the first century is far more rapid and sketchy, but touches suggestively upon confession of sin, general intercession, the eucharistic prayers, prayers for catechumens and at baptism, ordination prayers, and prayers at morning and evening and at meals. To this section follows an able summary of early treatises upon the subject of prayer, as by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and Cyprian, with somewhat extended notices of the treatment of the subject in the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, among the Gnostics generally, and in the older martyrologies—thus covering the development during the first three centuries. It is confessed that the first

impression of the progress is that of degeneration, simply because what is found contrasts so poorly with the simple and lofty ideal set up by Christianity's founder. But it is also urged that we have no right to condemn the formalistic and occasionally fantastic experiments of these times, but should rather trace in them the struggling to the surface of principles and tendencies to which only the lapse of time could give regnancy and permanency. Possibly it is fair to say that in the difficulty of assimilating and adopting Christ's principle of prayer which his earlier followers seem to have experienced lies an important evidence of how novel and profound was the revelation that he brought of what prayer really is.

We cannot help wondering whether by this time the authors of these two books have each read the other's work, and, if so, what each has thought. We suspect that the Roman prior has far more to learn than the Protestant pastor of the inner richness of this important subject. Certainly the treatise of the latter has infinitely greater practical value to most evangelical students, unless they are unacquainted with the rudiments of liturgical history.

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ZUR GESCHICHTE DER KATHOLISCHEN BEICHTE. Von DR. P. A. KIRSCH. Mit oberheitlicher Approbation. Würzburg: Göbel & Scherer, 1902. Pp. 225. M. 2.40.

ZUR GESCHICHTE DER EVANGELISCHEN BEICHTE. I. *Die katholische Beichtpraxis bei Beginn der Reformation und Luthers Stellung dazu in den Anfängen seiner Wirksamkeit.* Von PASTOR E. FISCHER, Seminaroberlehrer in Sagan. Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1902. Pp. vii+216. M. 4.50.

THESE two writers have no reference to each other, yet their books present very well the opposing sides of the controversy about the Roman Catholic confessional.

Dr. Kirsch was moved to defend the confessional by an attack of the Swiss Old Catholic bishop, Herzog. He finds authority for it in the scriptures and in the practice of the church as early as Tertullian, and produces one of the best of the brief affirmative arguments. He admits that the practice of the early church differed in form from that which now prevails, but maintains that "in essence it was exactly the

same." He is able to do this with some show of reason by taking advantage of the prevalent fondness for the doctrine of evolution and the readiness of men to identify existing customs with any hint of those distantly resembling them which may be found in the dawn of history and to apply biological theories to all human institutions.

Fischer gives us the opening chapters of a history of confession in the Lutheran church. But preparatory to this, he reviews much of the historic ground which Kirsch selects for his defense. He is chiefly concerned, however, with the state of the Roman Catholic confessional at the beginning of the Reformation, with the attitude of growing hostility to it which Luther assumed, and with his efforts to preserve a modified form of it. Later chapters will relate the varying fortunes of this Protestant confessional in the Lutheran church. The chief interest of the present instalment centers in its unsparing exhibition of the corruptions of the Roman Catholic confessional at the opening of the sixteenth century.

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ÉTUDES D'HISTOIRE ET DE THÉOLOGIE POSITIVE. Par PIERRE BATIFFOL, Recteur de l'Institut Catholique de Toulouse. Paris: Lecoffre, 1902. Pp. viii + 311. Fr. 3.50.

THE author in his discussions proposes to consider nothing but facts established by ancient documents or texts. Still, in the spirit of a loyal Roman Catholic, he assumes that the church has solved the problems pertaining to the sacraments, the clerical order and penance. Nevertheless evolution, the law of the continuity of historical phenomena, has, in our day, raised doctrinal problems unknown to ancient theologians; and while the author indulges to some extent in theological discussion, he is chiefly interested in the evolution of the phenomena that pertain to the church, leaving the doctrinal problems that thereby emerge to be solved by the ecclesiastical authorities constituted for that purpose.

First, he thoroughly discusses the *arcanum*. He asserts that the term "arcanum" was not invented by the Roman Catholics, but in the seventeenth century by the distinguished Protestant, Daillé. By the testimony of the fathers, he shows that the Arcanum had no existence before the third century. It was then simply a catechetical rule. In order that the catechumens might be suitably impressed with the awful solemnity of the sacraments, some facts concerning them were

withheld. According to our author, this is all there is of the hotly debated Arcanum.

He also considers at length the subject of penance. In doing so he purposely omits all reference to the New Testament and considers penance only as an ecclesiastical phenomenon. Early in the Christian era men were supposed to be made absolutely pure in baptism. Some taught that thereafter they must live like the angels; and if they sinned there was no longer any hope of their salvation. Others, like the Pastor of Hermas, taught that even those who committed the greatest sins after baptism could be forgiven and saved on the condition of sincere repentance, but that such sinners must make their souls suffer, must humiliate and mortify them. The author traces the evolution of this doctrine down through several centuries, setting forth the power to forgive conferred on martyrs and bishops. He takes up the theological discussions of penitence and reveals the discordance of Catholic theologians. In this part of the book he very severely criticises Henry Charles Lea, declaring that "he is a Protestant of the kind whose Protestantism is exclusively an anti-Catholicism."

The primitive hierarchy also receives his attention. In the New Testament he finds bishops, also called presbyters, and deacons. These two orders formed a hierarchy that governed the laity. The meaning of *ἐκκλησία* is an assembly, but came to designate the whole group of Christians in any given place. When in a local church one of several bishops was invested with supremacy, the others became a subordinate order. "We priests are the successors of the primitive bishops, not of the presbyters." And this was the manner of their evolution. Elder or presbyter was a title of honor given to the earliest converts, benefactors, and patrons of the church, like Nymphas, Philemon, and Aquila. The recipient of the title was thereby placed at the head of the community of believers, without any priestly function. This primitive eldership was the original envelope of the hierarchy. It disappeared because it was simply a preparatory form. If we may still further illustrate the author's conception, it was the chrysalis of the butterfly, the Romish priesthood.

This is not an evolution of history; it is simply spun out of the fertile brain of the author. The elders and bishops of the New Testament are identical, as our author seems to admit. Their functions and their duties were the same. Their special qualification was aptness in teaching and ability to convince the gainsayers. And Paul gave the highest honor to those elders who labored hard in word and

doctrine. And such persons as Nymphas and Philemon, mentioned by the author, are not in the New Testament called elders. He will have to find some other way to evolve the Romish priesthood; it is possible that its roots are not in the New Testament.

Finally the author discusses the *agapé*. He finds no trace of it during the first four centuries. Paul, to be sure, speaks of a meal partaken of in connection with the Lord's Supper, but he denies that this was an *agapé*, since there was no liturgical or priestly service connected with it.

This book is well written. Its discussions evince broad scholarship. It is interesting throughout. The author, a loyal Roman Catholic, acknowledges that in his historical investigations he must take into account the law of evolution. In his effort so to do he has been measurably successful.

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ZUR GESCHICHTE DES SITTlichen DENKENS UND LEBENS. Neun Vorträge. Von DR. K. DORNER. Hamburg und Leipzig: Voos, 1901. Pp. xii + 200. M. 4.

STUDIEN ZUR ALTPROTESTANTISCHEN ETHIK. Von GUSTAV HOENNICKE, DR. PHIL., LIC. THEOL., Privatdozent an der Universität Berlin. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1902. Pp. 132.

ZWEI ETHISCH-RELIGIÖSE ABHANDLUNGEN. Von SÖREN KIERKEGAARD. I: *Darfein Mensch sich für die Wahrheit tödten lassen?* II: *Ueber den Unterschied zwischen einem Genie und einem Apostel.* Zum ersten Male aus dem Dänischen übersetzt, von JULIE VON REINCKE. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1902. Pp. 72.

THESE three books, as shown by their titles, have to do with the mutual relations of theology and ethics. The titles also show that the scope of discussion in the first is far more comprehensive than is that in either of the other two. Kierkegaard confines himself closely to the topics named in the title of his book. He is original, incisive, and interesting in thought and style. His first treatise, in the Danish, is "a poetic essay," which may explain, if not excuse, its failure as a clear, direct, progressive exposition of principles. His second defines sharply and emphasizes strongly the distinction between the authority of an

apostle and a man of genius, between Holy Scripture as the product of plenary divine inspiration and all other writings.

Hoennicke presents clearly and systematically the ethical aspects of the doctrinal teaching of the Lutheran theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as represented by Melancthon, Gerhard, and Quenstedt. In doing this he traces the development of Lutheran doctrine from Luther through Melancthon and Gerhard to Quenstedt, and shows how the theological interest tended to encroach upon the ethical more and more, while at the same time there were developed profound and helpful views of the moral law and moral life. He has done with conscientious thoroughness the task which he set for himself, and has made all who interest themselves in the questions investigated by him very much his debtors.

Dorner's work is small in bulk, but great in weight and value. The range of his investigation and exposition is immense. The attempt to compass so much in such scant space has its perils. Such, however, is Dorner's mastery of ethics, theology, philosophy, and the history of these, that he wholly escapes the perils. His clear eye has looked to the very heart of every department of his subject, his accurate judgment has determined the matter and method requisite to an adequate exposition, and his command of clear, pure style has enabled him to make his views easily understood by the attentive reader.

In his first two expositions he treats of the different ethical theories and their distinguishing principles, and notes briefly their origin and successive stages of development. He takes good care at the outset to make sharp and clear the distinction between the moral and the non-moral, and to show the absurdity of a merely animal or brute morality and its development into a genuine personal morality and consciousness.

The next five expositions deal with the relation of religion to morality as historically manifested in the various religions of mankind. He takes up in the first the "nature peoples" and the "culture peoples." By the latter term he designates the Egyptians and the Chinese. In both classes he finds religion and ethics closely and very variously related and the variation of relationship determined by conditions external and internal, individual and national. His comparison and contrast of the Chinese and the Egyptians in their respective ethical and religious developments is very interesting and instructive. Indeed, there is no part of his book of which this is not true. The Indo-Germanic peoples have as a common characteristic

of their religion a closer kinship of men and gods, and consequently less of emphasis upon subjection and supremacy, respectively. But their capability of development has proved itself to be immense in range. Hence we find such contrasts as those furnished by the Persians and the people of India on the one hand, and by the Greeks and Romans on the other. The developments of Buddhism in the East and of philosophical ethics in Greece furnish each an example of extreme emphasis upon ethics almost to the exclusion of religion. Yet even here the bond of relationship asserts itself and proves its inviolability. The Semites—Babylonians, Jews, and Mohammedans—so emphasized obedience to the will of God as to leave no room for the fine development of scientific ethics, such as that which appeared among the Greeks. Christianity is distinguished from all religions by emphasizing at once and equally the transcendence and the immanence of God, by its doctrine of the incarnation and the consequent genuine fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man; hence there inheres in it the capability of development into an ethics and a religion complete and universal. But, in historical realization, this possibility has not come to expression. There is traced with clearness the effects which have come to this development in the successive stages of its history. The discussion of the relation of the Protestant churches to ethics and of the recent attempts to construct an ethics independent of either church or religion is specially noteworthy.

The already undue length of this notice makes it necessary to leave out of view the fruitful exposition of the relation of ethics to law, government, social and economical questions and developments, and also to art and science. No notice of the book can be satisfactory to the one who writes the notice; only an adequate translation into our own language will seem fair and just to Dr. Dorner or to the writer and readers of the notice.

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THE PROGRESS OF DOGMA. By JAMES ORR, M.A., D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1901. P. 365. \$1.75.

DR. ORR, who is professor of apologetics and systematic theology in the United Free Church College, Glasgow, is already pleasantly known to American students of theology through his contributions to periodical literature and several books, notably one on *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity*. The basis of the

present volume was a series of lectures delivered in 1897 at the Western Theological Seminary, a Presbyterian institution at Allegheny, Pa. It professes to be no more than an outline, but even an outline of so large a subject may be both scholarly and serviceable. This is both. Indeed, as an introduction to the more thorough study of the subject there is nothing to be compared with it. Harnack, to be sure, some years ago published a volume of *Outlines of the History of Dogma*, but a more dry and repulsive book it would be difficult to imagine. Dr. Orr's book is interesting, one almost writes "fascinating," in its presentation of the subject, without being slipshod or inaccurate.

The special feature of the book, to the scholar, is the author's attempt to apply the principle of evolution to his investigation—to deduce the law according to which dogma has developed. By dogma he means, not doctrine in general, not theology, but such formal statements of Christian doctrine as have obtained authoritative recognition and are embodied in historical creeds. Previous to the beginning of dogma, there was a Christian literature, mainly apologetic. In the third century began the controversies on the Godhead, extending into the fourth century, first the Monarchian, then the Arian, lastly the Macedonian. As a result the doctrine of the Trinity received dogmatic definition. Then came the Christological controversies, and continued until the doctrine of the person of Christ took final dogmatic form. These controversies were all eastern; the West now took up the line of progress, with the discussions of anthropology precipitated by the theories of Pelagius. The great debates of mediæval times revolved about questions of soteriology, the atonement absorbing the attention of Catholic theologians and constituting their chief contributions to dogma before the Reformation. The reformers were concerned with the group of doctrines that define the practical side of soteriology, and in the creeds of the period these are the subjects that receive chief attention. It is not until comparatively recent times that special treatment has been given to the questions included in eschatology.

Now, this order of development is precisely that followed in nearly all scientific treatises on theology—it is the logical order, even if a different arrangement be preferred; for the doctrine of redemption presupposes Christology and the doctrine of sin or Anthropology, while this again presupposes a doctrine of God. This actual relation of the facts to the logical order is very striking. "If," says Dr. Orr,

"planting yourself at the close of the apostolic age, you cast your eye down the course of the succeeding centuries, you find, taking as an easy guide the great historical controversies of the church, that what you have is simply the projection of this logical system on a vast temporal screen." This, then, is the law of the evolution of dogma. These controversies did not arise accidentally, haphazard, but were the unconscious working out of dogmatic statements in the precise order of their logical sequence. If there is a plan in a scientific treatise on theology, there is a plan also shown in the history of dogma.

The book is nothing else than the elaboration of this idea. Dr. Orr well says that suspicion properly attaches to all attempts at making the facts of history fit systematic categories, *à la* Hegel, Baur, and others. But Dr. Orr does not manipulate the facts to make them fit his hypothesis—he has no need to do so. He might, indeed, have strengthened his argument at several points, notably by another lecture on the Catholic ideas of soteriology as shown in the development of sacramental doctrine, culminating in the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council. He is sober, self-restrained, candid, and his book makes the stronger impression from the fact that he by no means says all that might be said in support of his hypothesis. It will probably be admitted in the end that Dr. Orr has made a contribution to the history of dogma of equal originality and value.

For so careful a writer, one slip is remarkable, and should not be passed by. On p. 163 Dr. Orr speaks of the combination of predestination with "sacramentarian" doctrines, when he plainly means "sacramental." The two words are often confounded, but in a history of dogma "sacramentarian" has a specific, technical meaning, the exact opposite to "sacramental."

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REGNUM DEI: Eight Lectures on the Kingdom of God in the History of Christian Thought. (The Bampton Lectures, 1901.) By ARCHIBALD ROBERTSON, D.D., LL.D., Principal of King's College, London, etc., etc. New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Methuen & Co., 1901. Pp. xix+401. \$2.50.

THIS book is an outgrowth of the author's endeavor to find an answer, for his own personal guidance, to the question of the purpose

of life, and to work out this problem in the light of Christian experience. "The kingdom of God is the Christian answer to the most vital question that man has to solve, the question of the purpose of his being" (Preface, p. vii). Those familiar with Principal Robertson's editing of the writings of Athanasius contained in the *Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, will expect from him, in dealing with such a theme as that of the present volume, sound learning, clear and comprehensive thought, weighty judicial opinion. They will not be disappointed. They will find in it also a special attractiveness because of the transcendent importance of its theme, and the way in which it has engaged the mind and heart of the writer. It reminds us in its gravity, sincerity, grasp of its problem, wise reserves with firmness as to main positions, of Bishop Butler. Its subject for two generations has increasingly attracted Christian thought and elicited notable treatises and discussions—such as Maurice's *The Kingdom of Christ*, Samuel Harris's *The Kingdom of Christ on Earth*, Candlish's *The Kingdom of God*, the leading *Biblical Theologies (Old and New Testaments)*, Dr. Orr's article in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* (Vol. II, pp. 844-56). Ritschl and his school have given it a foremost place in their treatment of Christian theology.

Dr. Robertson's book is a distinct contribution to this literature by its clear, succinct, and impressive statement of the successive forms which the conception of a divine kingdom has assumed in human history, by his cogent appeal to this experience as a criterion of the true idea of such a kingdom, and by his masterly interpretation of the opinions and twofold influence of Augustine. The book, in a word, is an endeavor to interpret a "master idea" by religious history, by Christian experience. The method is consonant with the subject, for religion in general, and supremely Christianity, is something other and more than either an abstract idea, without life, or a life without either reason or organic power. Primarily Christianity is neither a creed nor an institution, but a person in action, and revealed in history. It is no accident that the earliest and fundamental Christian symbol is a recital of personal relations, acts, events, gifts.

Dr. Robertson devotes three of his eight lectures to a study and interpretation of our Lord's teaching as to the kingdom. The method of this investigation is noteworthy. It comprises, first, a review of the pre-Christian conceptions of this kingdom, particularly as these appear in the Old Testament, and in the thought of the generation immediately prior to the nativity as expressed in the *Psalms of Solomon*.

Then follows a statement of Paul's teaching, which is contrasted with the pre-Christian and Jewish expectation, and compared with the first stage of apostolic anticipation, and then is powerfully sketched in its distinctive characteristics. This leads up to a solution of the problem of the great transition from the expectation of the more spiritual representatives of the Jewish hope in the generation passing from the stage when Christ was born to the de-Judaized faith represented by the apostle of the gentiles, a solution found in the intervening ministry and guidance of Jesus Christ. His teaching respecting the kingdom is set forth, first, as presented by the synoptists, then in the fourth gospel, and still further as reflected in the remaining books of the New Testament. It would be unjust to the author, and wholly unsatisfactory, to attempt in the space at command a résumé of this account of our Lord's teaching. We can only commend it warmly to our readers' attention, with a special reference to the interpretation of the phrase "kingdom" as "reign," and of the equivalency of the word "life," in John, to the synoptic phrase "kingdom of heaven" or "of God," and with a single citation which, in view of its source, is of peculiar interest :

Wherever Christ has disciples, wherever he reigns and lives in man, there is the kingdom of God on earth, growing, being built up, ever tending to what it shall be. The work of the Christian society as a whole — and not only that, but every good, or even lawful and necessary object pursued or act done by the Christian — whether he eats or drinks, or whatever he puts on — s an activity of the kingdom of God. (P. 60.)

The remaining lectures (IV–VIII) treat of the early "realistic eschatology" (millenarianism); the counteracting influence of the Alexandrian school, the growth and developing organization of the church, Augustine's change of view; the identification of the kingdom of God on earth with the visible organized church — "an omnipotent hierarchy"; the revolt from this theory and system; modern ideals and problems. An entire lecture is given to an exposition of Augustine's views, and here and elsewhere ample recognition is made of his commanding influence. "It will probably be found that the church of today has more to learn from St. Augustine than from any other ancient interpreter of the mind of Christ, and of the apostolic church" (p. ix). Justice is done to his profound spiritual conception of the kingdom, and of the way in which he helped to the formation of the mediæval hierarchical church. In the closing lecture the reader will find not a few suggestions of wide-reaching and practical importance respecting the idea, aim, and function of the Christian church. As

indicative of the elevated and noble spirit of the whole work, we quote a few sentences from its close :

The insignificance of man disappears in the conscious service of his Creator, the hope of the eternal kingdom of God gives meaning to the vanity of life. . . . In whatever way . . . and to whatever extent the kingdom of God finds its present realization now on earth — and we are here as Christians to realize it in as many ways and as fully as it is given us to do — Christian faith and hope, moral faith in God, can never dispense with the promise of God's eternal kingdom, can never cease to enthrone it as Christian faith and hope have continuously and in all ages enthroned it, high above all temporal embodiments of the reign of Christ on earth, as the supreme goal of endeavor, as the ultimate object of desire and prayer. . . . Within and without, the higher we set our aim, the more earnestly we seek the kingdom of God, the more certainly will failure mock and humble us ; the more certainly must we be prepared to witness the frustration of the highest hopes we have cherished, the apparent downfall of causes with which our most sacred convictions are intimately concerned, and to bear the galling shame of personal self-reproach. The passion and the cross, the dereliction and the cry of death, must enter into our individual experience before we can endure with cheerful courage, confident in the joy that is set before us. In these great facts of redemption love challenges love, and assures us that love is never failure, and that to the great treasure-house of God's love no sacrifice is intrusted in vain. *There* is the link, the underlying unity between the kingdom for which we are to strive on earth, and the kingdom that lies above and independent of our efforts or failures, eternal in the heavens.

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DAS WESEN DES CHRISTENTUMS. Sechzehn Vorlesungen vor Studierenden aller Facultäten im Wintersemester 1899–1900 an der Universität Berlin gehalten. Von ADOLF HARNACK. Fünfte Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. v+189. M. 3.50; akademische Ausgabe, M. 1.

WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY? By ADOLF HARNACK. Translated into English by THOMAS BAILEY SAUNDERS. New York: Putnams; London: Williams & Norgate. First edition, 1901, pp. 301; second edition, 1901, pp. 322.

DAS WESEN DES CHRISTENTUMS. Vorlesungen im Sommersemester 1901 vor Studierenden aller Facultäten an der Universität Greifswald gehalten. Von HERMANN CREMER, ord. Professor der Theologie. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901. Pp. vi+234. M. 3.50.

HARNACK'S WESEN DES CHRISTENTUMS UND DIE RELIGIÖSEN STRÖMUNGEN DER GEGENWART. Von ERNST ROLFFS, Lic. Theol., Pastor in Stade. Leipzig: Hinrichs. Pp. 63. M. o. 80.

PROFESSOR HARNACK AND HIS OXFORD CRITICS. By THOMAS BAILEY SAUNDERS. London: Williams & Norgate, 1902. Pp. 91. 1s. 6d.

HISTORICAL CHRISTIANITY THE RELIGION OF HUMAN LIFE. By T. B. STRONG, B.D. London: Froude, 1902. Pp. vii+98. 1s. 6d., *net*.

WHEN Harnack, at the close of the nineteenth century, attracted a voluntary audience of six hundred students to his lectures on the theme, "What is Christianity?" it was regarded as an event full of significance. The publishing of these lectures was the occasion of a flood of controversial literature. The fifth German edition announces a sale of 26,000 copies; the book has already been translated into English, Danish, and Swedish, and is soon to appear in French, Italian, and Russian translations. Four closely printed pages in Rolffs's pamphlet are required for a bibliography of literature called out by Harnack's lectures. It is evident, therefore, that the great church historian has stated a theme of vital interest and importance.

The significance of the book lies in the fact that a professor in a theological faculty, a deep believer in Christianity, deliberately abandons the methods of appeal to authority and of philosophical argument for a purely historical inquiry. "Apologetics . . . must be kept quite separate from the purely historical question as to the nature of the Christian religion" (p. 7¹). Instead of attempting to demonstrate that Christianity is this or that, Harnack inquires what history has shown it to be. It is a frank substitution of modern scientific method for methods which have prevailed for nineteen centuries in theology.* Along with this adoption of modern critical method, Harnack presupposes the modern *Weltanschauung*. The old static conception of Christian truth as an unchanging tradition has given way to the evolutionary view. "The gospel did not come into the world as a statutory religion, and therefore none of the forms in which it assumed intel-

*All quotations are from the second English edition.

¹In the preface to the fifth edition Harnack vigorously expresses his disappointment that his opponents have not appreciated this fundamental point. He accuses them of attempting to answer him by adopting presuppositions which no science today recognizes as legitimate.

lectual and social expression—not even the earliest—can be regarded as possessing a classical and permanent character.” (P. 204.) Nothing is more characteristic of the strictly scientific basis of the book than the recognition of the fact that all historical reality must be interpreted in terms of the law of causation. The old conception of miracles as violations of the uniformity of natural law is impossible for the modern man of scientific training. Hence no argument is based upon any miraculous event. (Pp. 27 ff.)

The limits of space forbid an extended account of the contents of the book.³ The first eight lectures deal with the origin of Christianity in the person and teaching of Christ, the remaining lectures with its historic development in the apostolic age, in Greek and Roman Catholicism and in Protestantism. As primary sources for our study of the life and teaching of Jesus we have only the synoptic gospels. The author of the fourth gospel “acted with sovereign freedom, transposed events and put them in a strange light, drew up the discourses himself, and illustrated great thoughts by imaginary situations” (p. 22), and hence is a witness to the faith awakened by Jesus rather than to the historic teaching of Jesus. The religion which Jesus brought is summarized in the three conceptions: (1) the kingdom of God and its coming; (2) God the Father, and the infinite value of the human soul; (3) the higher righteousness and the law of love. Seldom does one see a more deeply spiritual interpretation of the teachings of Jesus concerning religion as a personal relationship to God our heavenly Father—a relationship which finds practical expression in love and righteousness. The bearings of the gospel on the specific problems of asceticism, the social question, public order, and civilization constitute one of the most suggestive and useful portions of the book. The sanity and insight of Jesus, as compared with some professed interpreters of the gospel, are strikingly illustrated. The section on “The Gospel and the Son of God, or the Christological Question” has aroused much adverse criticism because of the sentence: “The gospel, as Jesus proclaimed it, has to do with the Father only, and not with the Son” (p. 154). It should not be inferred from this, however, that Harnack denies the divinity of Christ. His critics identify the belief of the church with the teaching of Jesus. Any article of belief not found in the latter seems to them to have no legitimate place in dogmatics. For Harnack,

³ Professor William Adams Brown, in the *Biblical World*, December, 1901, pp. 434–50, has given a full and sympathetic summary of the main positions taken by Harnack.

belief in the divinity of Christ rests upon our experience of his power in our lives. This is clearly brought out in his discussion of the apostolic age, where the "recognition of Jesus as the living Lord" is cited as the first mark of discipleship. The discussion of the resurrection of Christ has occasioned a similar criticism. He distinguishes between the Easter message and the Easter faith. The latter rests upon one's apprehension of the present power of Christ, not upon the acceptance of any physical details. "Either we must decide to rest our belief on a foundation unstable and always exposed to fresh doubts, or else we must abandon this foundation altogether, and with it the miraculous appeal to our senses" (p. 174). The difference between Harnack and his orthodox critics may be indicated as follows: They conceive of the miraculous as due to a higher physical force which suspends the lower physical laws of nature. Harnack finds the miraculous purely in the moral and spiritual realm. To be conscious of the presence of God or of the power of Christ in one's personal life is vastly more significant to him than to be convinced of an unusual and inexplicable event in nature. The former does not need the latter to authenticate its divine origin. One may deny biblical miracles and still believe in the miraculous. The development of Christianity in later centuries is formulated in a way familiar to readers of the author's *Dogmengeschichte*. The real task of Protestantism is not to establish a new orthodoxy in place of the old, but to liberate Christianity from its outgrown historical accretions that it may clothe itself in forms and ideals natural to the present age.

The reader who expects to find in the book a definite statement of the content of Christianity will doubtless be disappointed. Instead of a comprehensive definition, Harnack has given a series of suggestions. If there is no permanent and authoritative form of Christianity, if it is a transforming spirit rather than a stereotyped doctrine, it is contrary to the genius of the religion to give it exact formulation. This seems a grave defect to men who demand such exact definition. But to the thousands of honest, earnest souls to whom the historic creeds have become fetters, Harnack's message will be a proclamation of emancipation. It is significant that the adverse criticisms of the book have been directed almost exclusively to its omissions rather than to its positive assertions. In the latter there can be no question that the true spirit of the gospel is reproduced. The omissions consist of such elements as miracles, Christology, the physical resurrection of Christ, the recognition of the unique authority of the Bible, etc., elements

which are today productive more of theological controversy than of positive spiritual life. The preaching of today is attaching more and more importance to the elements of historic Christianity which Harnack emphasizes, and less and less to those which he omits. It is a cause for rejoicing that without any appeal to ecclesiastical authority, without any scholastic defense of traditional doctrines, the real heart of the gospel can be presented in so convincing and inspiring a form.

Certain inevitable limitations, however, grow out of the method and aim of the lectures. Perhaps the most serious of these is the fact that the difficulties which Harnack proposes to meet are intellectual rather than moral. His message is therefore only for those who are perplexed and bewildered in their thinking. For the man whose trouble is moral, who is in despair, not because he cannot think his way out, but because he cannot live rightly, the book will be of little assistance. For this reason the adherents of strict orthodoxy, who have no intellectual doubts, and the men whose chief concern is the conversion of sinners, see in the discussion only negation and compromise with secularism. For such Cremer's lectures on the same theme will seem much nearer to the truth. But it should be recalled that Harnack was consciously seeking to meet the needs of university students, for whom intellectual difficulties are of great concern. One can hardly imagine an audience of 600 students in Cremer's class-room. Finally, one cannot escape the feeling that after all Harnack has not been able to keep his discussion to purely historical lines. His radical treatment of the New Testament sources is due to his keen appreciation of the difficulties unearthed by modern critical research. But these difficulties did not exist for men in the first century. He has therefore portrayed for us the gospel tested and modified by modern criticism rather than the gospel as apprehended by a first-century mind. This treatment doubtless best serves the purpose which he had in view, but it is quite as truly a confession of faith as a historical survey. His critics have some reason to protest against some of his "historical" statements.

Cremer delivered his lectures confessedly as a refutation and correction of this type of "historical" method. To assume, as Harnack does, that modern skeptics are right and that the New Testament is wrong in the interpretation of the gospel seems to him a bit of dogmatism which vitiates the entire discussion. Cremer attempts to reproduce the genuine gospel of the New Testament. But if Harnack was wrong in building exclusively on the synoptic gospels, what shall we say when Cremer sees everything through the veil of Paulinism? The forgive-

ness of sins is for him the center of Christianity. Only God can forgive sins. But Jesus forgives our sins. Therefore Jesus is God. The deity of Christ is the *sine qua non* of Christianity. The bodily resurrection of Christ was the historic fact which convinced the disciples of his forgiving love when they had betrayed and forsaken him. The resurrection marks the climax in the miraculous course of redemption-history. Since then miracles have become less and less necessary to convince men of God's forgiving love. But without these biblical miracles as a historic basis of faith, Christianity would be impossible. While Cremer has probably given a more accurate historical picture than Harnack of the conception of Christianity in the first century, it is certain that his failure to appreciate modern scientific thought will make his message valuable only to those who live in an outgrown *Weltanschauung*.

Rolffs publishes in book form a series of articles, most of which appeared originally in the *Christliche Welt* in 1901. He selects typical criticisms of Harnack's book, and thus brings out the main characteristics of our age in regard to Christianity. Naumann, the Christian socialist, finds Harnack too vague and speculative. Christianity should proclaim a definite social program. Mehring, the social democrat, rejoices that Christianity has received its death-blow in the house of its professed friends. Von Hartmann, the metaphysician, objects to the positivistic tone which eliminates philosophy from the gospel. Various orthodox Lutherans accuse Harnack of destroying all objective basis for faith. These are some of the suggestive judgments which are here collected. Rolffs evaluates these various criticisms and thus gives an admirable survey of the complex structure of our modern life. The gospel must be preached in various forms, if it is to meet the needs of all men. Harnack has unquestionably done great service in representing one form of it himself, and in stimulating others to ask themselves what, after all, is the message of Christianity.

The English translator of Harnack's lectures takes three Oxford critics to task for the unfavorable judgments which they have uttered. Dr. Sanday, Dr. T. B. Strong, and Dr. Hastings Rashdall are cited as representatives of the type of theological scholarship prevalent in Anglican circles. Attention is called to the fact that, while Strauss's *Leben Jesu* was compelling German scholars to undertake a thorough and relentless examination of the historical basis of Christianity, Newman and his associates were instilling into English scholars an emotional reverence for ecclesiastical tradition. As a consequence, the

conclusions of German theologians grow out of a critical study of history, while the doctrines of most Oxford theologians are "the outcome of ecclesiastical prepossession, without doubt unconscious and perfectly sincere, rather than of historical insight" (p. 68). Mr. Saunders is an enthusiastic devotee of the German ideal and is unsparing in his exposure of the weak points in the arguments of his fellow-countrymen.

Dr. Strong attempts to follow the method of apologetic prevalent today, which sets forth the content of Christianity as its best defense. The human soul has certain definite needs. The religion which meets these needs completely is the absolute religion. If this be true of historical Christianity, we have our apologetic.

The characteristic feature of the book is the deliberate rejection of the critical method by which scholars today determine what is and what is not historical. "Historical" Christianity Dr. Strong assumes to be the "conception of Christianity which results from the frank acceptance of the books of the New Testament very much as they stand" (p. 2). The bulk of the discussion therefore consists in a summary of the teachings of the books of the New Testament. As a result of this study we have the following four cardinal doctrines: (1) the providential basis for Christianity in Judaism, (2) the equality of Christ with God, (3) the destruction of the power of sin through the death and resurrection of Christ, (4) the possibility of restored communion with God for men as the result of Christ's death (p. 79). These "facts" of Christianity, the author asserts, meet the needs of the soul. But the final chapter, instead of making clear how this occurs, is devoted to a criticism of those who forsake the "facts" of Christianity for "ideas." Harnack is singled out as the most brilliant modern representative of this kind of Gnosticism.

Admirable as is the task which Dr. Strong sets before himself, he has failed to meet the very conditions which his title implies. To ascertain the content of "historical" Christianity without the use of approved historical method must end in mere scholasticism. For example, to assign supreme importance to the "fact" of the resurrection of Christ without attempting to discuss the evidence for the fact, when that evidence presents so serious a problem for historians, is a way too short and easy to satisfy any earnest questioner. But even granting the legitimacy of his method, he fails to bring his ecclesiastically phrased doctrines into anything more than a theoretical relationship to life. It is all very well to insist upon the deity of Christ and the value of his death and resurrection. But unless these doctrines

are psychologically as well as theologically evaluated, they become mere shibboleths. The book thus ignores precisely those historical and psychological demands which are surely among the "needs of man," and which a scholar must frankly face if he is to commend himself to men of today.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE REASONABLENESS OF FAITH, AND OTHER ADDRESSES. By Rev. W. S. Rainsford, D. D. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902. Pp. iv + 309. \$1.25, *net*.

THE volume contains eighteen addresses in all, two of them being baccalaureates, and the others sermons delivered by the author to his own congregation in New York. In the first discourse (which gives its title to the volume) the author defines faith as "not adhesion to any credal statement, but vital obedience to, and trust in, a living man . . . who revealed the nature of man and the nature of God." His claim for the reasonableness of faith is that it is "the common possession of all men," needing only to be put into exercise, "a vast unused capacity inside all men." He calls it "a religious instinct," but adds that it "must be acquired by us as all other valuable qualities are, as the result of a system of competition." In brief it is "just belief in God—that he is good, not bad; loving, not indifferent; all-powerful, not powerless." His claim seems to be that such faith in God is as natural as seeing for one who is born with eyes. This constitutes its reasonableness. It is therefore of the utmost importance, and so obligatory.

This address was delivered to the students of Columbia University, among whom he doubtless supposed were some who needed to be persuaded that Christian faith is reasonable. Does the possession of a "religious instinct" supersede the need of proof? If this instinct is all we need for faith in Jesus, why is it not sufficient for faith in Buddha or Mohammed? Jesus gave reasonable proof that the testimony he bore respecting "the nature of man and the nature of God" was true. The same proof is available now, but Dr. Rainsford does not seem to have availed himself of it. The truths established by these proofs would form some kind of a "credal statement."

In some of the "other addresses" (dating from March, 1891, to December, 1898) certain views appear which have become associated with Dr. Rainsford's name in the popular mind. He is opposed to

closing saloons by law, even on Sunday, on the ground that a law unpopular with even a minority of respectable size cannot be enforced, and a law that cannot be enforced should not be enacted. For example, the law against larceny can be enforced because not one in a thousand desires to steal, but a law against betting cannot be enforced though not one in ten desires to bet. Query: If there were no penalty for stealing, would not many more than one in a thousand (not to say hundred) desire to steal?

Dr. Rainsford has the courage of his convictions. In a discourse delivered December, 1898, he applies Christ's teaching in the parable of the Good Samaritan to the question of the duty of our nation to deliver Cuba from the oppression of Spain.

In a discourse on "Creation and the Fall" he seems to argue that because moral excellence can be achieved only by struggle, it can be achieved only by failure, and so that sinning is a necessary step in moral progress. If resistance of temptation is necessary to moral progress, what shall be said of yielding to temptation?

These discourses abound in forcible utterances of practical truths. Their faults of style may be due to the fact that they are spoken addresses put into type with little or no revision. Dr. Rainsford's bodily presence and oral delivery doubtless made them very impressive. In cold type they seem to lack orderly consecutiveness and logical coherence.

N. S. BURTON.

ANN ARBOR, MICH.

GEWISSENSFRAGEN: RELIGIÖSE BRIEFE. Von R. WIMMER. Tübingen und Leipzig: J. C. B. Mohr, 1902. Pp. 108.

WIMMER is well known in Germany for his popularization of the ethical, religious, and apologetic views of the Ritschlians, by means of such booklets of his as *Im Kampf um die Weltanschauung*, *Der Weg zum Frieden*, *Inneres Leben*, etc. This new book is described by him as "aus der Gegenwart für die Gegenwart." The title *Gewissensfragen* is to be understood in the light of its antithesis, *Wissenschaftsfragen*. The author seeks to bring clearness and peace to honest hearts weighted with the serious religious problems due to the rise of modern science and culture, and to the changed philosophic world-view consequent thereupon. One who can endure the strife incident to the specifically different interests in secular affairs often thinks that unity should prevail as regards the supreme questions of humanity; and yet it is

precisely in the latter that the flame of controversy burns fiercest. What, then, is truth? Is there anything reliable and certain on which one can hang the whole weight of eternity? Every religion and every religious tendency claims to be right. We are told that Christianity has the truth. But the Christian churches are in conflict with one another, and each blames the other for the present religious decadence. And within any given church opposites clash. There is a chasm between the rigid faith of the literalist and the furious foe to all religion; between the diseased overtension of the spiritual life and the fundamental denial of spirit at all. Who can find his way through this maze? The author offers to be guide. In the history of the world strife has always been, he says. "A necessity underlies the strife of opposites," he says. By virtue of its very endowment the spiritual life of humanity unfolds itself only in and through conflict. The goal of the human movement is not the possession of an incontestable truth, but the becoming and growth of spirit, and this is consummated only by the interaction of diverse forces. It is idle to talk of a fixed, universally valid truth. Who shall decide which is this truth? Shall we clothe a man or an institution with infallibility? Such is the general point of view of a book, open to criticism in many particulars indeed, replete with suggestion for the intellect and help to the conscience. The German would easily lend itself to translation, and the work would be of much value to our thoughtful pastors.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

THE LUTHERAN PASTOR. By G. H. GERBERDING, D.D., Professor of Practical Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, Chicago. Published for the Author. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1902. Pp. 462. \$2.50.

IN this bulky volume the author treats with commendable thoroughness every important question pertaining to the duties of the Christian ministry. The call and office of the pastor; the pastor in society, in his study, and in his closet; the pastor in all his varied ministrations both public and private, are the subjects discussed with rare lucidity and common sense. The author came to his task enriched with the experiences of more than twenty years in the hand-to-hand work of the Christian pastorate. Out of what he has seen and felt he has written in order to help pastors solve the practical problems that

constantly arise in their work. Moreover, the book embodies the answers to the questions asked by the successive classes of students that, for the last eight years, have sat at his feet. And while the book is primarily designed only for Lutheran pastors, most of it will be of real service to other Protestant ministers. If the pastors of all our churches should strive earnestly to reach the high ideal here presented, the efficiency of their ministrations would be greatly enhanced.

Still, to our mind this practical treatise is in some measure marred by an unscriptural ecclesiasticism. To be sure, the author claims that what is unscriptural is not Lutheran; yet he warmly defends infant baptism, and holds to baptismal regeneration. He speaks of "the germs of the divine life," and of "the divine life implanted in baptism." He claims that "all the baptized children are in the kingdom, subjects of divine grace, sons and daughters of God." He calls baptism and the Lord's supper sacraments, and teaches that the sanctified bread and wine of the supper are the "body and blood" of Christ. And, while all this is clearly unscriptural, it is very clearly Lutheran.

In parts of his book he manifests some bitterness toward other faiths. For example, he declares that Calvinists and Puritans were formalists, and then at least six times he bids us remember that "the old Adam is a formalist." He makes sharp thrusts at "the less evangelical sects," "fanatical and revivalistic sects," "irreverent sects;" all denominations outside the Lutherans are sects, and at these sects he hurls his darts.

A spirit of boasting also crops out here and there. He claims that the Lutheran church is "the purest and strongest" of all churches. It understands "as those of another faith cannot, the import and blessing" of baptism. The Lutheran "has beyond any other church . . . a clear, consistent, and complete system of Bible doctrine," and much more of like character. Still, he warns his brethren against indulging in feasts at baptisms "accompanied by revelry and intemperance." But there is not another Protestant denomination, certainly not in the United States, to which such a warning would have the slightest applicability. It is possible that the author is mistaken when he represents these denominations as inferior to his own. A broader charity would have made this good book better.*

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

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*The proof-reader occasionally nodded. On p. 243 "conscious pastor" should be "conscientious pastor;" on p. 299 "feed the minister" should be "fed the minister;" on p. 396 "who all" should be "all who." Then "oily unction" is something like oily oil.

CENTENNIAL SURVEY OF FOREIGN MISSIONS. A Statistical Supplement to Christian Missions and Social Progress, being a Conspectus of the Achievements and Results of Evangelical Missions in all Lands at the Close of the Nineteenth Century. By REV. JAMES S. DENNIS, D.D. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1902. Pp. xxii + 401. \$4, *net*.

DR. DENNIS, as chairman of the Committee on Statistics, presented to the Ecumenical Conference of Foreign Missions, in 1900, a paper entitled "Centennial Statistics," afterward published in outline in the report of the conference. The imposing volume in hand is the final form of this statistical report.

Large as the title is, it conveys but an inadequate conception of the wide range of the book. A study of the "Table of Contents" alone is most instructive and would form of itself a profitable introduction to any "course on missions." It opens with the presentation, under the general heading "Evangelistic," of carefully tabulated statistics of the societies now directly engaged in conducting foreign missions, or indirectly co-operating or aiding in foreign missions, societies spread over the four quarters of the globe from the United States to Australasia. But with this vast enumeration and wide survey of missionary operations the subject is only introduced. The "educational" statistics follow, ranging from universities to kindergartens and including industrial training institutions, medical schools, and schools for nurses. Division III, headed "Literary," includes an enormous mass of most valuable information regarding the Bible translations of missionaries of the modern era, with lists of Bible and tract societies, publishing houses and periodical literature. Time was, and not so very long since, when there would have been little or nothing to add if account had been taken of the evangelistic, educational, and publication work of missions. But Dr. Dennis has still to tell us of the end-of-the-century missionary extension in hospitals and dispensaries, orphanages, asylums, leper hospitals, opium refuges, widows' homes, of guilds for the promotion of purity and prison reform, of libraries, and reading-rooms. Along with the countless confessedly Christian societies—evangelistic, philanthropic, educational—which are the direct outcome of the missionary endeavor, an enumeration is given of the various organizations under native control, which are Christian in spirit, if not in form, as the Hindu Social Reform Union, for the promotion of reforms in reference to caste and the condition of women, the Anti-Nautch movement, the Society for the Moral Training of Young Men—the list is a long one.

While the *Centennial Survey* is hardly a book for the circulating library, it is more than a magazine of facts and figures for the missionary specialist. The general reader will find profit in turning the pages, which offer inspiration as well as instruction in their impressive exhibition of the "momentum of the kingdom of God."

The publishers deserve all praise for the mechanical make-up of the book. The page is open and clear, the tabular arrangement intelligible and convenient, and the outfit of summary and indices complete.

A. K. PARKER.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

GRUNDRISS DER PÄDAGOGIK UND IHRER GESCHICHTE SEIT DEM ZEITALTER DES HUMANISMUS VOM EVANGELISCHEN STANDPUNKTE. VON D. K. KNOKE. Berlin: 1902.

DAS SCHULWESEN DER DEUTSCHEN REFORMATION IM 16. JAHRHUNDERT. VON GEORG MERTZ. Heidelberg: 1902.

THE first of these two works is a reprint, with additions, of a well-known treatise first issued in 1894. Its popularity and value are due, not so much to any originality of view or of statement, or to the advancement of any new interpretation, as to the clear presentation of the theory and principles of education as commonly accepted by the German student. This statement is based upon a historical sketch of some hundred pages of the development of these principles from the time of the fifteenth century Renaissance. So brief a sketch must find its commendation, as this one does, in its conciseness and clearness rather than in its thoroughness. If the work has any especial value, it lies in the point of view, which is the demonstration of the thesis that for the student for the ministry, and for the church in general, the new interest in the general social welfare and in the new problems presented to the church for solution by the modern evolution finds a better aid and guide in the study of educational methods and pedagogical principles than in the science of sociology. Otherwise the treatise is no more "from the evangelical standpoint" than the usual German treatise on education. The *Grundriss* is the substance of a course of lectures given to the theological students of the University of Göttingen.

Of a very different character and of a much greater permanent value, though appealing to a much narrower circle of students, is Mertz's work on the educational aspect of the Reformation. This is

the most thorough of all the numerous monographs on this subject. It is more extensive than previous ones in that it deals with every aspect of the subject, and is more exhaustive in that its positions are supported by a wide study and careful citation of original sources. In addition to the constant use of direct citations, an appendix contains the essential portions of 118 church and school ordinances of the Reformation and counter-Reformation periods, and one chapter is devoted to a brief statement of the life and works of more than four hundred educators of that period. This latter chapter is one of the best evidences of the historical thoroughness and value of the work, irrespective of its conclusions as a whole. The sections which deal directly with the influences of the Reformation on education are necessarily somewhat controversial in character, and combat the view, somewhat popular in recent times, that the Reformers were hostile to education and exerted an influence detrimental to it. While it is true that the Reformation checked the growth of Humanism in Germany, and that the influence of the Reformers was hostile to existing educational institutions and that the beneficial influence of the Reformation principles had little immediate effect on educational practices, yet the distinction is to be made, as is clearly done by Dr. Mertz, between the attitude of the Reformers toward existing educational institutions and practices and that toward education in general, as also must be made between the attitude of the leading Reformers and that of many of their fanatical followers. Several sections of the treatise are of a descriptive character, treating in the same thorough manner of the educational institutions, methods, materials of the teachers, life of the pupils, etc. Whether our attention is directed to the collection and presentation of source-material, to the exposition of the general position and influence of the Reformers, or to the purely descriptive parts, the work commands the appreciation and commendation of the student of the period, whether from the religious, educational, or general historical approach.

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Katechismus der Religionsphilosophie. Von Professor Dr. George Runze. (Leipzig; Weber, 1901; pp. x + 324; M. 4.) Aside from introduction and general presuppositions, this work is divided into four parts: theories of the origin of religion, or objective religious problems; theories of the essence of religion, or the subjective religious problems; the

religious-philosophic *Urtheilsbildung*; religion in history and the law of its development. In the first, the author enumerates twelve different genetic theories, without making his own position very clear. One looks in vain for a discussion of the *truth* of religion; but it is just the two-fold task of the philosophy of religion to present the phenomenology and to establish the truth of religion—the former by the formation of an existential judgment, the latter by the value-judgment or spiritual judgment. Indeed, the former, which is rather the task of the *science* of religion, is but preliminary to the latter, which is concerned fundamentally with the essence and truth of religion. But the author has devoted his work mainly to the phenomenology of religion. But the critic must bear in mind that the author is writing a catechism or text-book. His purpose accordingly is orientation and comprehensive survey, rather than indication of a standpoint of his own or an independent contribution to the subject. Along many of the paths he has traveled it is manifest that Max Müller and Otto Pfleiderer have been his guides.—GEORGE B. FOSTER.

The Immortal Life; Belief in it Warranted on Rational Grounds.

By Rev. Lucius Q. Curtis, A. M. (New York: Knickerbocker Press; pp. xiv + 280; privately printed.) Our author hopes to reach his conclusion "on purely rational grounds," and to show that immortality is the natural outcome of a rationally ordered universe. He presents his argument first inductively, and then teleologically, beginning with a groundwork of fact, and following this up with a defense of his conclusion. Man, by virtue of being a responsible power, belongs to a spiritual kingdom, above the animal, and above nature. The functions of man's nature are correlated to invisible realities, and to ends that are subjective. The spiritual is the true part of us. He here follows out Lotze's argument that "the capacity of being conscious of the Infinite is the distinguishing characteristic of the human mind." As interpreters of reason in creation we show our similarity to the rational intelligence there revealed. Still more is this true of our æsthetic and ethical natures. In Christ was a divine manifestation superior to that in nature, a revelation of the fact that the true life of man is one with the life of God. If this ethical and religious nature, which is the interpretation of our life, can come to an end, then the law of our life is nullified. In defending this conclusion teleologically, in the concluding chapters, our author endeavors to show, as against Huxley and Mill, that the cosmic forces do not operate as the enemies of

righteousness. The book presents the old arguments with vigor and freshness, but should be read in connection with Professor Shaler's *The Individual*. The materialistic hypothesis is almost entirely ignored. How far our author is from standing entirely on "rational grounds" may be seen in his treatment of Schleiermacher, on p. 93. One is minded of a saying of Martineau: "Man does not believe in immortality because it has ever been proved; but he is forever trying to prove it, because he cannot help believing it."—GEORGE H. FERRIS.

Elysium und Hades: Eine religionsgeschichtliche Studie. Von Joseph Schreiner. (Braunschweig und Leipzig, 1902; pp. iv+71; M. 2.) Abraham=Zeus, Sarah=Hera, and Greek mythology generally is derived from Semitic religion; so the Hebrew nation is the starting-point of human history. This thesis is proved to the author's satisfaction by the use of italics, heavy-face type, and underlining. To the ordinary reader the pamphlet is interesting mainly for the curious etymologies proposed, *e. g.*, Sem., Kerub, Greek, Kerberos; Noah, Dionysos; Sidon, Poseidon; Jizschak (Isaac), Ithakos; Moyshes (Moses), Prometheus.—*Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der antiken Religion.* Von Richard Wünsch. (Leipzig, 1902; pp. iv+70; M. 2.) Starting from an Arabic document that purports to give the experiences of one Suleiman, a prisoner in Malta in 1591, the author attempts to trace backward and forward the history of the festival of John the Baptist, therein described. A costly image of the Baptist, according to Suleiman, is placed in a field of blossoming beans. The people fast and make offerings of money, until a priest announces that the saint is appeased, and the image is fetched from its hiding-place by a magnificent procession. Wünsch points out that Greeks succeeded Phœnicians as settlers in Malta, and that, while the island has passed through many hands since Roman days, the civilization has always been mainly Phœnicio-Greek. The peculiar rites of the Arabian account can hardly have been Christian in origin, and they have no real connection with the story of the Baptist. They do have much in common with the Phœnician worship of Adonis, which took place in the spring; moreover, we know from coins, etc., that the Phœnicians worshipped Adonis and Astarte in Malta. Other features recall the Ionic festival of the Anthesteria, the "flower festival" celebrated in March. The identification of the worship of the Baptist with an earlier worship of Adonis is substantiated by the fact that the later worship is carried on oftentimes in the same localities as the earlier, by

the continued use of Adonis-gardens in the worship of John the Baptist, and by various other details. The result of the study is that an Adonis festival was modified by the Ionic Greeks and adopted into their own Anthesteria; that John took the place of Adonis in Malta when Christianity was introduced; that at some time after Suleiman the date of the festival was changed until after Easter, so that its celebration might not interfere with Lent, and that when the statue of the Baptist found its fixed place in the cathedral at Valetta, many pagan elements were excluded, though the *misericordia*, followed by the mass and the procession, with all kinds of popular amusements, remain to this day. In many details the author is not convincing, and the argument as a whole might be stronger if some weak points were omitted. The adoption of a heathen festival into local Christian usage, and the gradual exclusion of pagan elements, seems to be proved in this as in many other instances.—ARTHUR FAIRBANKS.

La question biblique chez les Catholiques de France au XIX^e siècle. Par Albert Houtin. (Paris: Picard, 1902; pp. iv+324.) The title of this volume exactly represents its contents. The book is a review of French Catholic opinion of the Bible during the nineteenth century. M. Houtin's method is chronological. He first formulates the current belief about the year 1800 of Christians, as well Protestants as Catholics, concerning the age of the world and the history of man, and shows the source of that belief in the assumed historicity of the Genesis narratives. He illustrates this belief by quoting Archbishop Le Coz, who rejected a savant's proposition to put the "age of the sages" about 6000 B.C., implying a still earlier origin of the universe, on the insufficient ground, so the archbishop thought, of researches in natural science. The church had been unmoved by the scientific advance, by the results of philosophical and historical research, during the eighteenth century. It regarded with disdain scientific efforts for truth, considered the war of rival scientific theories proof of the emptiness of scientific research, and asserted that "the narrative of Moses is a defense to its defenders." Scientific theory is "both danger and superfluity, Genesis is sufficient." The author carries the reader on by periods marked out, not by arbitrarily assumed periods, such, for example, as decades, but by events in the world of science or literature. Thus his first period is 1800-1830, characterized by the first conflicts over Gen., chap. 1, and over Egyptology, by the "secularization of science," and by the birth of the science of religion. The next

period ends with the year 1843, and includes the time of issue of Strauss's *Leben Jesu*. Thus each of the seventeen chapters gives a clear-cut review of the salient events affecting biblical science in France or outside during the period it treats. A view of the management of discussion may be had by reading the headings of chap. 12. "Variations on a great biblical miracle, 'the real miracle,' the deluge universal. The deluge limited a little: Deluc, Cuvier, Wallon, Darvas, le père Brucker. The deluge still more limited: d'Omalius, Motais, Charles Robert. The deluge very limited: MM. Suess and de Girard. Just a little more deluge: M. de Kirwan—a scientific concession. No deluge at all: MM. de Lapparent and Loisy." The volume is an excellent instance of the fine historical work the French school is doing. American students are hardly awake to the fact that the French are, in treating historical subjects, superior to the Germans; that they are broader, less subject to attacks of finical extravagance, less exposed to that demoralizing competition for position which seems to make almost necessary the discovery of something new under the sun, however *outré* that something new may be. And the fine bibliography of thirty-six pages adds greatly to the value of the work.—GEO. W. GILMORE.

The Song of Solomon, The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. By Andrew Harper. (Cambridge: The University Press, 1902; pp. li+96; 1s. 6d.) Eleven years ago Canon Driver barely alluded to the significant publication of Wetzstein in relation to the "Song of Songs," and spoke of the dramatic theory of the poem as "accepted by the majority of modern critics and commentators." In the work now before us it is admitted that the Wetzstein-Budde theory of the poem as a collection of wedding songs "may almost be said to hold the field at present." With a fair-mindedness characteristic of the book throughout, these opposing views are carefully discussed in the introduction and appendix. In general, the author adopts the dramatic view with points of resemblance to Rothstein with whom he agrees in recognizing that older wedding songs may be incorporated, and in maintaining that Budde's recognition of a redactor's hand points toward a dramatic conception of the whole. He classes the poem as a dramatic lyric rather than an elaborated drama, likening it to Browning's *In a Gondola*. He fails, however, to give any ancient, much less any Semitic, analogue for this literary type. The detailed arguments point out with acumen the many difficulties in Budde's view, but

seem hardly sufficient to stem the general sweep of the current. The usual topics of introduction are well presented, the history of the allegorical interpretation being peculiarly clear, though the concession here may seem scarcely consistent and not demanded in itself, by the arguments offered. The notes on the text conform to the standard of scholarly tone with simplicity which characterizes the best volumes in this series. An appendix contains a translation of the poem divided into thirteen cantos with the lines assigned to the supposed speakers.—HENRY FOWLER.

Paulus' Brev til Romerne. Fortolket, af Lic. L. W. Schat-Petersen, Prof. Theol. (Köbenhavn : Hagerup ; pp. xxxvi+606 ; Kr. 8.75.) The introduction to the epistle is clear and satisfactory. The epistle was written in Corinth during the end of the winter months 59 (58). As to its integrity the author does not find much difficulty with the fifteenth chapter. The beginning of it shows a close connection with the fourteenth, and it is not surprising that a letter toward the end becomes looser in its connection and that repeated signs of the author's aim to close his letter can be found. Chap. 16, however, has more difficulties, but, having examined these, the author seems to be convinced that this also was written by the apostle. In the detailed exegesis, which occupies 572 pages, the author displays eminent scholarship and, in the main, sound judgment. The text which forms the basis of the commentary is that of Tischendorf, eighth edition, except in a few instances. A few points of interpretation deserve special remark. In 2 : 6 the author seems to give too prominent a place to good works. He says : "These good works do not lead of themselves, on account of their own merit, to eternal life ; but on account of the atonement for the world, accomplished in Christ, good works, works of piety and philanthropy, receive such an acceptance of God that the grace of God in Christ in due time will turn to them, either here on earth, as Acts chaps. 10 and 11, or—this we certainly expect—in the place of departed spirits." In 3 : 25 he gives an able defense for the translation of *ἰλαστήριον* by "mercy seat," and satisfactorily meets the opposing arguments of Meyer and Godet. In the much disputed section 7 : 14-24, his view is, that the apostle is speaking with reference to his unregenerate state, or, better, the state of human nature before regeneration. In 8 : 4 he explains *ἐν τῇ σαρκί* to mean "flesh in general, i. e., human nature." The meaning, therefore, is, that God by sending his Son in the likeness of sinful flesh and for sin

(περὶ ἀμαρτίας not to be translated "as an offering for sin") condemned the sin, which is in the flesh. The book contains an index of Scripture texts and an index of Greek words found in the commentary. The commentary, as a whole, is an able and a valuable contribution to the literature on this masterpiece of the apostle and takes a high place among modern commentaries on this book.—HENRIK GUNDERSON.

A Short History of Christianity. By John M. Robertson. (London: Watts & Co., 1902; pp. xii+429; 6 s.) Unfortunately the author of this book is so utterly hostile to Christianity that he cannot find any value in it. This unqualified hostility shows itself on the first page, and it would be difficult to find a single page in which it would not be the most conspicuous feature. This is not only bad tactics, but it blinds the author completely to many clear facts, and so distorts all others as to show them only in a wrong light. For instance, on p. 12, in his paragraph on "Personality of the Nominal Founder" (of Christianity), he says: "It cannot but be startling to meet for the first time the thought that there is no historic reality in a figure so long revered and beloved by half the human race as the Jesus of the gospels."—J. W. MONCRIEF.

Les influences celtiques avant et après Colomban. Par Charles Roessler. (Paris: E. Bouillon, 1902; pp. 102; fr. 10.) This little book discusses some contributions to civilization from Keltic sources. It briefly examines the matters, commerce, jurisprudence, primitive Keltic federations, Keltic art as exemplified in enamel, and in the decorative interlacings and spiral tracery found in metal-work and book illumination, literature, transcription of manuscripts, architecture, and the results of missionary and monastic activity. The bibliographical list is jejune. Stokes, Windisch, Ascoli, Zimmer, Strachan, Thurneysen, Pedersen, Meyer, Sarauw, and Holder-Egger are all missing. How one can write on Keltic influences without them passes ordinary understanding. Yet there is abundant matter for interest. The well-known passage from the Venerable Bede is quoted, which testifies to the host of English students who one time flocked to Ireland for study. There is mention of a bishop of Paris who was educated in Ireland. The author asserts, without quoting convincing proof, that the violin is of Keltic origin. He says that the art of enameling was peculiarly Keltic, and directs attention to the fact that the roofs of boat-shaped oratories, like that of Gallarus in Kerry, are a foreshadowing of the Gothic principle in

architecture. He treats at length the subject of book illumination, and expresses astonishment that the Keltic influences of Ireland, Iona, and Lindisfarne have so often been misconstrued as Saxon, Carlovingian, or Norman. He returns more than once to the question of Ogam writing. Unfortunately the conjectures hazarded regarding it cannot all be accepted as aids toward the solution of this most interesting palæographical puzzle. His repeated statement that the grouping of strokes in the Ogmic alphabet in numbers from one to five shows connection with musical tones, and depends on the ancient quinqugrade scale is simply puerile. Of equal value is his opinion that the Morse telegraphic code is a reminiscence of Ogam writing. But his remark that the first group of consonants—viz., *H* represented by one stroke, *D* by two, *T* by three, *C* by four, and *Q* by five—are respectively the initials of the Irish numerals in cardinal reckoning (*a h-oen, a dó, a trí, a cethir, a cúic*) is noteworthy, and may supply a clue to the origin of this peculiar alphabetic scheme. The book, though extremely interesting, contains a number of statements for which no proof is adduced. It is written without division into chapters, and the illustrations of manuscript illuminated letters are merely rough sketches that entirely omit the essentials of detail.—RICHARD HENEVRY.

Die Herkunft des Inquisitionsprocesses. Von Dr. Richard Schmidt. (Freiburg i. Breisgau und Leipzig : Lorenz, 1902 ; pp. 56 ; M. 2.) The author is a professor of civil law in the university of Breisgau, Baden. The brochure was delivered as an address on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the present Grand Duke Frederick. We are here taken into a realm to which, so far as I know, very little attention is given among us, the realm of canon law. The object of the author is not to present a phase of church legislation, but to fulfil the broader task of showing the stages in the development of the legal mode of procedure against misdemeanors and crime, dominated by the element known as *inquisitio*. Incidentally, the Inquisition of Innocent III. is introduced and its origin as a legal mode of procedure set forth. The central affirmation is that Innocent III. was not the author of the form of procedure known as the Inquisition. Innocent found that mode already in vogue and applied it to the treatment of heretics. Schmidt finds the beginning of the inquisitorial mode of procedure in the Carlovingian legislation. Even before Charlemagne's time the term *inquisitio* was used as a legal term. But it was Charlemagne who, at the side of the arbitrary mode of pro-

cedure in vogue among the barons, established the principle that his officials in any territory, or persons whom they might choose to swear in, might look into and try (*inquirere*) alleged misdemeanors and crimes. Before that, this method had been applied in civil cases alone, as, for example, in the case of collection of revenue. This mode of procedure combined the idea of a popular court of inquiry and the idea of the prosecution of misdemeanor by the state official, without accuser. The new legislation involved a double method of bringing the derelict to justice and a double method of proving the misdemeanor. The new element, *inquisitio*, came to dominate in the legal procedure of all western Europe except England. It had for its leading features that public fame or rumor or suspicion (*publica fama, mala fama, clamor publicus, infamia*, etc.,) justifies the public official in instituting trial, seizing the suspect, presenting the case and adjudicating it. Through the Normans this new element went to England, but was never fully adopted there. In Normandy, before 1066, the king's bailiffs and provosts might make *aprise* and *enquête*—that is, institute inquisition. In doing so they went upon the basis of public fame or suspicion. Introduced by the Normans into England, this mode of procedure was definitely set aside under John by the new principles incorporated in Magna Charta. In the same way the Normans, in the eleventh century, carried the *inquisitio* with them to Sicily, and it came into vogue in Italian cities. From it Innocent drew for his treatment of heretics. To that treatment we have appropriated the term "the Inquisition." The canonical mode of procedure by *inquisitio* was derived from the civil mode, and not the civil custom from the legislation of Innocent, as it has been usual to assert (as, for example, by Biener, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Inquisitionsprocesses*). What facts are there to justify Dr. Schmidt in coming to these conclusions? He finds in the Sicilian Constitutions of Frederick II., 1231, indications of the asserted earlier practice as introduced by the Normans into Italy. He also finds similarities between Frederick's legal terminology and the terminology used in England in the time of the Norman kings, such as *mala fama* and *fama publica accusatus*. These evidences are not so convincing as they might be, but the probabilities are strong. The general theory heretofore has been that the great Sicilian emperor took his legal mode of procedure from the great pope. But some German writers on law have surmised another state of the case, namely, that Innocent's inquisitorial method of procedure came down to him through some channel from the Carlovingian

inquisitio. Schmidt endeavors to set forth the stages in the development. His treatment is consequential and takes strong hold upon the reader. It seems quite reasonable that, great as Lothario Conti was, he did not suddenly hit upon an altogether new mode of legal procedure. He had studied law in Bologna. Heresy was rather a new thing in Europe, but it is quite likely that he reached over to the civil customs of the age and adopted what was there in practice, the inquisitorial method of procedure. Schmidt says so much, and it looks as if he were right. He does not say that it is pleasant to have some of the evil charge made against the church transferred to the state. But it is, though he does not say so. The church will still have enough charges left to carry, even if Innocent was not the author of the mode of procedure known as the Inquisition. His responsibility is not thereby lessened before the bar of history for taking what the state offered and applying it to the heretical.—DAVID S. SCHAFF.

The Rise and Development of Christian Architecture. By Rev. Joseph Cullen Ayer, Jr., Ph.D., Lecturer in the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass. (Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Co., 1902; pp. 64; \$1.50.) The author of this book has secured a certain advantage of precision by limiting its scope. To quote his own words, "he has merely taken a series of buildings that may be regarded as typical of the stages through which Christian architecture has passed and used them to illustrate the development of a great form of art." The attention of the reader is fixed therefore on a line of development, and he is not confused by being compelled to remember a multitude of buildings, of transitional steps, and of decorative features. The growth of architecture, the author holds, has been owing to the emergence of problems of construction and to endeavors to solve them, and he gives his treatise an attractive intellectual cast by confining it to these problems. The publishers have given his work a luxurious setting, and he is to be especially congratulated on the fine character of the illustrations. The book will be valuable as an introduction to the study of Christian architecture, for it will show the student a reason for every great change which has been made, and render it easy for him to understand the entire history.—*Beiträge zur Reformationsgeschichte aus Büchern und Handschriften der Zwickauer Ratsschulbibliothek.* Von Lic. Dr. Otto Clemen, Gymnasialoberlehrer in Zwickau. Zweites Heft. (Berlin: Schwetschke & Sohn, 1902; pp. 147; M. 4.) This is one of a multitude of books now appearing in Germany in

which history is being rewritten from the sources. It is seldom that discoveries of great importance are made, but that which was already taught is placed on a better basis of evidence and in a somewhat better light, and occasionally mistakes are corrected. This second part of Dr. Clemen's contributions to the history of the Reformation will prove more interesting than the first, since it brings Luther and Spälatin before us. The author does not overestimate his work, but says very modestly: "No revolutionary or even surprising conclusions are reached, but several small vacuums are filled out, several details are explained, and several personages met in the history of the Reformation are shown as they lived and labored." The task which he set himself was well worth doing, and is well done. — *Die Reformation und Gegenreformation im ehemaligen Königreiche Polen, besonders in den jetzt preussischen Provinzen Posen und Westpreussen.* Von G. Krause. (Posen: Kommissionsverlag der Merzbachschens Buchdruckerei, 1901; pp. vi + 121; M. 2.) The author has given us a thoroughly useful little book, though not a profound one. He professes to have drawn some of his material from the sources, but he does not tell us what these are. He is more explicit in reference to the published works which he has used, and names ten of them. While his book cannot be called an original contribution to the sum of human knowledge, it is well balanced, calm, and sufficiently well informed. He writes for the edifying purpose of telling the Protestants of Poland how hard it was for their forefathers to transmit to them the evangelical confession of faith, and of stimulating them to preserve the precious possession. His book is excellently adapted to this end, and the absence of bitterness from the recital will render it the more effective. — FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

David Friedrich Strauss: Sein Leben und seine Schriften unter Heranziehung seiner Briefe dargestellt. Von Karl Harraeus. (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1901; pp. 408; M. 4.60.) This biography of Strauss is the seventh in a series of "Männer der Zeit." There was no lack of published information about the life and writings of the famous skeptic. Zeller's *David Friedrich Strauss in seinem Leben und seinen Schriften* and *Ausgewählte Briefe von David Friedrich Strauss*, Lang's *David Friedrich Strauss, eine Charakteristik*, Hausrath's *David Friedrich Strauss und die Theologie seiner Zeit*, and minor works by Kambli and Eck, have left little fresh material to be gathered and used by our author. His work has been little more than that of a skil-

ful compiler; but he has made admirable use of his materials and has furnished the public in a reasonably condensed form all that it will care to remember about the subject. The epoch-making importance of Strauss's *Leben Jesu* in inciting Christian scholars everywhere to the critical and exhaustive study of the gospel records and of pre-Christian, first century, and post-apostolic literature, is too well known to require mention here. Strauss's unbelief was so pronounced as to exclude him from professorial work even during the tolerant age in which he labored, and his fame and influence depended wholly on his literary activity. His last work, *Der alte und der neue Glaube*, showed that with increasing age he had drifted further and further from Christianity and fully justified the unfavorable impression that had been made upon Christian readers by his earlier books. As a writer he possessed remarkable talent, and his voluminous publications are lucid, imaginative, and popular in a degree unusual among the Germans. The volume is embellished with a good portrait. The materials used in each chapter are fully exhibited at the end of the volume.—ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN.

The Gospel of the Kingdom and the Gospel of the Church. By William B. Brown, D.D. (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1902; pp. v + 218; \$1.) This interesting little volume was written by its author in his eighty-sixth year. The gospel of the kingdom is the original and true gospel. It is all-comprehensive and is the gospel that was preached by our Lord himself. The church, which is a later and limited development, has preached a limited gospel—one that it could understand and make effective. It was better that this should be so, for if it had attempted more the results would have been disastrous. But there were certain evil results of this limited gospel of the kingdom in that "it laid the foundation for a narrow and rigid ecclesiasticism that darkened the early centuries, and it formed narrow creeds that were divisive in tendency, and that in the end split the church, that should always have been one, into a thousand rival and contending fragments" (p. 216). The time, however, must come when the gospel of the kingdom must be restored to its rightful place as Jesus conceived it.—J. W. MONCRIEF.

Dogmatik. Von D. Julius Kaftan. Dritte und vierte verbesserte Auflage. (Tübingen und Leipzig: Mohr, 1901; pp. viii + 656; M. 9.) The first *Doppelaufgabe* of this great work was reviewed at much length in a former number of this JOURNAL. That edition was the fruit of twenty years' labor on the part of the author, hence it is

intelligible that the four intervening years have brought few changes. These are given in *Zusätzen*, although a few sections have been *umgearbeitet*, and certain paragraphs have been added by way of *auseinandersetzung* with Troeltsch as to absoluteness of Christianity, with Hermann as regards faith, and with Max Reischle on evolution.—*Die Kulturbedingungen der christlichen Dogmen und unsere Zeit.* Von Eugen Schmitt. Mit Buchschmuck von J. von Cissarz. (Leipzig: Diederichs; 1901, pp. 225; M. 4.) This book is devoted to the discussion of the cultural origin and the cultural significance of dogma. Dogmas are not the product of senseless controversies and hair-splittings of theological schools, but crystallizations of the cultural life. In a word, dogma is a creation of politics. This, the author maintains, is true both of Catholic and of Protestant dogma. He denies the theological, and hence in a way also the religious, origin of dogma. The treatment seems to me to be one-sided and superficial. If it be in a measure true in its affirmation, it is certainly false in its negation. As there is an intellectual, emotional, and volitional element in religion, so the externalization of the intellectual yields *dogma* just as the externalization of the emotional yields cult, and that of the volitional, institution. Making exceptional claims to being *streng wissenschaftlich*, the book is exceptionally tendential in spirit. Add to this its prolixity and obscurity of style, and one is warranted in stating that most students may safely leave it unread.—*Culture and Restraint.* By Hugh Black. (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1901; pp. 350.) It is the problem suggested by the opposing ideals of culture and self-denial—a problem not so much academic as real and practical—for which the author of these serious and well-written chapters seeks some solution. Should a man obey his nature or thwart it, seek self-limitation or self-expansion? Zion against Greece, Hebraism against Hellenism ("Thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece," Zech. 9: 13), this, our author says, is the situation. It appears to me that he has reached a strictly Christian solution of his antinomy. Culture for its own sake, and sacrifice for its own sake, are neither a sufficient end, but they each, culture and sacrifice, find scope, and are made reasonable, by the great Christian thought of *service*, which reconciles so many difficulties that meet us in this whole region. The book is a valuable treatise on the perplexing subject, and pastors in particular might ponder over its pages to much advantage.—GEORGE B. FOSTER.

The Roots of Christian Teaching as Found in the Old Testament. By George Aaron Barton, A.M., Ph.D. (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1902; pp. xii + 271; \$1.25.) The author of this book aims to show that certain facts or utterances of the Old Testament are the roots from which the great truths of the New Testament, or of Christian teaching, have sprung. For instance, he holds that we have henotheism in the Old Testament and that out of it monotheism has grown; that the conception, "God is spirit," was evolved from the notion of most primitive peoples that their god was "the genius, or spirit of a spring, a tree, a rock, or other natural object;" that the great truth, "God is love," was evolved from a primitive, Semitic conception that pictured the supreme deity as a mother; and so on through fifty-seven chapters. Evolution and the results of higher criticism lie at the basis of our author's discussions or meditations. In spirit he is devout, and he finds the culmination of the truths evolved in Jesus Christ. But some of the starting-points on which he descants lie outside the Old Testament, and it is doubtful if some of these supposed evolutions ever took place. The connection between the roots and the fruits it is often difficult, if not impossible, for an ordinary mortal to discern. He asserts that intelligence was evolved from sensation. He claims that by comparing painful and pleasurable sensations "intelligence comes." But comparing one thing with another, especially things as subtle and illusive as sensations, requires discriminating intelligence; so, according to our author, man must have had intelligence before it came. Out of intelligence conscience was evolved. Of this there is nowhere even a shred of proof. The author, probably unwittingly, fails sufficiently to emphasize the objective revelation of God to us. God is immanent, but he is also transcendent. He comes to us from without. Jesus Christ, in whom he is most perfectly revealed to us, came down to us out of heaven from his Father and our Father. Moreover, the writer seems to us to handle Scripture at times in a manner that is hardly accurate and scientific. Much of the history of the Old Testament he treats as uncertain tradition and legend. Man by transgression fell from innocence, nevertheless his fall was a step in advance in his development. The book of Jonah is a "satire," a "parable," and a "most interesting missionary tract." The last it certainly is. But Matthew is mistaken in making Jonah in the belly of the great fish the type of Christ's entombment. The ascension of Christ is based on a groundless Jewish fancy, and his second coming is merely his coming in the spirit. The apostles were

at times mistaken ; the author of the epistle to the Hebrews blundered when he wrote : " Apart from shedding of blood there is no remission." The words of John, " God is love," are ascribed to Jesus (p. 68). And we are told that the stopping of the waters of the Jordan so that the children of Israel might pass over was probably due to a landslide. Considering the configuration of the valley through which the Jordan flows from the Sea of Galilee to the Dead Sea, this would be an astounding miracle. We should as soon think of the Mississippi being cut off by a landslide. Moreover, the Scripture says that as soon as the priests came up out of the Jordan " the waters of the Jordan returned unto their place." They had either cut a sluiceway through the obstruction, or else just at that time the landslide withdrew. But our author teaches that in whatever way the Jordan was divided, God did it, and that of course is the essential truth. The book is interesting, the kernel of it is sound and wholesome, and it cannot fail to stimulate thought.—*The New and Living Way: An Orderly Arrangement and Exposition of the Doctrines of Christian Experience, According to the Scriptures.* By Milton S. Terry, D.D., LL.D. (New York : Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati : Jennings & Pye ; pp. 134 ; \$0.50.) The author's aim is wholly practical. He endeavors to present the main facts of Christian experience in " true logical order and to expound them after the method of a strictly biblical theology." In carrying out his purpose he discusses sin and death, conviction of sin, repentance and conversion, faith, forgiveness of sins, justification and reconciliation, the new birth, sonship, adoption, assurance, and spiritual freedom as they lie both in Scripture and in the consciousness of believers. He also treats of spiritual growth and the means by which it may be secured. The book as a whole seems to us sane, but in so brief a treatise one could hardly expect searching and exhaustive exegesis ; and while grateful for expositions of obscure and difficult texts, we are not always able to accept the conclusions reached. For instance, we think with our author that Christ in his conversation with Nicodemus did not by " water " mean " baptism," but can hardly believe that by it he intended to suggest the analogy between the waters upon which the Spirit of God brooded at the creation and the human heart regenerated by the Spirit. Again, in his exposition of repentance and faith he teaches that the former is the gift of God, but denies that the latter is, because it is a free act of the soul. But it is assuredly no more so than repentance. He also declares that " baptis-

mal regeneration" and "sacramentarian salvation" are repudiated by all Protestant Christendom. Would that they were; but large sections of Protestant Christendom still hold to these unscriptural notions and at every baptism of a babe declare, "This child is regenerate." Nor has the author, as it seems to us, presented the facts of Christian experience in "true logical order." He puts the new birth after repentance, faith, forgiveness, justification, and reconciliation. Does he intend to teach that a sinner can through faith be forgiven, justified—acquitted by God, and reconciled to God—before he has been regenerated? Is this the "true logical order" of the facts of Christian experience? We also find some marks of careless proof-reading. The close of the note at the bottom of p. 14 is left in a mix. On p. 111 we have "approach of the soul of God in prayer." Here is an incorrect phrase, "forgiven of sin;" it is a pulpit barbarism. "Creature life" is but little better. "Creature" as an adjective was long considered a barbarism, peculiar to the pulpit, and it is not yet half civilized. But in spite of these slight blemishes we can heartily commend this book to all who may be interested in the profoundly important subject of Christian experience.—*The Naturalness of Christian Life*. By Edward Everett Keedy. (New York and London: Putnams, 1902; pp. v + 204; \$1.25 net.) The author of this volume maintains that, since man was made in the image of God and is kin with God, the Christian life is but the unfolding of his original nature. This is effected by the personal inspiration and influence of Jesus. But the complete unfolding of true manhood requires time; it is not an achievement of today, but of tomorrow. Finally, since the Christian life is simply the efflorescence of man's inmost nature, everything in religion can be tested by experience, and even the duty of church membership rests, not merely on outward command, but chiefly on the "instinct" of love to the brethren. While the author's fundamental position is true and vastly important, his discussion of it is in the main extreme and one-sided. He thinks that man should be incited to believe in himself, in his own transcendent worth. But sinful, selfish man ordinarily so profoundly believes in himself that he feels no necessity for believing in God. Until his overweening self-confidence is shattered, until he learns that he is "wretched and miserable, and blind and naked," he will never trust in God, who alone can save him. It is not surprising that the author who holds such a superficial view of sin should find no place in his theology for the atonement made by Christ for us. He maintains that men atone for their own

sins by the agony and shame that they suffer on account of them, and by the good that they do when they have been delivered from them. After the sinner has suffered the penalty due to his sin, nothing more can be required of him ; and he suffers the complete penalty here and now, so that his "account is squared every day." If this be true, the work of Christ, however interpreted, was absolutely useless, and before the law of God the holiest man has no advantage over the vilest ; when at the close of the day they fall asleep they are equal ; the account of the one as well as of the other is "squared." This is salvation made certain in spite of the sinner. It is hardly necessary to say that this is "another gospel, which is not another." Our author does, however, teach that Christ suffered on account of the sins of men ; that is, the world is crucified on account of its own sins, and Christ suffers with it ; and such suffering he calls, with Bushnell, sacrificial and vicarious. But the sufferings of men on account of their sins are both retributive and reformatory. That they are retributive probably none will deny ; but is there any evidence that they are reformatory ? Christ was sinless and needed no reformation, yet he suffered the most excruciating agony. And unquestionably suffering does not reform men. If it did this earth would long since have become a paradise. But just where there is the most suffering there continues to be the most sin. Sin cannot be burned out of men by purgatorial fire. Nothing cleanses men from sin but the blood of Christ, and nothing transforms and saves them but the love of God in Christ. Our author also holds that God loves men "in order that they may be good." That God's love revealed to us in Jesus Christ does lead men from sin to holiness is true ; but genuine love is never lavished on its object for some ulterior end. The moment it calculates and consciously aims at a result it ceases to be love. He also says that Paul's work at Athens was an "utter failure." But Paul preached there to a mocking crowd that cut short his discourse, and yet a judge of the court, a noted woman, and some others were converted. If the author of this volume should preach a fragment of a sermon and reach a similar result, he could not be persuaded that he had utterly failed. But in this volume there are many passages in which great and vital truths are set forth with rare clearness and force. We specially commend the last two chapters, "The Experiment of Religion," and "Instinct of Church Membership."—*Prayer*. By Rev. A. J. Worlledge, M.A. (London : Longmans, Green & Co., 1902 ; pp. xvi + 378 ; 5s.) This volume is a profound treatise on prayer. It is one of the series of books, now

in process of preparation and publication, which are to constitute the Oxford Library of Practical Theology. These books, designed to meet the wants of the intelligent laymen of the Church of England, are to be written in popular style, free from the technical terms of scientific theology. Our author has kept this aim steadily in view, but throughout his whole discussion has firmly grasped and clearly unfolded great fundamental principles. His broad and sane views effectually forestall many narrow and petty objections urged against prayer by prejudiced and shallow thinkers. The author maintains that prayer is a faculty which, like any other faculty of the soul, may be cultivated or neglected. Prayer in its broadest meaning is the ascent of the soul to God, and includes praise and thanksgiving as well as confession, intercession, and petition. It is an instinct and is universal among men. The basis of prayer is the correspondence of our being with the being of God, in whose image we are created. Just as the revelation of God to men has been progressive, the evolution of prayer has been correspondingly progressive, and reaches its culmination in the knowledge of the Fatherhood of God. Effective prayer is now offered in Christ's name. The petitioner, being in vital fellowship with Christ, asks for the things that Christ himself desires and wills. Our author also sets forth the action of the Holy Spirit in prayer. The Spirit touches the will, illumines the understanding, guides the emotions, enlarges the imagination, and develops even the language of prayer. Christ's example in prayer, the Lord's prayer, the relation to prayer of faith, hope, and love, the divisions of prayer, the vital connections between private and public prayer, subjects of prayer, hindrances to prayer, answers to prayer according to God's promises, and transformations wrought by prayer are all suggestively and helpfully discussed. But this excellent book has some marked defects. Many of its sentences are long and somewhat involved. There is considerable repetition, which tends to weary the reader. Sometimes the author is vague and mystical. He is a churchman and writes for churchmen, and on that account perhaps we ought not to criticise his ecclesiasticism and sacramentarianism. But it is at times very pronounced. He teaches that men are regenerated in baptism; that " manifold gifts of grace " are " bestowed through confirmation ; " that prayers offered at the celebration of the eucharist are specially effective; that we should pray for those who have died in the Lord; that " the churchman is a member of a ' royal priesthood ' . . . ; he has a special nearness to God ; " that Timothy was " a missionary Bishop ; " and much more of like

import. But, in spite of these unscriptural churchly notions that crop out here and there, we have seldom if ever seen a more thorough and comprehensive discussion of prayer.—*The Ministry of Conversion*. By Arthur James Mason, D.D., Lady Margaret's Reader in divinity in the University of Cambridge. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902; pp. xi + 168; 2s. 6d.) We have in this book the substance of the lectures delivered by its author at Cambridge, England, in 1892. He gives the Scriptural meaning of Conversion, shows that even those who have been regenerated by baptism in infancy need it, points out the duty of the clergy to the unconverted in their parishes, and urges the motives that should incite pastors to labor for their salvation. He speaks of the opportunities that the ministry has, both in private conversation and in public address, to turn men from sin to God, and discusses at some length the missions or evangelistic meetings of the Church of England. His suggestions are eminently practical, and are equally applicable to what we call "protracted meetings." To our mind his most suggestive and valuable discussion is on the theme, how to produce conviction of sin. How to deal with newly-awakened souls, the place of confession in conversion, and the condition of evangelistic work now carried on by the Church of England are also treated in an interesting way. The style of the book is very simple, clear, and direct. The elements of conversion are lucidly set forth. Evangelism is so delineated as to commend it to the thoughtful and judicious and to discourage extravagant and fanatical methods of religious work. What to our mind is objectionable arises from the author's point of view. Being a clergyman of the Church of England he naturally holds to baptismal regeneration, speaks at times depreciatively of the "sects," condemns Wesley for "violating the sacred order of the church," prefers to call the Christian pastor a priest instead of a presbyter or an elder, advocates the confessional as scriptural, pleads for brotherhoods and celibacy, and maintains that the parish priest has authority to absolve from sin. All this is ecclesiasticism, but it is not scriptural; it smacks of Rome, not of the New Testament; but we do not forget that all Anglicans are not alike.—*Priestly Blemishes; or, Some Secret Hindrances to the Realization of Priestly Ideals*. By Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral. (London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902; pp. xiv + 157.) These lectures are a sequel to *Priestly Ideals*, by the same author. They were addressed to his "brother clergy." He speaks, not as a teacher, but as a fellow-laborer.

He discusses some blemishes that may hinder his co-workers from attaining the high ideals which he had previously set before them. These blemishes are vanity, sloth, despondency, impatience, and self-neglect. The style of these lectures is clear, simple, and direct. The author grapples with real difficulties, and shows how they may be overcome. He pleads vigorously for high character and honest, earnest work in the Christian pastorate. His occasional comments on Scripture are fresh and suggestive. He deals now and then a stinging blow against showy, formal ritualism. And, while some of the things that he urges are applicable only to the clergy of the Church of England, most that he says would be profitable reading for the ministers of all Protestant denominations. Still it would be well to substitute for the churchy word "priest," found throughout this book, the New Testament word "presbyter" or "elder."—GALUSHA ANDERSON.

Spiritual Heroes. A Study of Some of the World's Prophets. By David Saville Muzzey, B.D. (New York : Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902 ; pp. ix+305; \$1.25 net.) A singularly fresh and vital group of essays. The style in which they are written indicates that they may possibly have been, in the first instance, spoken lectures or addresses. They are at least well adapted for that purpose. The author has a twofold purpose, first, "to contribute to that inspiring doctrine of man's spiritual royalty, which is declaring itself ever more clearly in the interplay of the complex forces of our contemporary intellectual and moral life ; namely, a philosophy which recognizes the primacy of the human will, sound historical criticism, sympathetic study of comparative religion, etc." Secondly, "to emphasize the truth that righteousness of character, humaneness of heart, responsibility toward duty, and obedience to the call of conviction are the primal eternal virtues whose worth is independent of race, age or creed, and whose blessing is given to all the world." The selection of the world's prophets is representative : Jeremiah, the prophet of Israel ; the Buddha, the prince of mysticism ; Socrates, the champion of intellectual piety ; Jesus, the preacher of the kingdom of God ; St. Paul, the apostle of a universal religion ; Marcus Aurelius, the philosopher of a dying world ; Augustine, the school-master of the Middle Ages ; Mohammed, the revivalist of Semitism ; Martin Luther and the dawn of the Modern Age." The treatment of each of the "spiritual heroes" is marked with candor, sympathy, an intelligent appreciation and a catholic spirit. The book as a whole may be regarded as an excellent fruit of the modern historical method of

approach in enabling us to get a better understanding of the personal forces which have played a part in history. The author brings out his characters from the colorless background of tradition. To accomplish that is in itself a task well done. The book is clearly, graphically written; it is not at any point loaded with the technicalities of scholarship, and well merits a wide perusal.—*The Rise of a Soul: A Stimulus to Personal Progress and Development*. By James I. Vance, D.D. (Fleming H. Revell Co., 1902; pp. 8+229; \$1 net.) This book, which the author in the "Foreword" describes as "an attempt to tell the story of the rise of a soul in the four experiences of Vision, Shadows, Ascent and Summit," is written in a manner evidently captivating from the popular point of view. The pages scintillate with epigrams which at times seem dangerously near to being forced, and often too self-conscious to be quite genuine. Neither does the structure of the book and the relation of the various parts to each other appear always self-evident. The various subdivisions seem like brilliant, jeweled hooks on which a popular preacher has hung his thoughts in order to fix the attention and to stir the imagination. From that point of view the work is well done. The bones of the skeleton do not always appear to belong to the same creature, but they are well covered with the flesh of telling anecdote, and apt literary allusion. It should be added that the thought is wholesome, stimulating, and in the interest of sound character. "The supreme importance of devotion to Jesus Christ," the author urges at the close of one section of the book, is because "he is the best, the soul's sovereign ideal, and the complete satisfaction of its divinest aspirations. . . . If he is to rise he must grow like Christ. If he is to grow like Christ he must love him. That is the gateway to the land of the immortals. As one sets his quest thither, he is rising, by a sure way to heights 'where that which is perfect is come.'" And again: "Self is too small a goal. The man who ends in himself has no outlet. He is like a railway company that should build a trunk line into a pocket. He lacks terminal facilities." "There was a day when men thought brawn was divinity. God was a muscular giant. It was the age of the divine right of strenuousness. . . . In the further evolution of humanity Jesus of Nazareth appeared. From that day men have thought that service was divinity. God is the man of Galilee. The age of the divine right of unselfish devotion to the good of others is upon us; and the law for nations and individuals is the golden rule."—*Faith and Life: Sermons*. By George Tybout Purves, D.D., LL.D., late Pastor of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church, New York;

sometime Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary. With an Introductory Note by Benjamin B. Warfield, D.D., LL.D., Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary. (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-school Work, 1902; pp. xxx+357; \$1.25 net.) The impersonal title, "Introductory Note," is scarcely equal to the warm and appreciative sketch of the late Dr. Purves with which Professor Warfield prefaces the posthumous volume of his sermons. To those not personally acquainted with Dr. Purves, this sketch affords both an outline of his life and a considerable insight into the qualities of his character and his methods of work, both as a teacher of theology, and as a preacher and pastor. It is stated that the sermons included in the volume are taken at random from the hundreds of manuscripts left by Dr. Purves, and that the sermons, though written out in full, were seldom, if ever, read in the form in which they were committed to paper. They are in fact "extemporaneous first drafts of sermons," and presumably the intense and nervous personality of the writer gave them a force and vitality when spoken that is not felt in reading them in their present form. The sermons are free from all taint of sensationalism in form or thought. They are, in the main, conservative from the theological point of view, but profoundly earnest in spirit. They are the evident expressions of a religious life, but of a religious life which naturally expressed and justified itself in terms of thought. We discover the proofs of what Professor Warfield says: "He did not merely preach out of his theology; he preached his theology. He constantly took a theological topic for his subject and developed it with notable precision and fulness." The pages as they stand do not convey the impression of deep spiritual passion, so much as of clear and earnest thought and the desire to persuade one of the truth. They are less distinctly prophetic than theological in their emphasis. "His aim in preaching," Professor Warfield says, "was obviously not to delight, but to instruct, not to give pleasure, but guidance; and he had his reward." The present volume is a dignified and impressive memorial of Dr. Purves, who was cut off in the prime of his life, having hardly completed his forty-ninth year.—*Theology Old and New*. By William Frederick Cobb, D.D. (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1902; pp. 176.) The present volume belongs to "The Church's Outlook" series, edited by John H. Burn. The general plan contemplates a number of handbooks on current ecclesiastical problems, setting forth the outlook for the twentieth century from the point of view of the Anglican church. In typography and binding the volume is unattractive, and portions of the book are

written in a careless and slovenly style. The point of view, however, is modern. The author deprecates that attitude in the church which treats "the Nicene creed as something more than a historical statement of the church's traditional belief at a given period," thinking to do it greater honor by teaching it "as a sort of creedal charm." The author is imbued with the spirit of the historical method, and in that spirit discusses in a few brief chapters the doctrines of "God," "Man," "Revelation," "The Bible," "Incarnation," "Atonement," "Mediation," "The Church," "Last Things." In the discussion of the incarnation the author strikes a note which is fully in harmony with a decided present tendency to lay stress on the ethical and experiential. One extract may be taken as a fair specimen of the general trend of the writer's thought:

Has the general Christian consciousness from their [the Apostles'] day to this found through its own experience that the Mind and Will of God have been truly revealed to it in a practical way by Jesus Christ, so that the predicate of Divinity may in the same practical way be applied to Him? Has it had reason, too, for seeing that in Him were summed up all the best anticipations of the Jews, especially those attached to the Servant of Jehovah, so that the Messianic ideal was also realized in Him? The answer to both these questions must, as the present writer thinks, be frankly in the affirmative. It may be safely said that the twentieth century is likely to form for itself a Christology on religious lines, rather than on metaphysical. (P. 97.)

—FREDERIC E. DEWHURST.

Die Medizin im Alten Testament. Von Wilhelm Ebstein. (Stuttgart: Enke, 1901; pp. viii + 184; m. 5.) "Experience has shown that translations have had a very real influence on the views of commentators and interpreters of the Bible. This is especially true of passages relating to medicine." So says our author, while treating of the ludicrous *Kombination* of maladies with which Hyrtl, under the designation "the visitation of Job," afflicts that pattern of suffering. Here was a distinguished anatomist exposing himself to ridicule, because, though far from being a "master of Hebrew," and dependent on a Latin version, he proceeded *ultra crepidam* to deal with biblical medicine. Our author had this eminent example before him, and yet, though also weak in Hebrew and relying on a translation, he essays the same foolish rôle. How could this learned physician, who would not treat of the plague of Athens (see his *Die Pest des Thukydides*) without a competent knowledge of Attic Greek, be so indiscreet as to

attempt a task more intricate and extended, the investigation of disease and remedy as they appear in the Hebrew canon and its apocrypha, without the requisite knowledge of Hebrew? A book thus compiled is to the specialist an impertinence, and to the intelligent layman a redundancy, for its information is to him easily obtainable elsewhere. The cavalier way in which the "supernatural" is treated in these passages indicates an unlovely indifference to the sacred convictions of others. Life is never restored to the dead, but merely revived in cases of *Scheintod*. The curative reputation of the brazen serpent is altogether factitious. It came from the accident of its being raised late in the tragedy, at a time when those who were fatally wounded had died, those who were slightly bitten, though frightened, survived, and the fiery serpents had exhausted their venom. In the rapture of Elijah *Phantasie* plays a large part. The regularity of arrangement and concinnity of style, so befitting a systematic treatise, are wanting in this book. A chapter, for instance, thus commences: "One could, without committing a grievous sin of omission, terminate this chapter before it begins with the statement, 'there is nothing to put in it.'" One-third of the book is consumed in extended quotations from the Bible, followed by useless and vapid paraphrases. If the author will read Dr. Macalister's article on "Medicine" in Hastings's *Bible Dictionary*, the sense of disparity felt by him who is the lesser factor therein will be his sufficient punishment for having published this piece of ineptitude.—R. KERR ECCLES.

Social Salvation. By Washington Gladden. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1902; pp. 240; \$1.) These "Lyman Beecher Lectures," before the Divinity School of Yale University, are admirably adapted to their purpose, that of opening up to candidates for the ministry the social mission of Christianity. The book is elementary, concise, convincing, and sane; not a work for advanced students, yet helpful even to these. The field covered is indicated by the topics: "Religion and the Social Question," "Care of the Poor," "The State and the Unemployed," "Our Brothers in Bonds" (criminals), "Social Vices," "Public Education," "The Redemption of the City."—*The Church and its Social Mission.* By John Marshall Lang, D.D., Principal of the University of Aberdeen. (New York: Thomas Whitaker, 1902; pp. 364; \$1.60.) This book discusses biblical teaching upon the social duty of the church and some of the practical means by which Christian people may discharge this duty. We have already

been made familiar with the essential principles involved, and the time would seem to be near when each new publication on the subject should offer some contribution to our knowledge of method. It is a little tiresome to go over the same ground so often after different writers. The volume under notice is most suggestive when the author deals with the efforts and experiments of Scotland, his own country. The land of Thomas Chalmers, Guthrie, and Macleod has worthy successors of their practical Christian philanthropy, and these pages are eloquent witnesses of the vitality of self-devoted love. At the same time one must add that until theological teachers can and will write with more full and accurate mastery of the methods and results of the social sciences, their discussions of such subjects will remain somewhat vague and general, where thinkers and workers need definite and adequate interpretations and recommendations. — *Music in the History of the Western Church*. By Edward Dickinson, Professor of the History of Music, Oberlin College. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902; pp. viii+426. \$2.50 net.) The purpose of this work is stated by the author in his preface: "To arouse in the minds of ministers and non-professional lovers of music, as well as of church musicians, an interest in this branch of art such as they cannot feel so long as its history is unknown to them." The topics touched upon are: primitive and ancient religious music; ritual and song in the early Christian church; the liturgy of the Catholic church; the development of mediæval chorus music; the modern musical mass; the rise of the German Cantata and Passion music; Protestant music in Germany, England, and America; and problems of church music in America. The chapters are written in an interesting style, and the history of ecclesiastical poetry and music is connected with the development of ruling theological ideas and social aims of peoples. All histories of music are difficult to read unless one can hear the organ play and the choir sing while the historian reads his lines. Such lectures as these would be of immense advantage in all theological schools if the text were constantly illustrated by artistic reproductions of the music in the order of its evolution. Our Puritan and Calvinistic ancestry made a poor beginning for us and our money-getting pursuits have not left room for æsthetic culture. All the more important and timely is this author's plea for an earnest effort to give to music in the church the place of dignity and power which belongs to it, as the art which intensifies religious feeling and gives faith and hope and love their most adequate and worthy expression.—C. R. HENDERSON.

Mosaics from India. Talks about India, Its Peoples, Religions and Customs. By Margaret B. Denning. (Chicago: Revell, 1902; pp. 296. \$1.25 net.) This latest comer in the long succession of on-the-surface books about India, quite adequately described in its title, is written by a woman who has lived in India as a missionary, who treats every subject from the missionary standpoint, and who would appear to have had chiefly in mind in the writing of it readers of her own sex. The least important chapters are those upon the government and the religions of India. They add nothing to the value of the book even for that easily satisfied person, the "general reader." One suspects that they were written in deference to a mistaken notion that in a book about India something, though its quality be second rate, must be said on these matters. Fortunately Mrs. Denning writes in the main of what she has herself seen, and with frankness, directness, and simplicity. The book is attractively bound, and illustrated with twenty-eight reproductions of photographs, but is furnished with a very scanty table of contents and lacks an index.—A. K. PARKER.

BRIEF MENTION.

Bibliographie der theologischen Literatur für das Jahr 1901. Herausgegeben von Professor Dr. Kruger und Lic. Dr. W. Köhler. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn, 1902, Lief. 1-3; each 50 pf.—These three parts carry the bibliography of 1901 through the literature of the "Ancient East," "Comparative Religion," "Old and New Testaments," and "Church History" up to and into the modern period. Two more parts will cover "Systematic Theology" and "Practical Theology." Only titles are here given; the description and valuation belong to the fuller *Jahresbericht*. One can express only commendation and gratitude for this admirable undertaking.—G. S. G.

Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid tot op Alexander den Grooten. Door C. P. Tiele. Deel II, 2 de Stuk. Amsterdam: P. N. Van Kampen & Zoon, 1901; pp. 175-413.—This is the last portion of the lamented Professor Tiele's new and entirely rewritten edition of his *History of Religion*. It continues the history of Zoroastrianism discussing the later Avestan religion and that of the Achemenian period.—G. S. G.

Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens. Von Morris Jastrow, Jr. Giessen: J. Rickersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1902; Lief. 1 and 2; each m. 1.50.—This German edition of Professor Jastrow's well-known and scholarly *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (1898) has been thoroughly revised and brought up to the present stage of Assyriological knowledge. That a translation into German is found desirable is a welcome testimony to the originality and thorough scholarship of the author.—G. S. G.

Ueber Weissagung und Zauber im nordischen Altertum. Rektoratsrede von Hugo Gering, Kiel: Lipsius & Fischer, 1902; pp. 31.—A popular and pleasantly written discourse on the ancient German and Scandinavian oracular and magical practices. Voluminous references and notes substantiate the statements made in the lecture. It is an agreeable and convenient collection of facts on the subject by a master in the field.—G. S. G.

Ein moderner Erlöser des Judenthums. Vortrag von R. Perlas, Königsberg, 1901; pp. 16.—An earnest and often scornful reply to an article in the *Prussian Year-book* entitled "The Redemption of Judaism," the chief suggestion of which was that German Jews should submit to baptism as a means of rehabilitation in social and political life. The lecturer emphatically repudiates such a method of salvation.

The First Things: Studies in the Embryology of Religion and Natural Theology. By Rev. John Buchan. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1902; pp. 265; 5s.—The author deals with some fundamental questions like "Evolution and Religion," "Evolution and Evil," "Origin of the Idea of God," "Is Man a Son of God by Creation?" The essays are earnest and candid; no pretense is made "to any scientific knowledge other than can be gathered in an ordinary course of reading." The chief appeal beyond this is made to "common-sense." Dependence on Andrew Lang and Professor James Robertson is acknowledged and the point of view is that of open-minded but somewhat narrow orthodoxy.—G. S. G.

Systems of Ethics. By Aaron Schuyler, Ph.D., LL.D. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye, 1902; pp. 459; \$1.50.—A comprehensive survey of the field of ethics, betraying no originality of insight and tending to a practical eclecticism. The sketch of the history of ethics in the third part goes far, however, to redeem the volume from the oblivion which usually awaits text-books of this kind.—G. B. S.

Principes d'anthropologie générale. Par L'Abbé N. Boulay, docteur de sciences, professeur à l'Université Catholique de Lille. Paris: Lethielleux; pp. xvi + 334; fr. 3.50.—Our author, in one of his numerous digressions, commends the brothers Tulasne, who had issued a magnificently illustrated *Selecta Fungorum Carpologia*, because they prefixed to their work a device in which a group of mushrooms was surrounded by a chaplet of devotional beads, in which were entangled a painter's pencil and a writer's pen. A similar symbolism might have introduced this work. In it the chasuble of the cleric ever surmounts the philosopher's cloak, and the pen of the writer moves within the circle of the rosary.—R. K. E.

Die Weisheit der Brahmanen und das Christentum. Von Johannes Kreyher. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901; pp. 180; m. 3.—The purpose of the writer is a comparison of the fundamental principles of the Vedanta philosophy with the teachings of the Christian revelation. He selects for treatment the teachings of each system on revelation, creation, God, the human soul, salvation, and the future life. His knowledge of the Vedanta is based, not on a first hand study of the original sources, but on Paul Deussen's presentation as found in his *Das System des Vedanta*. He gives a full, correct, and appreciative presentation. This is an excellent piece of fair-minded criticism, and as a popular presentation of the subject is unsurpassed.—F. J. C.

De la formation du Canon de l'Ancien Testament: Étude historique-critique. Par G. Wildeboer. Lausanne: Bridel & C^{ie}, 1901.—The first Dutch edition of this work appeared in 1889, the second in 1891, and the third in 1900, a German translation in 1891, and an English in 1895. This French translation has been made from the third, or 1900, Dutch edition. In comparing a large part of the volume with earlier editions it is found that the author practically adopts in this third edition Kusters' view regarding the return of Ezra from exile (pp. 76 ff.). He also strikes a hard blow at Ryle, when he says of Ryle's explanation of John 7:58; 1 Cor. 2:9: "Pour nous, le témoignage des Pères de l'Église a plus de valeur que la conception dogmatique du professeur anglais" (p. 39). It is gratifying to see this sane discussion of the canon securing such favor and widespread popularity.—PRICE.

The Hebrew Monarchy: Saul and David. By Rev. A. R. Whitham, M.A. London: Rivingtons, 1902; pp. x + 292; 2s. 6d.—This is one of the Rivington "Handbooks to the Bible and Prayer Book." A devout follower of Pusey shows how to use the Old Testament histories for teaching Christianity. The book is pedagogically excellent, but has the serious defect of not teaching the history.—F. P. R.

The Minor Prophets. Bible-Class Primers. By John Adams. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark; imported by Scribner; pp. 111; \$0.20.—In small compass the author succeeds in making clear the general connection of the Minor Prophets with national history and in presenting their personalities and thought with force. In the main the accepted positions of historical criticism are favorably presented and often definitely adopted. An interesting and excellent primer.—H. F.

Das Buch des Propheten Nahum. Von Otto Happel. Würzburg: Göbel & Scherer, 1902; pp. 106; m. 3.—This work embodies the results of the author's efforts to complete the reconstruction of the alphabetical poem of chap. 1, upon which he published a monograph in 1900. He regards the original poem as extending through 2:1, with the samech and pe verses wanting. The most striking feature of the book is, however, an ingenious argument from general characteristics and detailed allusions for dating chaps. 2 and 3 in the post-exilic period, to which various recent investigators have assigned chap. 1. References to Assyria are interpreted as veiled predictions against Antiochus IV., the latter part of the prophecy being assigned to the year 168 B.C., and the opening poem in the original form to the next year, with a revision in 165 B.C.—H. F.

Unser Herr Jesus Christus. Von Fr. H. Brandes. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902.—In an effort to withstand the supposed trend in the direction of a non-historical Jesus, the author sets forth the person of Jesus under the usual rubrics, and supports his own position by promiscuous quotations from the Scriptures. Christianity, he thinks, rests on the deity of Christ.—L. P.

Probleme des Matthäus-Evangeliums. Von Dr. D. Haussleiter. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1901.—The two problems discussed in these thirty pages are "The Virgin Birth" and the term "Our Father" contained in the Lord's Prayer. In the former the author comes to the conservative position in the conservative manner; in the latter he aims to show that the term comprehends the whole prayer.—L. P.

Das Eigenartige des Christentums als Religion dargelegt. Von D. K. F. Noesgen, Konsistorialrat und Professor in Rostock. Halle: Mühlmann, 1902; pp. 48;

m. 1.20.—The thought of the author may be summarized thus: The essential in Christianity is that it is a religion; religion is above all a life of the soul for God. Christianity is the life out of, for, in, and with God in the human soul, first made possible through the salvation consummated by Jesus Christ, and through the Holy Spirit sent by him for that purpose. The author's method, unlike that of Harnack's in *Das Wesen des Christentums*, is dogmatic rather than historical; he aims to correct some of Harnack's views.—L. P.

Die Ethik Huldreich Zwinglis. Von Constantin von Kügelgen, Lic. Theol. Leipzig: Richard Wöpke, 1902; pp. 3; m. 4.—This little book is the product of a scholarly mind, devoted to Zwingli, and justly claiming for him a better hearing than he has hitherto received. The quotations are numerous and apt and carefully located. The book has an analytical index and one of texts. The author's last word is: "No man of the Reformation period has apprehended Christianity in a manlier, healthier, and simpler fashion than Zwingli."—S. M. J.

Brooks by the Traveller's Way. By J. H. Jowett, M.A. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Co.; pp. 216; \$1.25.—Since the death of Joseph Parker, Mr. Jowett is probably the most popular preacher of the Congregational denomination in England. He ministers to a large congregation in Birmingham. Some explanation of his popularity may be gained from this volume, in which are gathered twenty-six prayer-meeting talks. These addresses give ample evidence of Mr. Jowett's ability as an expositor. He opens up familiar passages from the Scriptures in a way at once delightful and stimulating, reminding one somewhat of Dr. McLaren. These messages are real helps to real devotion, far surpassing in this respect the average devotional book, so-called. Fresh thought, terse and vigorous setting, strength and tenderness admirably mingled, the constant note of genuineness, make this book one that will prove largely helpful to those who are striving to live over again the life of Jesus Christ.—L. A. C.

Urbs Beata! A Vision of the Perfect Life. By Herbert Cushing Tolman. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Co.; pp. 87; \$0.75.—The author is professor of the Greek language and literature in Vanderbilt University, and has put into this little volume thirty chapel talks which he gave to the students of that institution. Their chief merit lies in their brevity.—L. A. C.

The Practice of Immortality. By Washington Gladden. Boston: The Pilgrim Press; pp. 24.—Dr. Gladden does not look for any demonstration of immortality, whether logical or physical. He asserts that he could not be convinced of the reality of the future life by scientific evidence, no matter how much of it there might be. The only way to get any assurance of this great fundamental fact is to assume it, and then build the life upon it. If we live the kind of life we ought to live in view of this high assumption, our doubts will disappear. The author does well to urge the importance of the Aristotelian injunction as to the "practice of immortality." No doubt we ought to live here as if we were to live hereafter, and such living may well serve to strengthen our confidence in another life. No thoughtful man, however, can be content to assume the reality of the future life without seeking for some ground upon which his assumption may rest. The author seems to write the sign of equation between demonstration and evidence. It may be impossible, as the author declares, to demonstrate the uniformity of natural law; but this great

fact of science is not assumed by the scientist without evidence, but because of it. We may not be able to prove the existence of life beyond death; but until the teaching of Jesus Christ is discredited, our hope of immortality will remain something vastly more valuable than a "splendid guess."—L. A. C.

The American Jewish Year Book, 5663. October 2, 1902, to September 21, 1903. Edited by Cyrus Adler. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1902; pp. x + 321.—The fourth issue of this *Year Book* gives, as usual, much valuable and interesting information concerning Jewish happenings, organizations, and benevolent and educational institutions. The survey of "The Year" contains also a copy of the diplomatic note recently addressed by the secretary of state to the signatories of the Berlin Treaty, on the subject of Roumania's treatment of the Jews. Other distinctive features of this year's issue are a biographical sketch of Commodore Uriah P. Levy, by Hon. Simon Wolf, (pp. 42-5); "The Jewish Population of Maryland," by Dr. George E. Barnett, of the Johns Hopkins University, (pp. 46-62); and a sketch of the "History of the Jews in the United States," by the editor (pp. 63-77), accompanied by a full account of the fifth International Congress of Zionists, which met in Basle, Switzerland, December 26-31, 1901. There is also the list of "Selected Hebraica and Judaica," by Israel Abrahams (pp. 147-66), made interesting and valuable, especially by the short and pithy comments on the several publications. From another list (pp. 168-71) we learn that no less than seventy-four Jewish periodicals, in English, German, Hebrew, and Yiddish, are at present appearing in the United States.—J. M. C.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

Volume VII

APRIL, 1903

Number 2

EMPEROR FREDERICK II., THE HOHENSTAUFEN.

By WALTHER KÖHLER,
Giessen, Germany.

ACCORDING to the ancient songs and legends of the German people, Frederick Barbarossa is sitting in a palace chamber deep in the Kyffhäuser mountain, wrapped in enchanted sleep, and awaiting his appointed time to arise and restore the empire to its former glory.

This legend originally applied, not to Barbarossa, but to his grandson, the emperor Frederick II. Even during the lifetime of Frederick poetic romances had woven a halo about him. Strange tales and prophecies, which had originated in the eastern empire in dim antiquity, sprang to new life. The story ran that he was to be the great emperor who would announce the day of judgment; the prince who would redeem the Holy Sepulcher from the hands of the infidels; the emperor who would end the gigantic struggle between the papal and imperial powers, in which the people took so keen an interest, by bursting the chains of the curia and establishing a free and united Germany. So when the emperor unexpectedly died in the midst of the struggle for these great aims, the people, in the intensity of their expectation, refused to believe the death of the savior for whom they had hoped and longed. Their hope and longing clung to him beyond death. The rumor appeared, now here, now there, that

he was alive, concealed in the *Ætna* on Sicily, and that he must and would return in due time to restore the empire's glory. In the course of time the *Ætna* was changed to the German Kyffhäuser, and very gradually in the history of the legend and prophecy Frederick Barbarossa was substituted for Frederick II.

A splendid figure, this imperial Hohenstaufe, as the heart of his people pictured him in the legend; a figure painted with the rich and plastic colors of mediæval glory, illuminated by the magic light of romance that played about the Hohenstaufen, against a background that shades off into the dim and uncertain future. It is quite another question if this legendary picture of the national hero is also a historically faithful picture of the real emperor. Johann Friedrich Böhmer, the historian who has collected the historical sources for the history of Frederick II. and has first made a historical comprehension of him possible, felt compelled flatly to contradict the popular conception. He finds in the emperor no trace of idealism, no consciousness of nationality, no sense of family honor or pride in the high traditions of his house; deceit, cunning, cruelty, ingratitude, treachery, and unbridled sensuality are the qualities under which Böhmer classifies his character. In his treatment of Germany, it is claimed, Frederick was utterly forgetful of his duty, abandoning it to the arbitrary will of its princes, merely that he might have a free hand to carry out his own despotic desires in Italy. The conflict with the church, too, was bare of any nobler element; it was not a struggle between two great principles, but a quarrel for personal power, deliberately provoked and treacherously conducted. In short, egoism is the key to Frederick's character, a reckless and boundless determination to exert power.

But is this first judgment which historical science through Böhmer has passed on Frederick II. also the final judgment? Will the final judgment of history about him be a sentence of condemnation? Or was *vox populi* after all *vox Dei*? Did the voice of the people seize and express the truth? Or is there, perhaps, a third possibility? Both the historian and the people have been biased in their judgment by their likes and dislikes.

The people can never pass any judgment unbiased by passion; the historian ought to be devoid of passion. Like Antigone, historians are not called to hate;¹ but neither are they called to love. It is their business to unfold, to make clear the sequence of motives and actions, and after the dissection to state the anatomical findings. That the result of the investigation cannot be summed up in a single unqualified dictum, as Böhmer has attempted, is clear at the outset, for a human personality, especially a personality like that of Frederick, is far too capacious for so narrow a frame. Writing history as the history of development is the only true way of writing it.

I.

Frederick II. was born on December 26, 1194, at Jesi in the March Ancona. He was named Roger and Frederick after his grandfathers. The names were meant to symbolize the hopes entertained of him; he was to unite the brilliancy and idealistic energy of Frederick Barbarossa with the statesmanship and administrative ability of Roger of Sicily, and it was hoped that the babe, which was to be both emperor of the Germans and king of Sicily, might even excel the power of his father, Henry VI. But these hopes, apparently so well founded, were destined to a speedy eclipse, and the union of Germany and Sicily proved to be the cause, not of the happiness, but of the tragedy of his life.

As a child of three and a half years he received the Roman crown as a warrant for his claim to the crown of Germany. Likewise he received the crown of Sicily, but when it came to him his father was dead and his mother Constantia soon followed. He never knew the happiness of a sunny childhood. Political intrigues surrounded the boy on all hands. After his father's death, the war of succession broke out in Germany between the Hohenstaufen and Welfen. Otto IV. of Brunswick strove with Philip of Suabia, the youngest brother of Henry VI.; but the real heir presumptive of the German crown, Frederick II., did not even come into question. The prospects for the

¹ οἱ τοὶ συνέχθην, ἀλλὰ συμφιλῶν ἔφυν.—SOPH., *Antig.*, 523.

Sicilian crown were not much better. Here, too, the great nobles rose in revolt after the death of Henry VI., and in order to check the threatening ruin at all, the widowed empress was compelled to appoint Pope Innocent III. guardian of her son. The guardianship was accepted under conditions so severe that the crowned king became a vassal of the pope. The proud names of Frederick and Roger now sounded like mockery! If only the guardian, who in his way was well-intentioned, had at least succeeded in preserving the fief intact for his ward! Instead of that he, too, was drawn into the whirlpool of party conflicts, and it was always the royal lad whose possessions were the object of contention and of the selfish greed of all. He fell into the hands now of a German, now of a Sicilian, and, tossed back and forth, he even for a time lacked his daily bread and had to accept sustenance from wealthy citizens of Palermo, who alternated in supplying his wants by the week or month.

Now, what would a boy who was thus made the sport of political selfishness learn from these intrigues? If, like Frederick, he had the keen powers of observation that often belong to precocious children, he could gather only this lesson: that craft and deceit are the means of power on earth; and that he will go farthest who will follow his selfish aim with the most ruthless force and brutality. And again, if all who approached him were only striving to exploit his helplessness, it plainly followed that it was safest to trust none. A child that receives no unselfish love will not have the faculty of loving awakened in him. I know of no one who stood by him as friend stands by friend, not even Hermann von Salza, the master of the Teutonic knights, the most faithful of his later followers. And finally, about whom did the greed and cupidity of political factions forever concentrate? He always found himself the objective center of it. And did not that imply that his person was of value, indeed of high value, the value of a royal, or even of an imperial, crown? Would not that necessarily inflame his self-esteem? It was the heir of two crowns of whom men were trying to get control. The mediæval, mystical halo gathered about his crowned head; he was the divinely anointed, in whom by God's will the consecrated

dignity of office inhered. And if the consciousness of his importance awoke in him, would that not awaken the desire to be ruler in fact, as well as in name, to crush the venal herd of nobles, and to lay the yoke of his imperial will on the neck of his people? From a recently discovered letter we know that these thoughts were actually stirring in the boy's mind. He would grind his teeth and weep in impotent rage at his lot, tear his clothes and press his nails deep into his flesh, and even lift his fist to strike at his oppressors. He knew that he was of royal lineage and himself a king; an eyewitness testifies to his kingly dignity and the commanding majesty of his bearing. Whoever would condemn Frederick II. for his treachery, his cunning, and his boundless selfishness—and that all these qualities marked him cannot be denied—forgets that our childhood lays the foundation for our character; that this man's childhood was never warmed by a single ray of love; and that such a childhood was bound to develop into such a manhood. It is rather a cause for wonder that he did not sink in the mire of lowness and meanness, but climbed to a height and largeness of nature that deserve admiration.

II.

While the boy was living out his thorny youth in Sicily, the struggle between the Hohenstaufen and Welfen was drawing to a close in the empire. When nigh to victory, the Hohenstaufen Philip fell by the assassin's hand, and Otto of Brunswick was sole and unchallenged ruler, and on October 4, 1209, was solemnly crowned at Rome by Innocent III. as Emperor Otto IV. The struggle for the heritage of Henry VI. seemed to be ended; his son had Sicily, the Welf had Germany. But the end was only apparent. Frederick, now sixteen, and recently declared of age, was not minded to renounce the inheritance of the Hohenstaufen without a struggle. On the other hand, the emperor could not tolerate such a claim as his. Instigated by a low courtier, Dipold of Acerra, he was even plotting to force the young Hohenstaufen out of Sicily, overthrow the suzerainty of the pope, and restore in himself the personal union of Germany and Sicily, as it had existed under Henry VI.

And fortune seemed to favor the emperor. In spite of the papal interdict, he advanced with his troops into Sicily; only a few cities were still held by Frederick; all the world counted Frederick's cause lost. But in the moment of supreme danger Pope Innocent III. saved him. He was himself seriously threatened by the emperor's success in Lower Italy and Sicily; the emperor had failed to keep his promises with him; so he proclaimed Frederick as king of Germany, hurled the torch of civil war into the empire, everywhere called the party of the Hohenstaufen to a new uprising, and forced the emperor to retreat from Italy. Frederick's fate had turned, but he had to pay a heavy price for his rescue. He was king of Germany by grace of the pope, and the curia never gives its services gratis. The irony of Walther von der Vogelweide was not without justification, when he sang:

Aha, how Christianly the Pope smileth
And his Italians beguileth,
Boasting: "My hand made it so."

Frederick II., "the child from Apulia," as men called him, half in pity, half in caress, passed from success to success, and his popularity quickly grew. But when he crossed the Alps for the first time to enter Germany, even before his opponent had really been prostrated, the great settlement had to be made with the church. All claims to Italian possessions, to which the church supposed itself entitled, including the suzerainty over Sicily, were confirmed, and the crown renounced all interference in ecclesiastical appointments. So the last remnant of control over the ecclesiastical princes, which had been rescued for the state among the sore conflicts under Henry IV., was abandoned and the church had sole power in appointing her territorial magnates.

At first sight such an action seems strange with a man so dominated by the consciousness of imperial dignity. To understand it, we must consider it in connection with the great decision which confronted Frederick soon after, when the victory over Otto had been completed and the field had been cleared. Now Frederick, the newly won crown on his brow, was the

unchallenged master of Germany. But now also the question faced him: Where was his political action to find its center of gravity, in Germany or in Sicily? He was king of both countries, but he could be the actual ruler of only one. So we see Frederick, like the Greek father of the gods, holding the scales of fate and deliberating on what side to cast the weight of his personality. Germany attracted him by the high traditions of his house, by the splendid fame of his grandfather, and by the imposing world-position of his father, who had been called "the hammer of the earth." All this he might regain and thus incrust with new gold the dimmed luster of the Hohenstaufen shield. But how strongly the potential element had to be emphasized: he *might* regain! But the issue *might* also be far different. Had not his father's bold plan to cap the edifice of autocracy with the keystone of hereditary succession, been shattered by the resistance of the princes? And had not the territorial power of the princes, which made toward the decentralization of political power in the empire, been further augmented by the recent war between the Hohenstaufen and Welfen? The princes had not lifted up Frederick in order to have a new ruler over them, but to get rid of the old. And what means could Frederick summon to oppose them? He was dependent on their help, if he was not to remain an airy adventurer whom the next puff of wind in the changing weather of politics would carry away again. He might have secured support from the young but rapidly growing power of the cities; the opposition to the power of the princes would have been the point of union between him and them. But in that event, too, the most serious political complications, with civil war throughout the empire, would have followed, and the final outcome would still have been the feudal state, though in modified form. To do away with the feudal state would have reversed the entire constitutional development of western Europe—a gigantic undertaking, a labor of Sisypheus, which would in all probability have bound the king to the German soil for life. When Frederick, to maintain his position at all, was compelled to concede their privileges to the princes—for the secular princes received

privileges similar to those of the spiritual — the possibility of restoring the imperial office, in the ancient sense of the Hohenstaufen, had almost disappeared.

How different, on the other hand, were the prospects held out by Sicily, his own Sicily, the land of his youth, which, though his youth had been harsh, he loved with all his soul ; this beautiful country, which he had learned to view with the eye of an artist, in the glory of its enchanted palaces and pleasure-gardens lying about the cities "like a necklace around the bosom of a fair woman," as a Mohammedan traveler expressed it. In Palestine Frederick is said to have remarked : "The God of the Jews would never have praised the land he gave to his people as a land flowing with milk and honey if he had known Sicily." But without a strong political interest this æsthetic pleasure would not have decided him. Sicily, too, was torn by factional strife and near to anarchy ; but Frederick had learned in the hard school of his youth how these unruly forces could be tamed ; and, moreover, a Sicilian noble was far from equaling a German prince. Sicily could be mastered, and after that he could use this rich country as the solid base, the immovable support, for his wider political schemes ; either toward the East, if he wished to regain control of the entire Mediterranean, to which Sicily, by its position, was the key ; or toward the North and West. These were aims far vaster and yet far safer than Germany could offer. Here he could realize his imperatorial ideals without wearing out his force in perpetual conflict with the estates of the empire. Doubtless this personal consideration counted for much.

So he decided for Sicily. If I have succeeded in making clear that decision I am relieved from proving that Frederick could not be blamed for abandoning Germany. The objection may be made that to understand everything is to pardon everything. But the objection is not to the point. In this case there is nothing to pardon ; the necessities of politics decided. Politics cannot be built on idealism. Nor can it be justly claimed that he ought not to have followed the call of the German princes at all, unless he was willing to undertake the duties of governing Germany. He had to follow that call, or his cause against Otto IV.

was lost. That the heir of Sicily was also the claimant of the German crown was fatal for Germany; but Frederick did not create this situation; it was the existing condition. I should not venture to speak of a violation of duty in this case. In after years Frederick did not stop with the concessions which necessity had wrung from him, but continued throughout to advance the interests of the princes, even when his course conflicted with the policy of his son Henry, who acted as his representative in Germany, at first under the guardianship of Engelbert, the archbishop of Cologne, and later with independent powers. But this course, too, was simply in line with the decision once formed. After the imperium of Germany had once been abandoned, the princes alone could furnish him the German support which he needed for his Sicilian and oriental political plans. One step led to the next. We may deplore the decay of the central power of the empire and the rise of the territorial powers, but it is unfair to hold Frederick responsible for it, or at least to place the sole responsibility on him. More than ordinary mortals, rulers are carried along by forces and conditions of which they are not masters. The fatal and compelling fact in this case was the union of Germany and Sicily.

III.

So the Hohenstaufe left Germany, which he was to see but once more and but briefly, and returned to his Sicily. That Sicily could be mastered had been his thought; and Sicily was mastered. In Sicily Frederick wrought his masterpiece. And though we now know that his work in Sicily was not in the strictest sense a new creation, but that his grandfather Roger and other princes of Tancred's house had performed considerable preparatory work, yet the fact remains and challenges admiration that it was he who knit together the torn and raveled threads, prepared the country, which revolution had devastated, for a political regeneration, and within a few years transformed it into a model state. The old factions were put down. Law and order took the place of lawless and irresponsible force. A new code of law, the Assizes of Capua, conditioned the sale of landed

property on the consent of the crown, checked the accumulation of land in the dead hand, and instead encouraged the industrial exploitation of the productive powers of the soil. With real creative joy the young ruler flung himself into the chaos before him; settled colonists in the numerous sections of the island that had been laid waste by civil strife; everywhere built castles and forts as strongholds of the crown; drove the turbulent Mohammedans from the country; and gradually interwove the industrial and social life with his laws, the most famous of which are the Constitutions of Melfi. We know their origin. From every province four aged men were brought to court to give information about the ancient royal and common law of their home. This material was collected and sifted, always under the personal supervision of the king, and finally it was codified, laid before the estates, and solemnly published. It was in the main administrative law, a constitution for the bureaucracy, defining the powers of the various officers of the state down to the minutest details, but also showing the need of their interaction, if the machinery of the state was to work with precision. Financial reform went side by side with administrative organization. The rights of exemption from taxation were curtailed. A permanent increase of income was secured by an extensive system of taxes and by the creation of monopolies. A high customs tariff regulated exports as well as imports. At all the larger harbors and border towns there were royal warehouses in which all goods for import and export had to be stored under high charges. No wonder that life in Sicily became expensive. Wholesale merchants were not allowed to offer grain for sale in foreign markets before the crown had sold its stock. That was equivalent to an indirect monopoly of the grain trade, for private enterprise could not compete with the state under such terms; especially since the royal navy transported the royal grain at the lowest rates. Ultimately the state bought the supplies of private dealers at the lowest figure—the state had power to regulate the rates—and sold them abroad at the highest figure. The gain to the treasury of the state through these commercial methods amounted to more than a quarter of a mil-

lion of dollars on a single shipment to Tunis. The trade in salt, iron, copper, hemp, raw silk, and the operation of dyeing works were converted into a government monopoly. The wholesale price of government salt was fixed at fourfold, and the retail price at sixfold the purchase price. No wonder that immense sums flowed into the royal treasury. Sicily became the financial basis for the higher politics of Frederick. The entire industrial and domestic life of his subjects in all classes of society was encircled by his financial system as with iron bands. But his government was not merely a machine for the collection of taxes. Everything was to derive its right to existence and its sphere of activity from the crown, every law and custom, even the bad custom—as these times would call it—of sexual immorality. Side by side with the Constitutions of Melfi we find ordinances for the regulation of houses of ill-fame and decrees about the garb of the outlawed Jews.

The king gave his special interest to the cause of education. A solemn edict of June 5, 1224, announced the founding of a new university. It was to be located at lovely Naples as “a fount of knowledge and a nursery of learning,” and the fresh well-spring of science was to flow for all who hungered and thirsted after learning. By furnishing good and cheap lodgings to students, fixing the prices of food at low rates, and even by granting special privileges to the trade of the money-lenders, he tried to attract students to his university. His Sicilians were not allowed to study elsewhere. But the one whose co-operation was always sought in founding schools of learning, the pope, was not consulted by Frederick, nor was he granted the slightest right in the institution. The university of Naples was a state university, the first one known to history.

Thus the new Sicilian state stands before us, cast in a single mold, fashioned with an energy clearly conscious of its aim. Frederick was the soul of his creation. Thrice a week his ministers had audiences with him to make report or to receive the royal commands, for in Sicily the king's will was the supreme law. The same man who strengthened feudalism in Germany, because political prudence demanded it, crushed it in Sicily

where he had the power, and established an absolute monarchy. Finely modeled gold coins, showing the imperial eagle on one side and the bust of Frederick in the garb of a Roman emperor on the other, plainly showed that there was but one master in Sicily. Here in Sicily Frederick had succeeded not only in checking, but in reversing, the general tendency toward the decentralization of political power, and by that fact the Sicilian state burst the general framework of the mediæval polity and stands out as a modern creation. Frederick's Sicily is the state of the "age of enlightenment" anticipated in the thirteenth century. But it was not the state of Frederick the Great, who desired to be the first servant of the state. Frederick II. never knew what it meant to serve. It was the state of Louis XIV. Both kings regarded themselves as the state; they stood above the law and not under it. Frederick was called "the living law on earth," and his subjects were puppets dancing on the wires moved by the royal *régisseur*. For our modern feeling this unlimited absolutism of course seems brutal, but perhaps it might be asserted that the hard school of tyranny has been good for the nations, by inculcating respect for the majesty of the state. Nor will a dispassionate observer deny a trait of grandeur in this personification of the "will to rule." In Sicily Frederick proved his ability as an architect of states, and in sight of this achievement an interesting vista opens to the imagination of what he might have accomplished in Germany if destiny had not fixed his birth-place in southern Italy.

IV.

Frederick's creation was not an enduring one. Like a meteor it vanishes from the political sky of Europe. The catastrophe would probably have followed under any circumstances, for not even the most fertile land can permanently bear so intense a drain on its productive resources. Perhaps it was fortunate for Frederick that his favorite creation was swept along in the whirling current of his larger political struggles. For in the measure in which Frederick strengthened the Sicilian state the hostility of the Roman curia grew. A strong neighbor

in Sicily was an awkward neighbor for the papal state and its possessions in southern Italy. Hence the policy of the curia from the time when a strong power, that of the Normans, gained a footing in Sicily, had been to subject the master of Sicily, or, if that was impossible, at least to remain in friendship with him. It had been a triumph for Innocent III. when he secured Sicily as a papal fief from the emperor's mother Constance and thereby gained control of it. When Otto and Philip were struggling in Germany, and the real heir, Frederick, was out of the question entirely, it seemed as if the danger of seeing the dreaded union of Germany and Sicily restored had been parried, or even overcome. But when the pope, under pressure of necessity, to save himself from being overwhelmed by Otto, had proclaimed Frederick king of Germany, he had himself raised this peril from its grave. We remember that he had immediately imposed severe conditions on the young king, but, as the curia soon discovered, there was a difference between imposing conditions and securing their fulfilment. One of the most important stipulations, namely that Frederick was to renounce Sicily, hand it over to his son Henry, and confine himself to Germany, had not been fulfilled. Instead Frederick was master of Sicily and also overlord of Germany, where his son represented him. The personal union of the two countries had been restored. And who would guarantee that ultimately it would not work out its full consequences; that Frederick would not complete in Germany what he had begun in Sicily, rescind the privileges conferred by him, and bring back the conditions of his father's reign, perhaps in even harsher form? So in this direction also the connection between Germany and Sicily proved disastrous; the establishment of the Sicilian monarchy contained the cause for war with the curia.

There was a further cause for trouble. The passage between Germany and Sicily was controlled in northern Italy by the Lombardian cities, the ancient foes of the German emperors. Frederick's grandfather, Barbarossa, by great effort had succeeded in extending to them the peace of Constance in 1183, which, while granting them a large measure of autonomy, had

yet asserted the overlordship of the emperor. But in the general confusion after the death of Henry VI. the cities had cast off the irritating bond and re-established their ancient liberty. It was natural that Frederick would take action against them, but equally natural that the curia should in turn oppose him, for its interest lay in having an independent power in northern Italy, which could check the Sicilian king by blocking the passes of the Alps and thus make the union of Germany and Sicily practically ineffective. Here, then, lay the second cause for war between the Hohenstaufe and Rome.

These hostile political interests might be kept in outward peace for a time, but friction was inevitable, and ultimately the spark of war would be struck out. The only question was who would give the outward occasion for the inevitable war. It is almost universally conceded today that it was not Frederick, but the pope, who finally snapped the bow that had been bent so long. Frederick had far too much political prudence to provoke a rupture. The church was a power, and on account of its power it was advantageous for him to co-operate with it. As long as possible the state and the church were to rule in harmony as two world-controlling powers. Without reserve he put the secular arm at the disposal of the church for the extirpation of heresy. It was he who issued those terrible edicts against the heretics which sent thousands upon thousands to the stake. Like a young man offering glittering jewels for the favor of a girl, Frederick offered this horrible prize for the favor of the church, and the church accepted. In the domain of faith and church discipline Frederick left the church a free hand. He resisted only when the dignity of the state—which was identical with his personal honor—was touched.

Under the first successor of Innocent III., Honorius IV., there had been ominous flashes along the political sky. But the storm had passed by. Frederick had peacefully received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope. Honorius had been followed by Gregory IX., a man old in years, but of almost youthful elasticity and energy in pursuing the aims of the curia. Immediately the peace between state and church was shattered.

The plague in his army and his own sickness prevented the emperor from carrying out the crusade which he had promised Innocent III., and the pope issued the first interdict against him. Formally this action was justified; practically it was a provocation. But Frederick refused to take up the gauntlet. He acknowledged the justice of the interdict and sought its removal by the fulfilment of his promise. While under the ban of the church he went to Palestine. By clever use of political factions among the Mohammedans he succeeded in winning back the Holy City for the Christians and in occupying Cyprus. On the early morning of the Sunday of Oculi, 1229, still under the ban and quite alone, he proceeded to the high altar of the church of the Sepulcher, took the golden crown of the king, and placed it on his head—without consecration, without ecclesiastical rites, entirely according to the precepts of the church. Then he returned to Italy and demanded as his right to be freed from the interdict, for he had fulfilled his promise. But now the pope refused; proof enough that the right was a side issue with him, and the destruction of the emperor the real aim. He arbitrarily enlarged the question at issue and drew Frederick's administration of Sicily into the contention. At the very time Frederick was preparing for the crusade in order to satisfy the just claims upon him, the pope formed an offensive and defensive alliance with the Lombards against emperor and empire. As soon as Frederick had departed, the pope absolved all the subjects of the emperor from their oath of allegiance to their excommunicated sovereign and by force of arms provoked revolution in Sicily. He wanted war. But even in the face of these provocations Frederick kept strictly within his legal rights, confined himself to clearing Sicily of the papal troops, avoided a war of aggression, and concluded peace.

Solemnly the bells of all the churches of San Germano pealed out the news that the strife between emperor and pope was ended. But it was ended only to break out again with redoubled fury. This time the Lombardian question was the cause of war. And now at last Frederick abandoned his calm and self-restrained attitude of prudence and deliberation. Now his

demands became excessive. The church he regarded as a legitimate power to be respected; but a kind of imperatorial wrath seems to have overpowered him against the rebels who dared to defy him and the empire. At first he remained within his legal rights as defined by the peace of Constance, but soon he exceeded them, and when the power of the Lombards had been broken by the battle of Cortenuova and they offered peace, he demanded an unconditional surrender. Intoxicated by his victory, he meant to coerce them as he had coerced the Sicilians. The opportunity seemed to have come to open the passage from Germany to Italy, and to weld that part of Italy into a single monarchical system with Sicily. This was the culmination of Frederick's power. But at this moment the pope again sided with the rebels: for the second time he launched the interdict against him; and once more pope and emperor struggled in furious and passionate strife, as if the hate, stored up for years and dammed back with great effort, had to break loose with elemental force. It was no longer a conflict between persons, but between principles. The two great powers, state and church, *imperium* and *sacerdotium*, the two antagonists who had never been able to dwell at peace since the church itself began to be state, and who yet had to live together, because they represented the two interests of religion and politics, which were inseparable for mediæval thought—at last they seemed to face each other for a final and decisive battle. Both Frederick and the pope were conscious that they were contending for a principle. With the pope this consciousness took the mediæval and apocalyptic form of a conflict with anti-Christ, who was preparing for a last assault on the kingdom of God's children. Broadside and proclamation spread this view among the masses, whose excitement was constantly growing. The emperor turned the charge of being anti-Christ against the pope, and once more broadsides and proclamations announced this view to the masses. Nor did the struggle slacken when a new pope, Innocent IV., ascended the chair of Peter. On the contrary, everywhere, in Germany as well as in Italy, the flames of insurrection flared up. The pope went to the point of having the emperor deposed at the council of

Lyons. Rival kings arose. But in the midst of this turmoil, at a moment when his cause seemed to be taking a favorable turn, Frederick died on December 13, 1250. And now the waves closed above the imperial office and engulfed it, and a terrible, rulerless time began in Germany. In Italy France, the power which had once aided the Hohenstaufen against the Welf, succeeded to his heritage.

V.

In this conflict between Frederick and Gregory the pope published the celebrated charge against the emperor that he had said that the world had been duped by three impostors—Moses, Christ, and Mohammed; that all who believed the God who created nature and the universe could have been born of a virgin were fools; that this dogma lacked experimental proof, and that no man ought to believe what he could not prove.

There has been a good deal of dispute whether Frederick really said this. He himself denied it vigorously, and it cannot be proved against him. But if the question is put, whether he *might* have said it, we shall have to assent. That a man ought not to believe what he cannot prove was, in fact, very much in line with Frederick's views.

The times of Frederick II. were no less stirring in the domain of intellect than in that of politics, and in both the emperor took an independent and conscious attitude to the spiritual problems of his time. For men of the twentieth century it is full of interest to observe how seven centuries ago men were everywhere on earth eagerly and energetically laboring for the solution of the highest problems, the problems of truth. In the thirteenth century the ecclesiastical science of scholasticism reached its culmination. Thomas Aquinas reared his theological system, majestic as a Gothic cathedral, based on human reason, over-arched by divine revelation. And while speculative thought achieved its triumph in Thomas, simple piety and devotion had found a wonderful expression two generations earlier in that lovable youth, who was said to hold sweet converse with the birds of the fields, and who could see no lamb without beholding

the lamb of God, that artist among the saints, the *poverello* of Assisi, St. Francis. It is true, that lovely flower had soon been choked by the thorns of church discipline and ecclesiastical factions, but the root which had put forth its consummate flower in Francis still sent out shoots in a number of communities, large and small, which were united by the common protest against the worldliness of the church and by the common demand for apostolic simplicity and purity of life. All these remained without influence on Frederick. They were beneath his notice; they were the heretics against whom his penal law was directed. Only once, at the end of his gigantic struggle with the papacy, political opportunism suggested to him the rôle of a church reformer, meeting the pretensions of the pope by the cry for apostolic simplicity. The piety of the later Franciscans had hardened into ecclesiastical formalism, and Frederick came into contact with them only as the well-disciplined police corps of the pope. Scholasticism never moved him. There were other tendencies that stirred him.

While ecclesiastical science was capping its imposing edifice, the newly awakened natural sciences and mathematics were undermining its entire foundation. Roger Bacon of Oxford asserted that not speculation, but exact observation, is the principle of knowledge. At the same time the young university of Paris was stirred by violent conflicts; for intellectual movements often appear simultaneously in various quarters. Here the break with tradition was complete; the ancient unity of truth, based on the harmony of reason and revelation, had been severed; a double truth took its place, the parts of which were placed in dangerous antagonism to each other. It was claimed that a doctrine might be true for faith without being true to one who had knowledge. That meant that knowledge was superior to faith. There was only a step from that position to the doubting of all things not subject to the test of observation. This skepticism was not really indigenous to France. It had been imported from Spain and from the Moorish philosophers of Spain, the most eminent of whom in the twelfth century was the great expounder of Aristotle, Averroes. This whole skeptical movement in philosophy

received its name, Averroism, from him. It is an attitude of mind full of the haughty arrogance of young science. Transferred to practical life, this doctrine of a double truth means that true knowledge belongs to the wise man, the philosopher, but that he will not communicate it; for, though it is wisdom to him, it is poison to the mass of men who do not understand. In dealing with the ordinary men who are not ripe for knowledge, it is proper to conform outwardly to the popular faith, to make your bow to the stuffed frippery of religious ceremonial and dogma, and then to resume the mental attitude of the philosopher and repeat the sentence of condemnation on the whole: all religion is deception; those who know cannot believe; probably they have never believed, but have always been on the search for truth. This point of view reminds one of the words of Mephistopheles: "The best of what you know you dare not tell the fools."

And this was the point of view of Frederick II. He was the Averroist on the throne of the Hohenstaufen. When he became so, and how he became so, we do not know; we do know that this was his position. The empirical method found in him its most teachable and learned disciple. To watch his method of gaining scientific knowledge we must study his book—absolutely his own work—*On the Art of Hunting with Birds*. It is built on the broadest basis of personal observation. The emperor spent years, perhaps decades, in collecting the zoölogical material. He sent for falcons and kindred birds from England, Bulgaria, possibly from far Iceland, and compared them. He summoned falconers from the Orient to his court and learned their methods. He even had all the sparrow-hawks in an entire county caught at state expense and used them for his investigation. He wanted to see the facts for himself before he stated them. When personal observation was impossible in the case of animals in distant countries, he regretfully makes note of it. He did not hesitate to bring to book the sacred mediæval authorities, Hippocrates, Pliny, and Aristotle, if they differed from his own observations. And his observations were those of a professional and not of a hobby-riding amateur. Thus he marked that the pupil in the eye of chicken-hawks and sparrow-hawks enlarged

when they fixed it on an object. He recognized that the customary distinction between two kinds of falcons was incorrect, because it was merely a case of the differentiation of one species under the influence of climate. The general structure of his ornithological system was quite as methodical as these single observations. He treated first of birds in general, then of birds of prey, and finally of falcons in particular. The judgment of Leopold von Ranke about this book will probably stand: that "its author will have to be acknowledged as one of the greatest authorities in this branch of zoölogy that have ever lived."

And yet zoölogy was only one small part of his whole scientific interest, which he had chosen as his specialty. He was also a student of medicine and mathematics. He became a physician, and as the result of his own observations was able to make suggestions to a learned writer on the veterinary treatment of horses. He ordered the writing of a handbook on physiognomics and prescribed a state examination for the medical students of his university. The tale was current that he had caused the abdominal cavity of two men to be opened in order to ascertain the functions of the stomach and intestines; also that he had given strict command to certain nurses to bring up the children under their care in absolute silence, in order to find out what language they would begin to speak of their own accord. All this may be mere anecdote, but it is characteristic of him. He himself became a pupil of the most celebrated mathematicians of his time and attended their disputations. He said that a valuable tellurium which the sultan had given him was his dearest possession on earth next to his son Conrad. He was in active correspondence with Arabian men of learning. When his crusade took him to Jerusalem, he gathered the élite of science about him, and all were astonished at the wealth of his learning. It is not accidental that Arabian chroniclers speak of him with special respect. He was able to use their own language. He had command of seven languages: Arabic, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, the Italian patois, and German. And he wrote well, in a fresh and elegant style, which flowed easily, even in verse. Dante called him the father of Italian poetry. He also had

numerous artists at his court. He drew plans for his castles himself, and his love for splendor in architecture was modified by artistic taste. He combined human art with the natural beauty of Sicily to produce æsthetic harmony.

But his interests did not confine themselves to the sensuous objects of life; his mind rose to the highest metaphysical problems. He demanded instruction on the categories of human thought; he wanted to know if and how the eternal existence of matter was possible, which the law of causality seemed to require; he wanted proofs for and against the immortality of the soul; for to him there was no knowledge without proofs.

VI.

A mind so rich and universal in its scope was too large to be ecclesiastical in its cast. He had to burst through the scholasticism of the church, the narrow mediæval supranaturalism, in every direction. This man who sought truth in all domains of knowledge and who was able to find germs of truth everywhere, could never conceive of truth as compressed within an ecclesiastical system. For him even a single religion was too narrow to contain truth. The Middle Ages drew a sharp line of demarcation between Christianity and other religions; on the one side they saw pure truth, on the other unmixed error. For Frederick this line had vanished; he regarded the various religions as standing side by side with equal rights. He observed and compared them, but finally passed them all by with a skeptical shrug of the shoulder. None of them yielded knowledge; all of them offered merely faith, and his age was not yet prepared to recognize faith as an independent organ of knowledge. Such an attitude is pure Averroism, and also truly Sicilian. In Sicily religious liberty had become a fact; Greeks, Christians, and Mohammedans lived peacefully together; and the emperor, who elsewhere recognized only a single will and a single obedience, here allowed every man to seek salvation after his own fashion. Religious toleration was protected by his authority. But while he protected the three religions equally, he made no concealment of the fact that his personal predilection and sympathy belonged, not so much, per-

haps, to the religion of Islam, as to oriental culture and oriental views of life. His unbridled imperial pride is truly oriental; likewise his reckless cruelty which protected his ballistic engines with an armature of prisoners of war. He was fond of oriental ostentation and luxury; of taking magnificent stables of Arab horses about with him, and menageries of lions, panthers, bears, and monkeys, with a huge elephant, the gift of the sultan of Egypt, as the chief object of display. It was oriental when he had Ethiopian negroes march before him, blowing silver trumpets, or dancers and *jongleurs* follow him. It was oriental when graceful Saracen girls tripped on rolling balls or rocked in rhythmic dance before him, while the subdued light was reflected from the red or blue marble of his palace walls. It was oriental when he took a harem about with him, even into camp, and yielded to unrestrained sensuality. It was sympathy for the Orient when Frederick expressly permitted Mohammedans the free practice of their worship in Jerusalem, and this sympathy could even carry him so far as to call the Christians the swine who had defiled the Holy City. That is certainly not an expression of respect for Christianity. In fact, Frederick never did feel inward respect for it. Outwardly he expressed respect; he went out of his way to express this respect to the pope; he gave orders to be buried in the Cistercian garb; but the mocker still peeped out of the cowl, despising the whole mummary and merely using it when it seemed useful. It was the same mocker who, during an invasion of locusts, had suggested that, if every citizen were commanded to collect a certain quantity of locusts, it would be more effective than all the prayers and processions of the church.

VII.

He was certainly a man of rare and marked individuality, this emperor! The ablest and maturest mind among the Hohenstaufen! He concentrated in himself all the culture of his times, and, by combining in a living unity all the impulses of the intellect and civilization of his age, he towered far above the average of his contemporaries. He knew that knowledge

was power, and because he had knowledge, he exercised despotic power.

The sinister facts of this despotism must not be smoothed over by the historian, but any condemnation of his egoism will have to be modified by the consideration that he was conscious of a colossal intellectual power, which set its own aims and poured out its fulness heedless of others. There is something of the *Übermensch* in Frederick, of the man who feels superior to the petty trivialities of life, and not least to the bickerings of theologians; and the greatness of his mind and the energy of his will compel admiration even where the moral judgment would condemn.

If it is a sign of a modern mind to be anti-traditional, Frederick was eminently modern. His ideal of the state and his whole view of life run outside of the beaten track of his time. But he is also modern in the sense that his thoughts live on in the present. The people were not quite wrong in expecting his return. He did not return when the German empire was newly founded; he had no share in that. But his hour came when the minds of men in England, France, and Germany awoke at the turning of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century and the greatest intellectual revolution known to history began — the Age of Enlightenment. Lessing's parable of the three rings in *Nathan der Weise* took up again the dictum about the three impostors. In the Age of Enlightenment the partition by which Christianity had separated itself from the other religions was completely broken down and science claimed all knowledge as its domain. Now the scientific observation of natural phenomena became really possible. Now the historical method came into general practice. And now the comparative study of religions began, which views Christianity as part of the general flow of historical development and raises anew the question of its finality.

Our own day is still immersed in the problems created by the Age of Enlightenment. But whenever we try to trace backward the history of those problems, we shall encounter the

personality of Frederick II. Of all his creations, some of them so stupendous, the only one which has not perished is his striving for knowledge. The modern problems—and they are really the highest problems of humanity—were not solved by him, nor even clearly and completely comprehended by him, but he did have a prophetic vision and foretaste of them, and that assures him an undying place in history.

DR. WEISS'S TEXT OF THE GOSPELS.

THE THOUGHTS OF A TEXTUAL CRITIC ON THE TEXT OF AN EXEGETE.

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IN the first number of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY Dr. Caspar René Gregory published an article on "Bernhard Weiss and the New Testament." At that time Dr. Weiss's labors on the text of the New Testament were about half finished, and Dr. Gregory gave an account of its general principles. Since then the work has been finished by the publication of the *Textkritik der vier Evangelien*, in 1899, and the *Die vier Evangelien im berichtigten Text*, in 1900.

In the present article I propose to give (1) an account of Dr. Weiss's general principles of dealing with textual variations—this I shall make very short, as it has really been done sufficiently in this JOURNAL by Dr. Gregory; (2) an account of the way in which Dr. Weiss has dealt with a few well-known passages; (3) some suggestions of what might perhaps prove a better method of publishing the Greek text of the gospels.

Dr. Weiss is primarily an exegete. He has by means of the most laborious study, carried on throughout a long life, reached such knowledge that his opinion on the meaning of any given verse in the gospels carries a weight of its own. That one view rather than another is held by Dr. Weiss is, for most of us, a very considerable fact. His text therefore has at any rate this value. It is the text which has commended itself to a man who is thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the New Testament.

"I insist upon it," said Dr. Gregory, "that the text of the New Testament, determined upon by such a man, with such preparation, is an event in the history of textual criticism, and I wish that his text could be printed in a handy edition by itself, so that everyone could conveniently refer to the text of an exegete." Dr. Gregory has now got his wish, and we may agree

with him that it is certainly an interesting thing to have the text of an exegete.

The method adopted by Dr. Weiss in sifting the variants in the text is to go through each gospel with an *apparatus criticus* and consider each important textual variant, selecting in each case that reading which seems to him to be justified, as Dr. Hort would have said, by "intrinsic probability." After doing this he has made lists of different classes of error which he has noted, and has judged each of the Greek manuscripts with which he deals in accordance with their freedom from these faults.

The classes of error which he detects are: (*a*) harmonization among the gospels; (*b*) the interchange of words; (*c*) omission and additions; (*d*) alterations of order; (*e*) orthographical variation.

In each class Dr. Weiss has many subdivisions. The result is to show that no manuscript is free from fault, but that Cod. B is the best.

It is interesting to find that Dr. Weiss thus comes to something so nearly approaching Dr. Hort's conclusion, though by a different kind of reasoning. It is quite probably the conclusion which we ought to reach if we content ourselves with comparing Greek manuscripts as Dr. Weiss has done; and if I venture to impugn, as I propose to do in a few moments, the finality of Dr. Weiss's judgment, it is not so much from difference of opinion as to the validity of his method or result, for his method is scholarly and his results are valuable, but because it seems to me that there is a great deal of evidence which he has not considered. It did not exist in Dr. Hort's time, and Dr. Weiss has passed it over.

But before dealing with that question let us examine some of Dr. Weiss's results and see how he has dealt with a few celebrated passages.

A good series is those passages in which Dr. Hort detected signs of "conflation."

The first one is Mark 6:33, in which the Textus Receptus is *καὶ πῆλξ ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν πόλεων συνέδραμον ἐκεῖ καὶ προῆλθον αὐτοὺς, καὶ συνῆλθον πρὸς αὐτόν*. Dr. Weiss agrees with Dr. Hort in

rejecting *καὶ συνήλθον πρὸς αὐτόν*. I cannot find that he ever gives any reason for so doing. I suppose he is contented with Dr. Hort's reasoning; but without in the least wishing to find fault with this choice, one is justified in asking whether he has paid sufficient attention to the reading of the Syriac, supported by a few Greek minuscules, which omits everything after *συνέδραμον ἐκεῖ*. This reading seems very attractive, as it explains all the other variants better than any other reading, and certainly presents fewer difficulties to the exegete than the reading which Dr. Weiss adopts.

The narrative in his text represents people traveling on foot faster than a boat on the lake, and reaching a spot which had been selected for its privacy, before those who had originally selected it. It is possible to explain away these difficulties, no doubt, if one is a skilled exegete, but a mere textualist admits that he prefers a more intelligible narrative.

Another well-known passage in which Dr. Hort saw signs of conflation is Mark 9:48, 49. The T. R. here is *ὁ σκόληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται. πᾶς γὰρ πυρὶ ἀλισθήσεται, καὶ πᾶσα θυσία ἀλλ' ἀλισθήσεται*. Dr. Hort, following the evidence of the grouping of the MSS. rejected the last clause. Dr. Weiss does not follow him, but retains the T. R. His reason seems to be the difficulty of explaining how the very difficult T. R. can have arisen from either of the shorter texts. This may be sufficient, but again one would like to know what Dr. Weiss thinks of the readings of *κ*, which represents a Greek text: *ἔπου ὁ σκόληξ αὐτῶν οὐ τελευτᾷ καὶ τὸ πῦρ οὐ σβέννυται, πᾶσα δὲ οὐσία ἀναλωθήσεται*. This gives an excellent sense and *ἀναλωθήσεται* is actually the reading of Cod. Ψ. It may be objected that *οὐσία* and *ἀναλωθήσεται* are not Marcan words. This is true, but it is a dangerous argument, for it is equally true that *πᾶς* (used without *ἄνθρωπος* as the equivalent of *πάντες*) and *ἀλισθήσεται* are also not found elsewhere in Mark.

Therefore, as I said, one would like to know what Dr. Weiss thinks of this reading,² which gives an excellent sense and the

²I do not wish to be taken to think that *κ* has the right reading. The whole passage puzzles me, but the reading of *κ* deserves attention.

corruption of which is so easily explained by a mixture of contextual and palæographical confusion. An important thing to notice is that in these two passages Dr. Weiss follows in one case the authorities which he deserts in the other, agreeing with Westcott and Hort and the great uncials in the former case; with the T. R. and the later manuscripts in the second.

Let us turn to another interesting class of readings, those which WH. call Western non-interpolations—a phrase which seems to survive because it avoids the verbal admission that the so-called Neutral text has suffered interpolations. Dr. Weiss, on the whole, agrees with Dr. Hort in rejecting these passages and relegating them to the margin. The real authority for their rejection is the Old Latin version; they are, indeed, strictly non-Western interpolations, and the Old Latin is not, taking the passages as a whole, supported by the Old Syriac in rejecting them.

Dr. Hort rejected these readings, roughly speaking, on the ground that it was impossible to suppose that they were ever deliberately omitted. If we had had the privilege of knowing his judgment on a precisely similar series of omissions in the Old Syriac, which of course was unknown to him, I think that he would have applied the same reasoning to them, and would have recognized the existence of Eastern (or Syriac) non-interpolations as well as Western (or Latin) non-interpolations.

Now, since Dr. Weiss does possess the Old Syriac, how is it that he does not make this advance? I cannot help thinking that it is because he does not recognize that the Old Latin is the real authority for omitting the passages which he omits, but rests on the authority of the Greek MS. D, which in this matter is really less important than the evidence of the Old Latin. In fact, we may take it as certain that Dr. Weiss must be ranked among those critics who regard Greek manuscripts as primary authorities, and versions as secondary authorities for the text.

Here, then, are the two great features of Dr. Weiss's text: (1) It is subjective and does not follow any definite system of valuing and grouping authorities. (2) It regards Greek manuscripts as of paramount importance and surpassing in value any version or any patristic evidence.

It is these two points which I wish to discuss.

The fact that the basis of Weiss's text is subjective criticism, at once exposes it to attack from the large number of scholars who think that the text of the gospels can be established without any recourse being made to subjective criticism. They think that the evidence of early witnesses and the genealogical method of Westcott and Hort go far enough to enable us to abandon, except in an almost negligible number of passages, the subjective criticism of Dr. Weiss.

Personally, I differ from this school of criticism. I think that many of them underestimate the subjective character of much of the Hortian criticism, and therefore they have no *locus standi* when they complain of Dr. Weiss's text as based on subjective criticism, *qua* subjective criticism, because their own criticism is of the same nature. The only difference is that they and Dr. Weiss are not subjective at the same points or in the same way. Dr. Weiss is subjective in his choice of readings; the followers of Dr. Hort are subjective in the choice of method, and in their selection of the *Neutral* text as preferable to the *Western*.

The fact that both schools of criticism think that they are guided by scientific principles does not exclude the fact that they are subjective, even if scientific. If any one objects to this and says, "Above all things be not subjective," I must beg to deny the validity of his command and to inquire where he can point to any scientific study at all, into which subjective considerations do not enter at some point. The only valid argument is to show that the subjective element in any piece of work is wrongly used.

The Hortian school would no doubt say that the subjective element of Weiss's criticism is wrongly used, whereas the similar element in Dr. Hort's is rightly used. There is some truth in this, but it is difficult not to think that the result of the fifteen years which have elapsed since the publication of Westcott and Hort has been steadily to show that the genealogical method only takes us to a point which falls short, some would say very short, of the "original Greek" of the gospels.

It is really important, if we are to make any serious progress in textual criticism, to recognize that subjective considerations

must be used, and to inquire at what point their special introduction is legitimate. It seems to me that this point is reached when all the important evidence is placed before the critic. Dr. Weiss has acted as if he thought that the important evidence was all to be found in Greek manuscripts, and therefore introduces his subjective criticism when he has considered the text of these, passing over the versions. I have already given one example of the way in which he passes over the omissions (or non-interpolations, as at least some of them probably are) in the Old Syriac. Let me give two more striking instances of his neglect of the versions.

1. In Matt. 1:16, it is well known that the following series of variants are found in that passage:

(a) "Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus," etc. *Syr. Sin.*

(b) "Joseph, to whom being betrothed Mary the Virgin begat Jesus," etc. *Latt., and some minuscules.*

(c) "Joseph, the husband of Mary, from whom was born Jesus," etc. *Gk.*

To these we ought perhaps to add the reading, "Joseph begat Jesus," etc., which is found in *Timothy and Aquila*, recently edited by Mr. F. C. Conybeare.

Dr. Weiss simply follows the Greek manuscripts, and gives no hint that other readings exist which are strongly supported both by external evidence and probability.

2. In Matt. 27:17 the Sinaitic Syriac, many Fathers, and some minuscules support the reading *Jesus Barabbas*. It is easy to explain the omission of this reading from religious sentiment, but difficult to see any reason why it should have been invented,* yet Dr. Weiss passes it over without any notice, because it is not found in the great uncials.

Is Dr. Weiss right in thus relegating the versions to a secondary position and ignoring readings which are not found in the Greek manuscripts? I think not, and believe that this is the really weak point and incurable defect in Dr. Weiss's method.

If we follow up the main lines of the spread of Christianity

*The palæographical reason sometimes given is surely insufficient.

over the world and see what early evidence we can gain as to the types of text of the gospels which were current at the earliest known time, what results do we reach? Something like this:

1. In Edessa the earliest text of the gospels, putting aside the Diatessaron, was that of the Old Syriac, which was replaced by Rabbula's version, the Peshitto, not long after the beginning of the fifth century. This text is represented by the Sinaitic and Curetonian codices, and the quotations in Aphraates and Ephraim; perhaps the Sinaitic codex is the best of these.

2. In Alexandria we have the quotations of Clement and also probably the text of the type of **NB**. As I have said in the *AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY* for January, 1902, it is very doubtful whether **NB** do not represent a recension of the older text found in Clement's quotations; but for the moment let us suppose that **NB** have an equal claim to represent the oldest known text in Alexandria.

3. In Carthage we have Cyprian's *Testimonia* and Cod. *k*, even if we take no account of Tertullian's quotations.

4. From Rome I do not know that we get any quotations long enough to be of decisive value much before Novatian, who seems to have had a text of the type known as European Latin.

5. In the West the quotations of Irenæus are the earliest evidence.

These are the chief sources of evidence for the text at an early time. It is to these, and not any criticism of Greek manuscripts alone, that we must look for light.

It may seem paradoxical to say that here we have a field for research which has so recently been opened up that it did not exist in a practicable form in the time of Westcott and Hort. But it is surely true. Westcott and Hort knew practically nothing of the Old Syriac text; their knowledge of the Old Latin was very restricted; the quotations of Clement had not been properly edited. We have got all these advantages, and therefore there is no excuse for us if we continue to talk of versions and Fathers as secondary evidence. Except on small points of order and sometimes on questions of wording, the evidence of a version as such is worth as much as a Greek manuscript and the

texts of Cyprian, of Clement, of the Old Latin, to say nothing of the Old Syriac, are far older than any known Greek manuscripts.

May I suggest that the time has come for a new kind of edition of the text of the gospels? It is not probable that we shall ever do very much if we content ourselves with publishing texts, of which, as is the case with Dr. Weiss's edition, the chief value is that they represent the opinions of a great scholar. What is needed is an edition in which the oldest forms of the text in different localities are arranged in parallel columns, each column having its own *apparatus criticus*. Such an edition would have the Old Syriac, Old Latin, and the Alexandrian texts arranged side by side, and perhaps the Latin and Syriac would be retranslated into Greek. The number of columns would vary in different places, and the details would not be easy to arrange, yet I do not see any insuperable difficulty.

Let me take, as a short example of the appearance which such an edition would present, giving those early authorities which are easily accessible, the text of Luke 14 : 20 :

LATT.	SYRR.	CLEMENT.	NB.
γυναῖκα ἔγημα	γυναῖκα ἔγημα	γυναῖκα ἔγημα	γυναῖκα ἔγημα
κὺ [διὸ D]		διὰ τοῦτο	καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
οὐ δύναμαι	οὐ δύναμαι	οὐ δύναμαι	οὐ δύναμαι
εἰθεῖν	εἰθεῖν	εἰθεῖν	εἰθεῖν

The question here is the variation in the second line. I suggest that with such statement of the evidence no scholar would do as Dr. Weiss has done—follow NB and quote in support Luke 11 : 19, *διὰ τοῦτο κριταὶ κ. τ. λ.*, as a passage which illustrates the "Lucaninity" of *διὰ τοῦτο*, because he would see at once (1) that this passage, which has no *καὶ*, supports the reading of Clement of Alexandria and not the reading of NB, so that Dr. Weiss has summoned a Balaam to his help in Luke 11 : 19, which has blessed Clement's text and cursed that of NB; (2) that the text of NB seems to be a conflation of the Latin text and Clement's text; (3) that, on the whole, the reading of the Old Syriac gives a vigorous text which is intrinsically probable, and is likely to have given rise to the two efforts to soften and polish it which are found in the Latin and Clement.

This example shows the way in which such an edition would bring out clearly the fact that, if we trace back the text of the gospels to the earliest times, we do not find one or even two types, but several which seem to have obtained in various localities. It is when these various types have been set out that we need the subjective criticism of a scholar like Weiss. It is not enough that he should give us his judgment on the various readings which are found in Greek manuscripts; we want to know what he says of the other variants which are not found in the extant Greek manuscripts, but are shown to have existed in early time by the testimony of versions and Fathers.

It is possible that subjective criticism used in this way, when the evidence is properly presented, may tell us more or less clearly what was the "earliest text" of the gospels.

At the same time there is a fundamental point which is, I fear, sometimes overlooked. We still continue to talk of the "true" text or the "original" text, in the same way that our ancestors talked when they believed that the gospels were written in their present form by the writers whose names they bear. In other words, we still talk about the text as though the synoptic problem had not been discovered. But in reality the synoptic problem has profoundly altered the conditions of the textual question. Unless I am deceived, the line which is drawn between the last redactors, with whom the higher critics deal, and the early glossators, with whom the textualists deal, is an entirely artificial one. There is no difference in kind between the work of the last redactors—such, for instance, as the men who added *καθαρίζων πάντα τὰ βρώματα* in Mark—and the work of the man who added the doxology to the Lord's Prayer in Matthew. The work of redactors, who added a little here, and modified a little there, went on for a long time, and in many places, the result being that the ultimately received text in one part of the world differed from that in another.

Therefore we can really only treat the text of the gospels in two ways. We can restore with considerable and quite sufficient accuracy the text of various churches in the form into which it ultimately was crystallized. The differences between these vari-

ous ecclesiastical texts is of the utmost importance in tracing the varied development of thought, because in the earliest time the thought of the local church probably modified the local text, and in later times the local text modified the thought of the local church. Or, if we do not simply reconstruct local texts, we can try to find out the various documents which lie behind our present gospels. In each case there is something tangible to do; but to attempt the reconstruction of a text which is neither the text of a definite locality nor the text of one of the original documents, is to attempt to produce something half-way between solution and crystallization. It probably cannot be done, and it probably is not worth doing.

The gospels consist of various documents which once had a separate existence. These have been welded together by a long process of redaction, in different localities in somewhat different ways. We possess, more or less, the results of this process. We ought to try and reconstitute (1) the original documents, (2) the methods of the welding process which they underwent, (3) the resultant documents. But to endeavor to select any particular point in (2) as of special value is to attempt to represent what was transitory as though it were permanent.

Of course, in order to reconstruct the original documents we must try to scrape off, as it were, the various layers of the work of the redactors, but this is a process which ought not to be stopped in the middle; we cannot stop at any particular point, and say this is the true text, or the original Greek, until we have reached the original documents. We may perhaps never reach them, but that is no excuse for pretending that we have.

I fear that in making these last remarks I have wandered somewhat away from Dr. Weiss's text. I must ask to be forgiven on the ground that I have not tried so much to write a formal review of this important book as to put down some of the thoughts which have been raised in the mind of a textualist by studying the text of the exegete.

RELIGION AND MORALITY.

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TO BE consistent, a theory of religion must regard its subject as an independent one. Such independence, in the way of treatment, applies to the scientific interpretation of religious phenomena, as well as to the philosophic development of this form of human culture. Religion is a self-centered fact, capable of its own style of discussion. On this account the philosophy of religion must proceed from a distinctly religious consciousness, alike individual and social; similarly, it must be worked out in accordance with a characteristic method of speculation. Religion has its own province, within which it must be discussed. And it is just this truth which lies at the foundation of the philosophy of religion; to exist at all, it must treat its subject-matter independently. Positive religion arises as a definite form of social life; though it may affiliate with science, art, and politics, its own nature still persists. In a characteristic manner, religious concepts and judgments are developed and in independence of other forms of reasoning. One among various philosophical sciences, religion is ever seen to be independent.

But this very independence of religion only results in making it assume an equally characteristic relation to other forms of human life and thought. All have their center in the soul. And religion cannot live unless it interact with such other phases of spiritual life as morality, beauty, and truth. In this way it comes about that a complete view of religion includes a comparison with these other departments of human life. The actual career of religion affirms this as a fact. The philosophy of religion shows why it must be so. In the particular case of ethics, the connection is vital as it is important to determine. We feel instinctively that religion, whatever else it may turn out to be, must be essentially moral. The presence of the æsthetical is

to be desired ; the connection of religion with knowledge is almost indispensable ; but it is imperative that religion be ethical. What is the basis of this feeling ? What is the ground of this connection ? We may, indeed, show that history has set up a substantial bond between these two phases of spiritual life ; but this union may appear to be, after all, only a circumstantial one, having nothing rational or necessary about it. Our present line of inquiry is thus to find out what is the essential difference between the ethical and the religious. Then the real point of contact may more readily be found.

The discussion of this twofold problem must do justice to the various phases of the subject. First of all it must be shown where the essential form of religion differs from that of ethics. In this way a clear distinction between the two sciences is made possible, and that in a manner which is just to each. When once this distinction has been pointed out, the problem of connecting the two is more readily apprehended. Secondly, an examination of the conditions of positive religion will show that there is an actual connection between human worship and human conduct. The extent and substantial character of this relation must then be fully examined. Here the real problem arises. Distinct phases of human speculation evince an association which may turn out to be only circumstantial and contingent. Then, in the third place, it must be asked : How may the union of religion and morality be effected ? Why must religion be essentially moral, in order to carry out what it claims to be and do ? Such a question can be answered only when these two distinct provinces are related philosophically. Trespass and incursion will then give way to an amicable and satisfactory settlement of the claims of two adjacent fields. How shall this be done, unless there be found some common concept which shall overcome the breach between these forms of culture ?

I.

1. At once the nature of ethics may be seen when it is surveyed psychologically. Between consciousness and conscience there is a manifest analogy. Both are subjective, and yet they

possess the universality which comes from their being part and parcel of human nature. The ethical consciousness of mankind is by no means the constant element that is found in the psychological consciousness; for the latter depends not upon custom or opinion, but is rooted in the physiological structure of the human species. The analogy is thus not a perfect one; yet ethics possesses in general a psychological nature. Not only in the "idio-psychological ethics" of one like Martineau, but in general, morality may be said to consist of a content whose nature is studied in the light of introspection. Thus it is asked: "What is the nature of conscience?" "What is happiness?" "Does benevolence exist in the human heart?" To answer such questions appeal can be made only to consciousness. In somewhat the same way, religion depends upon the ethical consciousness; this is the final appeal. The ethical, with all its variations of code and maxim, represents a uniformity unknown to worship. Forms of faith are manifest, variegated, and heterogeneous. It is the tendency of religion to differentiate. This is witnessed in the whole field of ethnic religion, as well as in the denominational variations of Christianity. In comparison with the homogeneous nature of the ethical consciousness, religion reveals a rich differentiation of living faiths.

The ethical may further be expressed by a series of definite concepts which could in no wise apply to religion. Here, the analogy between logic and ethics becomes patent. Each is a normative science, supreme in its own field. The validity of thought in general, or in the particular field of religious speculation, is to be found in logic with its concepts and judgments. In the same manner, the standards of religion must finally be brought under the surveillance of ethics; here the sanction is to be found. Whether ethical judgments are *a priori*, or depend upon experience with pleasure and pain, is a question whose solution depends upon the interpretation of this or that theory. The ethical principle is present and assumes its place as supreme in the conduct of life, as logic is ultimate in thought. But just this position prescribes a peculiar limitation to the ethical; for, being formal and regulative, it does not correspond to any phase

of reality. Life, action, and progress come from some other source. Ethics may arouse conscience, and pass judgment upon actions which have been done; but the spring of action is not to be found in morality itself. We do not think for the sake of being logical; nor do we act for the sake of being ethical. All this would be scholastic and perfunctory. Ethics is thus normative and suggestive in its nature; we are to understand it as a "method." To fill it out and make it a living process, recourse must be had to that which is real and constructive. All this may be found in the religious experience of mankind; there, though it may have been blind, a living fact has developed.

In addition to this, the ethical is a theory, being the product of the practical reason. Hereby it assumes its own peculiar character, just as it wields a sway over the subject of religion. The theoretical nature of ethics makes the latter what it is destined to be, just as it constitutes its relation to religion. Psychological considerations tend to show wherein the essence of religion consists. Logic points out the truth of religion and the validity of a religious form of speculation. It remains for ethics to investigate the value of religion for human life. When fragments of human faith, which may appear in the form of primitive religion, are encountered, there can be no doubt that the ethical quality of these is a matter of question. An immoral cult may exist. But what of universal religion, which represents the best we know of the religious consciousness? The practical power and the logical consistency of such a religion as Christianity cannot be set aside; nor may we speak carelessly of the value of religion in this universal and spiritual form. Yet the question remains, and it can be answered only by appealing to ethical principles. Though ethics may lack in executive power, it makes up for this in judicial authority. To such, all phases of religion are amenable; and this is because ethics is the theory of life. The limits of its nature may be indicated by terms whose significance we have thus analyzed: subjective, formal, theoretical.

2. Religion, as a form of philosophy which is distinct from ethics, is historical or it is nothing. To religion, in distinction

from ethics, there belongs a definite and positive form which is due to various ethnic faiths. It is just this positive form which is wanting in ethics; for it has never had a history. Moral customs may vary and expand; ethical ideas may assume different degrees of clearness and scientific cogency; but the constructive development which is found in religion is never encountered. Religion, which is social and historical, has no general form which may exist apart from different cults. Where religion *per se* may be a useful idea for philosophy, it is only as an abstraction that it may be treated. For this reason, all attempts to deduce a so-called "natural religion," independent of, yet common to, all forms of positive religion, can end only in words. Natural religion is a pure *nihil*. The philosophy of religion, assuming the religious sentiment as a general characteristic of human life, does not commit the error of regarding this idea of religion as a reality. It rather finds the actual life of religion to consist in various forms of living faith, and these appear, not as purely subjective principles, but as historical realities. True or false, good or bad, religion exists in itself and has behind it a history, which shows what its actual career has been.

The essentially positive form, which religion likewise evinces, shows how realistic the latter's nature is and must be. Being positive, religion is highly differentiated; and, in the midst of a manifold array of phenomena, the unity of the religious concept may be lost to view. So distinct is the emphasis laid upon the particular, that no such thing as religion in general is conceived of as existing. Where the age of "Enlightenment" sought this in a rational deduction from the static conception of nature, the nineteenth century has pursued somewhat the same method in dealing with the various phenomena of an evolving religion of nature. The method may be different, but the error is the same. The *consensus gentium*, applied with the hope of verifying a rationalistic conception of religion, is just as vain as the generalization now being put forth by the science of "comparative religion." The moment that the idea of religion in general is applied to the features of all cults taken together, the glory of the religious sentiment has departed. Religion, as such, is not

to be found by the aid of a logical concept or an empirical generalization. But universal religion is recognized by science as constituting a definite type of worship; call it Buddhism or Christianity. Such universal religion fulfils the demands of the logical concept, while it also represents an actual phase of positive religion. To exist, religion must be positive and characteristic.

With its painful adherence to the historical and positive, religion assumes a form which is essentially pessimistic. This is to be expected. And here again religion is clearly distinguished from morality, which by its very nature is optimistic and idealistic. In religion, pessimism assumes both the eudæmonistic and ethical forms; but the latter is perhaps the more essential. Human life is touched with sorrow, and not unmingled with sin; these two facts are brought out by religion. In Buddhism and Christianity they stand out in somewhat clearer relief than in other cults, like Judaism and Zoroastrianism, which dwell upon the serious condition of human life. We cannot admit that Nietzsche is right when he says that Christianity has created the "worm of sin" and "states of distress," in order that it may live by them. Yet it cannot be denied that it has been the result of religion to set up the conception of evil in opposition to the good. This is due to the fact that religion abides by what is given in history, rather than that it contents itself with the purely ideal. Positivism results in pessimism; the actual is desired, however gloomy it may appear. The aim of religion is not merely to set up standards of truth, goodness, and happiness, but to make all these real facts of human life. Religion illumines the dark, elevates the base, and gives beauty for ashes. Buddhism, which has desperately grappled with this problem, gives a purely negative solution of it. Deny, annihilate, forget; then, peace shall come! Christianity is not satisfied with negation. It denies the worldly, the bodily, and the immediate, only to reach out after the spiritual and ultimate. But in no case does religion, when its faith becomes at all penetrating, relapse into a condition of easy-going natural existence.

But the positive and pessimistic does not prevent the incom-

ing of a very different ideal—that of eudæmonism. The natural condition of the human spirit is wretched and unworthy; but religion provides a scene of things where these elements are displaced by what is satisfying and meritorious. It must never be forgotten that religion is a living fact; being such, it is of necessity grim and severe. In all this, however, the religious instinct does not lie dormant; nor does it merely react, in a mechanical way, upon the given circumstances of the world. Religion presses onward to some better condition of life, found upon a higher plane of existence. This is a state of blessedness; it is attained by religion only after a conflict. Religion is thus destined to work out something as a result; living and historical as it is, it must develop and then achieve some definite purpose. In so doing religion is far removed from any ethical system which, if it be intuitional, cannot consistently have regard for the results of morality; or which, in the hedonist form, cannot construe these results as anything more than some immediate and earthly advantage. The completion of the religious problem consists in the real passage from woe to weal, from the lower to the higher. If, in the judgment of religion, all is here in vain, there is another scene of things where positive gain may be found. In all this the religious consciousness feels that a gift is being bestowed upon it; true, it may strive, and it does this; but from above the power of man and from beyond his ken come the visions and the benefits.

When religion is thus compared with morality, it turns out to be at once *infra* and *supra* ethical. All this is due to the fact that religion takes as its point of departure human life; for this it provides a goal. Without such a destiny in sight, religion cannot exist; provided with it, faith passes on, far beyond the realm of morality. Where ethics attempts to supply an object for man's activity this end is either purely subjective or narrowly objective in its nature. Duty done gives personal satisfaction; benevolence exercised contributes to human happiness. But from either point of view, nothing more than some immediate object is presented; and thus great achievement is made impossible. When it is once clearly seen and appreciated that

ethics is subjective and normative, while religion is historical and positive, the distinction between them may be made. In the light of this distinction, religion is seen to be positive and pessimistic and, at the same time, eudæmonistic and teleological. These characterizations are native to religion, as they are alien to ethics. As forms of speculation they may thus be separated; but how far may this be carried on? When we compare religion and rights, it seems as though there were no connection at all between them. Since the publication of Spinoza's *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, religion has never been the ruler of human rights; nor has political power been able to domineer over individual belief. But the case of religion and morality is by no means parallel; for we feel that, in spite of all formal distinctions, the two must co-exist and interact. Logical separation does not exclude some form of active connection.

II.

1. The actual connection of religion with morality is to be found in the former's history. Worship, in the various stages of its development, evinces an ever-increasing inclination toward the ethical; while universal religion, in the particular form of Christianity, has elaborated a distinct conception of righteousness. In the complete history of religion, wide differences may be noted. It is not impossible to indicate cults which are capable of the immoral, and that under religious sanction. On the other hand, certain forms of ethnic faith have so thoroughly entertained the idea of morality as to exclude that transcendental element which belongs to worship. Such is the case with Confucianism. But these extremes do not represent an "either—or" as though religion were called upon to decide either for or against morality. The more satisfactory view represents religion and morality as developing side by side, each aiding the other. A naïve form of religion naturally entails primitive conceptions of the world and human life. God is represented as being an arbitrary being; to please him, various nonessential acts of devotion—offering, sacrifice, and the like—must be performed. When a higher stage of worship is reached, as in rational religion,

ideas and duties are more perfectly represented. God is not arbitrary, but he is sovereign. His will is law. A higher type of morality now enters in; it is obedience. In the fulfilment of it conduct has its point of departure in national life. But a new view of God and a third stage of religion enter in to present new duties. God is one; he is spirit, infinite and eternal. The soul is self-centered, and has more value than all the sum of the world. To such ideas the soul responds. Man must love God with a whole heart; his brother he must love as his own soul. In this larger view the folk-morality of the tribe, as well as the legal ethics of the national code, are lost sight of. With universal religion the ethical life has begun. This is not to affirm that religion has been the source of morality, or *vice versa*; it is rather to demonstrate that imperfect morality and undeveloped worship go hand in hand. The chief point of interest consists in the observation that such a religion as Christianity has had the fate to create a definite type of morality.

By observing the correlated development of religion and morality, this peculiar fact will appear, that, when religion becomes spiritual and universal, morality finds its own independence, and that for the first time. So long as religion remains upon the plane of the national and ethnic, morality can be viewed only in an imperfect and unworthy manner. Socrates and Christ are esteemed as teachers who have made possible, for the occidental world, a pure ethics and a spiritual religion; and in various ways the parallel between these souls may be instituted. The final testimony, however, can only reveal the infinite difference between them. The distinction between morality and religion appears more clearly when we survey it in this definite personal manner. Socrates created an intrinsic ethics; Christ revealed spiritual religion. By the world each was rejected and condemned. The four centuries before Christ, in which the Socratic ethics flourished, were indeed significant for western morality. Yet it was in Christianity that we first found our true ethical and religious views; in each we are Christian. From Christ ethics thus received among other things the following ideas: the distinction between good and bad; the difference between inner and outer; the sense

of obligation to do right, and the value of this performance. Now, Socrates felt none of these things. His reference to the soul was only an intellectual one, while his adherence to virtue was only eudæmonistic. Hence, our thought today, dealing with duty and right, benevolence and value, returns, not to Socrates, but to Christ as its true source.

The veritable founder of ethics, Christ, was likewise the creator of spiritual, universal religion. His twofold position thus becomes intensely significant for our problem. Spiritual religion brings with it pure morality; this it emancipates. Was this brought about by means of a smooth evolution? The facts of history seem hardly to warrant such an assumption. Christianity, in enlarging the world and expanding the soul, made the moral life over anew. Christ's teaching effected a complete transvaluation; geocentrism in ethics, narrow, limited, and immediate as it had been, became heliocentrism. The Founder of Christianity was not breaking away from the ethical, but only from what he considered a false view of conduct. His soul was inspired by the idea of creating such a view of the religious life that it might content the profoundest aspirations of humanity and, at the same time, assume a divine character. In effecting this, he produced an ethical doctrine which was in every sense philosophical. By citing this case of universal religion in the person of its founder, we may see how similar are the paths of worship and of conduct.

2. But there is perhaps a more fundamental connection in the soul of man between the two series which are parallel in the history of the race. Association in thought and parallelism in history are not the most substantial *vinculum* between worship and duty, and, in the presence of such a sharp distinction as may be made between them, something more satisfactory must be found. For, the history of humanity has associated religion with other phases of man's life, and the case of ethics may be only one of such instances. But here it may be said that religion has elaborated a distinct type of life-conduct, which possesses a character at once ethical and religious; this fusion has assumed various names, as holiness and righteousness; and these all manifest the definitely ethical character of religion. And such conceptions

as these are to be expected in the field of religion. Man is moved by a peculiar yearning after that which is not of this world; dissatisfaction with the present unworthy condition of his existence leads him to hope for that which is more satisfactory and substantial. But how shall man attain unto this, without something like an ethical performance? To turn away from immediate existence in the world, and to reach out after an eternal life, is no physical act on the part of the body, or purely psychological deed performed by the mind. This fundamental religious performance is throughout ethical. The world is denied, because conscience judges it to be unworthy; the other world is affirmed in response to a desire which would be inconceivable if it were not expressed by a moral being. Religion is an act of the soul; as such it is performed after the manner of ethics. And from still another point of view may this essentially ethical moment in religion be expressed. Religion brings with it a certain benefit conceived of as coming from some supra-mundane source; in this sense, eternal life is styled "the gift of God." What is the result of this? Man feels within him a certain sense of gratitude, and he is led to ask: "What shall I render unto the Lord for all his benefits?" Where religion rises above naturalism and nationalism it proclaims that genuine gratitude is expressible, not in offering or sacrifice, but in contrition and righteousness. Privileges imply duties; by righteousness man may hope to please God. This attempt is successful only as it is saturated with the ethical.

In the religious consciousness, conduct is represented as being at once specific in its nature, sacred in its character, and serious in its final significance. Piety, as this sentiment may be called, has its point of departure in a divine order of things. Not as determined by the state or by society, nor by the individual acting in response to motives of desire and duty, but from another point of view must the religious life be determined. Religion is a life, rather than a course of conduct. Centered in man's very nature, it manifests a peculiar tendency; it is looked upon as making its subject acceptable to a Divine Being. Christ, as the true type of this life, was spoken of as one who was in favor with man; he was also said to be well-pleasing unto God. The rela-

tion to the divine order implies a peculiar obligation; man feels that "he ought to obey God rather than men." And thus a peculiar dualism may be set up in the soul; where common duty to man opposes itself to this higher sense of obligation. In literature, profane as well as sacred, this appears. Take, for example, the four lines from Racine's drama *Athalie* (61-4) which so appealed to Boileau that he spoke of them as possessing all the attributes of the sublime. They are the words of Jehoida :

Celui qui met un frein à la fureur des flots
Sait aussi des méchants arrêter les complots.
Soumis avec respect à sa volonté sainte,
Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, et n'ai point d'autre crainte.

It is the last one of these lines which brings out that significance of religion which we are examining; and it was such a sentiment as this which so appealed to Bismarck that he spoke of the Germans as those who fear God, but fear no one else. To fear God does not imply the fear of man; indeed, this attitude of mind may make one all the more resolute. This is due to the specific nature of righteousness, and, hereby, the contrite soul is led to confess: "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned and done this evil in thy sight."

Religious morality likewise points out the sacred character of the ethical. Ordinarily, conduct may be judged as being right; or it may be appreciated by society as being helpful; may it also be said to possess sanctity? Religious conduct assumes just this character; for it aims to unite man with God. As a result, the moral law no longer assumes the unattractive character of rigoristic, blind duty; nor does it appear in the secular form of utility and social service. The law is loved, because it is of God. To the subject righteous judgments seem more valuable than gold; more pleasant than is honey to the lips. In such a law man may delight. At the same time, God is represented as being pleased with man's actions; at least, this is the ideal goal which is presented to the heart of the religious subject. Where conduct arouses the interest of man, to whom it appeals as being the highest and best; where it seems pleasing unto God himself, it is far removed from the ordinary thought of morality.

When thus viewed, religious conduct presents a serious problem; its specific nature and sacred character conspire to make the accomplishment of it a task to which man's powers are unequal. Without dwelling directly upon the pessimistic attitude which religion seems to assume toward human life, it can be seen that the effort which religious activity may make is insufficient to work out that which righteousness demands. Conduct of life is not merely normal desire or imperative duty; it is man's destiny. For this reason, the philosophy of religion can only look with distrust upon any system which, like the ethical scheme, works out its method with such ease and complacency. Where thought was ruled by such a method as that of the ancient formalism, this nearsighted view may be understood; but modern dynamic conceptions, which represent life as a matter of conflict, can hardly be justified in making of human existence a matter of optimistic regard. The religious life, alive to its true goal, and painfully aware of its actual condition, demands redemption from the world. To make this possible, appeal must be made to some new source of life; this is found in God. If human activity is to be interpreted in the light of the divine; if human character, to be what it ought to be, must please God, then, the problem becomes so serious that God himself must aid man in solving it.

III.

Distinct as concepts, yet parallel in their actual career, religion and morality must finally be conceived of as evincing some relation more satisfactory than either of these. The interrelation of the forms of spiritual life composes a problem as distinct as that of mental-bodily interaction. Thus far, in our discussion, the case of the religious and moral stands in abeyance. Logic demands the separation of them; but in life they are not divided. To overcome the difficulty which is here presented, some new view of both religion and morality is made necessary. What is demanded is a concept common to each. This may, perhaps, be found in connection with the idea of "love" or that of "blessedness;" for, these are pre-eminent in religious as well as

in ethical speculation. But these conceptions do not seem to serve the peculiar need of a substantial bond between worship and duty. Love may be toward God as well as toward man; blessedness may start with the dutiful only to end in the worshipful. Thus the two sides of the problem may be presented, but it is not thereby solved.

Perhaps the breach between the ethical-rigorous and the religious-eudæmonistic may be more clearly set in relief by citing the example of a single system: that of Samuel Clarke. Saturated with the rationalism of the eighteenth century, and domineered by the philosophy of Spinoza, Clarke was imbued with the idea of "eternity." This appears again and again in his ethical and theological writings. Moral relations are based upon the "eternal differences of things," which are prefigured in mathematical truths. As a result, it is as illogical to say that justice is not a virtue as it would be to say that twice two are not equal to four. Virtue is thus to be chosen for its own sake; to do wrong is as absurd as to claim that twice two may equal five. In this way morality is sanctioned. But suppose that the adherence to virtue causes loss on the part of the ethical subject? To this practical application of the problem Clarke replies by saying: "It is not *reasonable* that men, by adhering to virtue, should part with their lives if thereby they *eternally* deprive themselves of all possibility of receiving any advantage from that adherence." Reason, working *sub specie aeternitatis*, passes from rigorism to eudæmonism. But the advantage is no slight or immediate result appreciated in the form of pleasure. It is an everlasting gain and, being such, it forms a parallel to Clarke's thought of the eternal distinction between right and wrong. Appeal is thus made to religion, but not in opposition to morality. That which is right eternally contributes to an eternal advantage.

It is the privilege of religion to indicate the true service of morality. Whatever may be the proper explanation of the moral life, or however the development of this is to be carried out, there yet remains the question as to the worth of this life: What is the final ground for doing right? To answer this ques-

tion, appeal is made to religion. Conduct becomes the means to a higher end. Religion is primarily concerned with man's salvation from the world, and the redemption of his earthly life; when the soul denies the world, it affirms itself in its own true existence. But, to accomplish this peculiar task of religion, something more than mere power of effort or intensity of life is made necessary. The only true means is that of ethical force and character. To overcome the world, there is demanded an act of the moral will working in the interest of the good. Thus to turn away from the earthly life in nature, and to find the life of the soul in some higher realm, necessitates an ethical activity, without which religion is impossible. Where religion seeks to accomplish that which it was manifestly designed to do, morality has an essential part to play.

Religion, then, points out the true value of morality; by coming in contact with it, ethical principle can only be the gainer. No harm can come to the idea of morality, when it is shown that it is of service in human life. Exercised in the interest of such a religious idea as the redemption of mankind, ethics assumes a superior character. No longer does the sense of right result in the mere feeling of self-approbation; no longer does morality assume the simple guise of a helpmate for society; but the ethical is raised and transfigured to the dignity of providing for the soul a means of realizing its destiny. In this way the religious view of the service of morality shows wherein the latter's true value consists. And it is just this idea of which ethics seems to stand in need. An intuitional view of morality, relying upon the purely formal considerations which it employs, does not and cannot regard that morality as bearing any fruit; while the hedonist method, which has always been opposed to this, can supply as the content of ethics only that which is immediate and unworthy. We still believe that morality is resultful and valuable; but our faith rests upon what is more than ethical; it is a hope, founded upon religious aspiration.

It is for this reason that morality becomes a sacred consideration. Man sees that by righteousness he is exalted, while sin is forever invalid and in vain. Profound religious spirits

have at times been led to doubt this value which should attach itself to righteousness. Self-approbation may be present, and social merit bestowed; but something more than this is demanded. "Can a man be profitable unto God?" Where the good is realized, is it sufficient unto this end? "Is it pleasure to the Almighty that thou art righteous?" Here is a question the answering of which is by no means easy, yet there appears "the fine innuendo by which the soul makes its enormous claim." It appears in a more serious form when the soul, following the principle of righteousness, feels that after all it has been in vain. "Verily I have cleansed my heart in vain and washed my hands in innocency." It is here that religion, which points out the vanity of evil, must step in to manifest the essential value of righteousness; yet not in this conception alone, but in the further idea of the conservation of value. Religion, which alone appreciates the intrinsic worth of morality, shows wherein the service of the latter consists. This is done by the aid of an idea well-known in universal religion: that of the religious world-order. The creation of such a conception is due to religion. Ethics may enjoin us to act that the maxim of your conduct is "fit to become a universal law;" it may speak of conscience as an ideal which, "had it strength and power, as it has right and authority, would absolutely govern the world." But, to show that such a moral order exists, recourse must be had to religion.

Finally, the religious character of morality appears even more definitely when the soul is related to the idea of God. Where religion regards righteousness as being well-pleasing to God, it must avoid doing it in a manner likely to suggest anything arbitrary in the divine will. If religion, with its idea of righteousness, makes possible the realization of human destiny, it must not fail to construe this as of divine design. God is no longer to be surveyed as the leader, who makes a covenant with his tribe; nor yet as a sovereign, legislating for his peculiar people; he is rather to be looked upon as the life and spirit of the kingdom of righteousness in which religion lives and moves and has its being. Such a realm, wherein religious value is

conserved, is the common goal of God's sovereign power and man's free activity. Righteousness is not merely an ideal or a means of making this life bearable ; it is in itself real ; and man, by following it, is not to be defeated or suffered to remain content with temporary satisfaction. The soul of man attains to a blessedness which is not of morality, but which cannot exist apart from this. A man may be profitable even unto God ; for it is pleasure to the Almighty that he is righteous.

PUBLIC WORSHIP FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE CHRISTIAN MUSICIAN.

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WE live at a time when all the arts are held in honor and cherished. Especially is this true of the art of music, which during the last hundred years has made such enormous strides in its development and in its hold on life as to justify the expression of Gevaert: "Music, *the* art of the nineteenth century." Because of the widespread cultivation of this art, both professionally and otherwise, in this country, our churches frequently contain a large proportion of worshipers who are musically minded and musically trained. To this group of people we may apply the title "Christian Musicians," understanding by it not merely such as earn their living wholly or in part by music, but in general those who are keenly alive to tonal values, are in love with certain manifestations of these values, and are trained to appreciate and produce them. These are the ones who will respond most readily to the appeal for better music in our churches, and, in fact, if in addition they are earnest Christians, they are the ones to whom we may look most hopefully for guidance in making the services the best possible outpouring of the spirit of worship.

The Christian musician in studying the history of his art is impressed with the fact that, while music is practically universal and its origin dates back to the mythologies, it has always been associated with religion. Prayer and praise naturally tend to musical utterance. He recognizes that music is essentially the embodiment of an art impulse, that is, it is the assent of the soul to the call of beauty as it reveals itself in tone. He sees also that it is the expression of a social instinct, and is forced by this necessity to base itself upon time and rhythm, by which it may secure uniformity of utterance and extend its influence to all. He perceives that this beauty has been everywhere enlisted to

illuminate the profoundest feelings of man, feelings of awe and mystery, of joy and thanksgiving, of yearning and supplication. Out of his appreciation of music he is, therefore, prepared to apprehend the nature of the entire public worship in which music plays so important a part. He finds that public worship as a whole is an art expression. It desires not simply to draw near to the divine, but to enter into a common bond of sympathy in thus drawing near. It provides itself with liturgies that shall not merely afford a vehicle for utterance, but which can glow at every moment with living conviction and spontaneous fervor. This is the test of beauty. For beauty is but a usage that has the sanction of enthusiasm. In this light it becomes apparent that the musical and the other parts of the service are not two arts working to a common end, but merely different phases of the same art. The whole service is constructed upon the one art of noble sound. For a very subtle, but absolutely vital, distinction must be drawn between speech in general and impressive speech. When one seeks to *impress* thought-values in speech, instantly the factor of tone assumes importance. One may read a newspaper and be utterly unconscious of the sound of the words, almost in fact of the words themselves, so far does the medium sink into the background of the thought; but attempt to read a poem and the tone-values are essential. So, too, an effective delivery is an integral part of oratory. The memory of a preacher or teacher who has greatly impressed you will always include the tones of his voice. The problem of the service of worship, then, is one of tone from beginning to end; of tone, not for its own sake, but to convey and to stir the feelings belonging to the united worship of God. True it is that a minister may pray most earnestly and devoutly with a voice that would frighten a timid person, or a child who did not follow his meaning. Yet it is equally possible for great love and yearning to alter a voice ordinarily harsh until one is deeply stirred by the mere sound of a single word uttered by it. There is, then, a use of the human voice, whether in speaking or in singing, suitable for such emotions as the service of worship demands. From the tonal side the art problem is to

find and apply from beginning to end the suitable uses. And the Christian musician will bring to this problem the reverence, the enthusiasm, and the art culture which must be united in order to obtain a solution that shall stand.

Let me press this point a little more definitely. To the minister who professes that he does not know anything about music the musician rightly replies that he himself is much better fitted to plan the service than is the minister. "Through lack of training, it may be," says he, "you are not sensitive to my music, *but I am sensitive to your speech*. I know when the thought of a psalm has so dominated you that you read it with the reverence and fervor of a prophet, and it touches me. I know when an indifferent or careless mood permits you to read verse after verse with an utter lack of expression. I know when your sermon breathes conviction, and when not. And after I cease from the anthem or hymn in which prayer or praise has found a glorious voice, I demand a like fitness in the spirit with which your prayer or praise seeks its utterance. Perhaps you announce a hymn, and during the singing of it you obviously ignore its value as an outpouring of the soul to God, for you are not sensitive in that direction. But my sensitiveness musically makes me doubly responsive to your part of the service. If you object that musicians differ widely as to what is religious music, and hence cannot always be relied upon to make their portion of the service good, much less to guide the minister in his part, this objection may be urged equally against painters, sculptors—all artists. Yet it remains true that we look properly for guidance in art matters to those who by nature and training are sensitive to art-values. No single artist, no one musician, is infallible. But standards are raised and shifted by a law which is well recognized. So that the ignorant man is not often at a loss to know unto whom he shall betake himself for enlightenment."

The thesis of this article is, therefore, that public worship is an art function in regard to the formal treatment of which the Christian musician is peculiarly well equipped to judge. What may be the nature of that judgment a consideration of some of the practical details will make clear. In the opinions to be

expressed the writer at once and frankly refuses to speak *ex cathedra*. He only bespeaks the consideration due to one whose training and enthusiasm are both religious and musical, who would gladly be classed, if he may, among the Christian musicians.

THE SERVICE PRELUDE.

Should there be an organ introduction? If the room itself is impressive, harmonious in color, and carpeted so as to deaden noise, the quiet gathering of people with no music whatever may well help one to lay aside previous thoughts and to be dominated by what is to come. If there is music, it should be most restful and unobtrusive. When well-known pieces are played, the association of ideas must be with things sacred. It will not do to have the mind carried away to the opera house, the theater, much more to the ball-room, by the subtle suggestiveness of an organ voluntary drawn from any of these places. Yet thoughtless organists frequently make this very mistake. I am far from advocating the practice of improvising, although I frequently sin myself in that regard, as it so easily degenerates to aimless and repetitious wanderings. But organ books are readily obtainable filled with beautiful music of all grades of difficulty that may be played in a way not to obtrude upon even the watchful, musical mind, but to soothe and uplift it and prepare for the service proper. Is it of significance that we, in these days, often lose sight of the "house of God" idea, and substitute that of the "meeting-house"? Not even the swinging inner doors are always effective to keep social greetings by the church-door committee, and the chat which their cordiality engenders, from drowning out the opening voluntary. It is certain that the reverent organist who realizes his sacred trust is at times hard pressed to prepare the minds of his congregation for the moment when they are to respond to the mood into which he should bring them.

THE SERVICE.

For the sake of convenience let us divide the factors of tone in the service into the voice of the minister, the voice of the trained singer or group of singers, the voice of the people, and

the voice of the instrument or group of instruments. When and how should each of these appear ?

It is not my desire to advocate any particular order of service. In the churches with which I am familiar there are three good methods of beginning: one by the prayer of invocation, one by an anthem short or long, one by a congregational hymn. By each method the essential condition, a recognition of reverent unity of purpose, can be obtained. The voice of instruments would not be as satisfactory here, for although by suppressing the music until the body of worshipers is entirely assembled, or by supplementing the organ at this point with a solo instrument like the violin, it would be possible to gain the effect of beginning the service, the instruments alone cannot definitely commit the assembly to its holy purpose. One craves here an expression in the words of a prayer, of an anthem, of a hymn.

The voice of the minister.—Suppose for purposes of discussion we adopt the prayer of invocation. The voice of the minister is to make itself heard in words of adoration and praise, spoken in behalf of the entire people. How often is that expression hampered by the unlovely, undignified use of tone-values! It is surprising to me that no more stress is laid upon the training of a minister's voice *as a musical instrument*. With it he must lead his people hundreds of times in a year, and it should be resonant and pure and mellow, absolutely responsive to the thought to be expressed. Yet I have heard the invocation offered by men most earnest and consecrated who evidently had never been made sensitive to the significance of spoken tone and skilful in the use of it. It was my good fortune to attend a theological seminary in which the opportunities for training of the voice were unusually fine. But even there I do not recall any such sentiment toward the matter as would cause a man to feel disgraced if he were graduated with a harsh, nasal, or throaty voice, or with uncouth habits of enunciation and accentuation. This lack of attention to the proper use of the speaking voice is, unfortunately, a fault of our whole educational system. Voice-training should begin in the home, and continue in the common school

and the college; and no young man or young woman should be graduated from a college who is unable to bring a cultivated vocal organ to the aid of his thought either in conversation or in public speaking. True, I remember that a Yale divinity professor is reputed to have said: "Flee elocution as you would the devil!" And he has much right to his sentiment. For, with a few notable exceptions, teachers of elocution have made the fatal error of confusing ability to interpret thought with ability to express thought through the voice. They waste much time in compelling a student to adopt the inflections, emphasis and similar qualities with which they clothe their own interpretation of a sentence, instead of allowing him to retain his conception and assisting him to master the musical instrument that must serve as his vehicle of utterance. A person who thinks may usually be trusted to find an intelligible and forceful expression for his thought. But, however much he may long to give sonority and richness, a clear fulness or caressing tenderness, to his utterance, his desire is futile unless he has already in some way acquired the technique of tone-production; he squeaks and rasps, is husky or hollow as of old. There is no essential difference between an art use of tone in speaking and in singing. When we demand of musicians trained voices in the choir gallery, they may with propriety ask in return for trained voices in the pulpit. Fortunately, they have little further cause for complaint of the pulpit. The greater essentials of an art-product, sincerity and conviction, coupled with mastery of the thoughts to be expressed, are rarely lacking. Phillips Brooks in his *Yale Lectures* has an interesting passage much to the purpose here. He says:

There is a music of preaching. What the melody of a hymn is to its words that the eloquence of the preacher is to his truth. . . . Words like notes or colors may lead from truth to duty, or they may stand helpless, leading from nothing to nothing. We are afraid of eloquence nowadays, and no doubt our fear of it has borne good fruit. . . . It has gone out of favor in our colleges. It only lingers in our pulpits here and there. The fact that there is where it lingers makes us sometimes hope that there is where it shall be born into new power. We wonder whether it may not be for the pulpit, having learned with all the other writing and speaking of the

age that the primary necessity of written or spoken words is clearness, then to assert that clearness is more, not less, clear for the warm glow of earnest feeling, and to give back to the best writing and speaking of the age to come a power of personal appeal and legitimate attractiveness in return for the necessity of careful thought and clear expression which no doubt the pulpit has learned from the best writing and speaking of this accurate but uninspired age.

The voice of the choir.—When we turn to the musical part of the service, to the voices of the musicians, it is easier to find technical training than sincerity, conviction, and intelligence. Yet no technical excellence whatever can make up for the alienation of the soul from the end and aim of all worship. Strange to say the entire service is often tainted with this deadly thing because one is not earnest enough to condemn it from the religious standpoint or enlightened enough to condemn it from the art standpoint. For in art nothing is so deadly as insincerity. An organist of long standing, a brilliant music critic, has been known to swear at his choir in the midst of service loud enough to be heard by minister and congregation, and to do it unrebuked. If he were to apply his own canons of criticism to his conduct, he would stand convicted of a sin against art, apart from the more serious evil. You may ask: "Must then none but church members praise God in his sanctuary?" So long as each church demands of its members assent to its doctrines, this can hardly be required. But is it not reasonable to assert that only those who are Christian at heart should be leaders in Christian worship? Whatever the ministers feel about it, I am convinced that Christian musicians both in the choirs and in the pews deplore deeply this ignoring of the moral issue.

After conceding that sincerity is as vital for the singer as for the minister we are still confronted with a very difficult and subtle problem when we undertake to use trained voices in church. Beautiful singing either by voices in combination or in solo is delightful as pure music, quite apart from its use in worship. It is, therefore, extremely easy for the musical side to become so important in the eyes of both performers and listeners as to make the result practically a concert. It is such a view that might justify a minister in saying, "Let us *resume*

the worship of God," after an anthem or sentence by the choir. Because of the paramount importance of the worshipful mood, sincerity and zeal can often atone for serious faultiness in execution. One who has a good musical ear, who winces at discords, abhors singing out of tune, unlovely quality, reckless time, and such matters, may yet take great satisfaction in singing or playing with companions in worship who do all of these things constantly and flagrantly. We should have little sympathy for the hypersensitive souls whose musical creed is, "Do nothing, lest you do something ill." Yet the insistent law of every true life demands that no possible pains be spared to obtain all the finish and accurate adjustment of part to part, which make noble music fitly sung one of the rarest foretastes of heavenly delight. The safety in such effort is through inflexible fidelity to the worship-idea, cutting off with high hand anything that savors of indifference or lack of true reverence.

There are two channels which this indifference to a worshipful spirit may take; one is the personality of the singer, the other is the nature of the music sung. It is a marvelous thing how the personality of a singer can instantly and strongly impress itself upon listeners. You may hear a song sung by two persons with vocal technique, style, and conception apparently identical, yet detect world-wide differences of feeling between them. This it is that makes the solo quartet, common in our American churches, frequently an impertinence. The somewhat rare exception when religious conviction and sweetness of spirit are united to lovely, well-trained, and perfectly balanced voices in all of its members is entrancing, but only proves the rule. This fact about personality leads many of our best musicians to advocate in church service chorus singing, wholly or mainly. A chorus gives a composite photograph of tone, having all its angularities and idiosyncrasies smoothed away. With something less than perfection in each individual voice, it is possible to reach in chorus singing a certain breadth and dignity of effect that give to it a perfection peculiarly its own. Even the solos which may be brought into connection with chorus work are robbed of the marked individuality of solo singing elsewhere,

and become in a degree impersonal. I am not now speaking of the chorus as a factor in music. It is true that there is a special field of utterance open to the solo performer with instrument or voice, and another field, quite distinct, for the body of instruments or voices. This is an art problem not peculiar to religious music. I am now referring solely to the question of worshipfulness in song. And while we must prize the delicacy and intimacy, the passionate thrill and fervor, of a truly consecrated voice, uplifting and enkindling the heart, still more must we recognize the difficulty, under ordinary circumstances, of obtaining such effects. Hence appears the peculiar value of the chorus, since it can supply an adequate musical outlet for these notable phases of the religious emotion. Mr. Frank H. Damrosch, director of music in the public schools of New York city, says upon this point:

I object to solo quartets in church because, while music should be a part of church services, it ought not to bring into prominence the means by which it is created. For solo quartets each voice is strong. If the quartet is bad, it ought not to be heard; if it is good, the attention of the listener is attracted to the sensuous charms of the voice. The best church music is that produced by large choruses, in which no individual voice is heard alone or distinct from the others. Where the music is produced by a chorus you get the uplifting power of the music itself toward spiritual feeling.

Such a position is both logical and practical. And yet we must recognize that the ideal music of the church should combine the congregation, the choir, and the soloists. Phillips Brooks in the same *Yale Lecture* quoted above says:

When a great congregation is to praise the Lord and to learn truth and duty by the melody of song, I for one should be sorry to have it lose either of the two exaltations, either that which comes of the great, simple, sublime utterance of its own emotion, or that which comes from listening while voices which the Lord has filled with the gold and silver of his choicest and most mysterious harmony reveal to us the full beauty of truth and the full sweetness and sacredness of duty.

Whatever be the organization of the choir the most important consideration is the music it shall sing. Here again one should not dogmatize. There is an immense amount of music written to sacred words, in all styles and of all grades of difficulty. From it the choir master must select, having as his aim:

First, to choose that which will express definite religious thought suited to the proper moment in the service, and thus to keep always before the singers their function as channels of worshipful outpouring of human hearts toward the divine.

Second, to choose music within the capacity of the choir, and thus to avoid the sense of incompleteness which may cause his hearers to criticise the performance.

It would be easy at this point to cite from the large fund of incongruous happenings upon which every choir master or preacher can draw; to ridicule anthems and hymns, and to illustrate the various absurd ways in which they have been sung. Many choir directors and ministers are alive to the need of cordial and sympathetic relations with each other. Not infrequently the clergyman sends to his co-laborer the topic of his sermon and selects the hymns or states the lines of thought required. Less frequently he keeps informed as to the choir work, in order that, if any especially beautiful or impressive music be under rehearsal, he may find an opportunity to make it still more impressive by its setting in the service. A more complete interdependence is much to be desired. A minister seldom hesitates to object to unsympathetic, disorderly conduct in the choir gallery. But I have yet to learn of the musician who would feel free to point out to his pastor that for him to open and arrange Bibles and hymn-books, and to consult with deacons and ushers, during the singing of the anthems is as irreverent as is a corresponding bustle in the choir during the spoken prayers and praises, or to urge him to remain standing and join the congregation in its singing of the hymns on the ground that it, too, is worship and should not be openly slighted. The material and the manner of worship are a common burden to both the leaders of the service, and may well draw them together in a close bond of sympathy.

The voice of the people.—The third, and in many respects the most important, factor in a service of worship is the voice of the people. It makes itself heard usually both in speech and in song. I venture to say that many a musician from the standpoint of his art-view of the service longs quite as much for a

better training of the congregation in the reading of scripture as for a more soulful singing of the hymns. If there were systematic development of the voice in our schools, another generation would see this much-needed reform accomplished. But we may notice that even now, just as the idiosyncrasies of the individual voices are kept from offending by being merged in the chorus choir, so the untrained voices of the assembly can be made wonderfully impressive, if only all who are present are induced to join in the reading. In the music of the congregation, however, the voice of the worshiping multitude has its most perfect utterance. It is a significant fact that nearly all of the great religious movements have been accompanied by a revival of congregational singing. When hearts are deeply stirred, the people must sing. And those revulsions against previous perversions of the service which have again and again sent organs and trained choirs out of the house of God very rarely have objected to the music of the people's voice. When congregational singing is hearty and inspired, this very fact reacts powerfully upon the other musical parts of the service, which almost invariably are made more earnest and appealing thereby. Solo singers and instrumentalists are exceedingly quick to feel such influences. At the marriage of the young queen of Holland three congregational hymns were sung by the multitude that packed the old church in which the ceremony was performed, and this was the only singing. Nothing else could have been so impressive in its simplicity. In a multitude of voices we hear the keynote of awe and mystery. To obtain this marvelous effect it is necessary only to insist upon the significance of the singing as worship and to give the people a chance. The minister and the organist have it greatly in their power to bring the people to a realization of their opportunity. Let the minister show by his announcement that they are being asked to unite in a superlative expression of the spirit of prayer or praise; for the hymn-book is a treasure-house of the most remarkable religious literature of the ages. Let the organist in his announcement show likewise that these rare thoughts have been wedded to equally remarkable music—remarkable in some cases because of its simple directness, in others by its intimate

subserviency to the spirit of the words. Such an appreciation of the great anthology of words and music which our modern hymnal has become, cannot be compassed in a moment. Heartfelt singing requires a certain familiarity with both the music and the words. As a first step toward this every person in the church must have his own hymn-book in his hand, as well as his own Bible or selection of psalms. Economy at this point is fatal. Then the minister and the organist working together for a term of years can judiciously build up the knowledge of the congregation in what is valuable in these anthologies, until even a large collection becomes usable in the best way. Where it is possible to spend more time than the above remarks would indicate, extremely delightful results may be gained by organizing a *congregational choir* which shall meet for regular rehearsals, but during the ordinary services be scattered through the congregation. The choir can do more than master the hymn-book; it may become a church singing society for the study of all that is beautiful and uplifting in music both religious and secular, and a social center for all art activities, a rallying-place for young and old, and a quickener of all noble enthusiasms. This has been done successfully many times, from the notable example in the great congregation of a thousand at Union Chapel, Islington, in England, to the little congregation of two or three hundred in Newton, Mass., with which the writer had the privilege of working for several years. Of the former, Mr. Curwen in his entertaining book, *Studies in Worship Music*, says:

As one joins in the service at this church, the very air seems charged with the breath of worship; the multitudinous song speaks to the heart like the voice of many waters. In many places the thin and meager singing chills the feelings, but at Union Chapel the audible participation of a thousand worshippers induces a sense of communion which appeals most powerfully to the religious emotions. The sound of singing comes equally from every part of the large church, and both in time and tune the choir, the organ, and the congregation move together in consolidated strength.

The voice of the instrument.—It remains to speak briefly of the voice of the instrument; for although there can be no impropriety in using any combination of instruments in a church service, unless the novelty or crudeness of them is distracting to the worshippers, the organ is practically the one instrument of

our churches, as certainly it is the most valuable. By his instrument the organist may become a preacher of righteousness. If we urge that a singer be reverent and worshipful, far more so must the organist be, who has constantly to supply a living background of musical feeling to the service. An organist who is a man of prayer will often offer up the very substance of a prayer through his beloved instrument; while the irreverent organist cannot possibly avoid betraying himself. The musical forces over which he is in command feel his impress at every moment. When we pray for the preachers of the Word, let us not forget the organists.

No fountain rises higher than its source. As the religious life deepens and broadens, to the same extent will the beauty and symmetry of its art expression unfold. The public service is an art-product, the manifestation from the first to the last moment of sincere belief in and united adoration of God. It draws upon the combined resources of speech and music. The enthusiasm of the centuries is its storehouse of material. The strength and beauty of unfolding life are its dynamic. If with unswerving fidelity to its lofty aim the people of God seek constantly in the service for supreme excellence both from the literary and the musical side, cutting away rigidly any perversion of that aim, however interesting in itself, we may confidently expect that the splendid results of musical and literary growth which elsewhere hold us well-nigh breathless at this beginning of the twentieth century, will not forsake the house of prayer. As a musician, I hold that perfection will arrive in the church service only when every person in the congregation is part of one great chorus; when great chorus, and small chorus, soloists, instrumentalists, and users of the beautified speaking voice, "with several voice, with ascription one," unite in adoration of the Maker and Preserver of us all, the Lord God Almighty. In the steady movement toward this result we look confidently to the advice and co-operation of those worshipers who are already in most perfect sympathy with art ideals, to the Christian musicians of the pews and of the choirs.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE SEPTUAGINT.

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IN considering the geography of the Septuagint it is necessary first of all to state the conditions under which we must carry on our inquiries. If we examine the geographical names or terms which occur throughout that collection of translations and original works, we shall find, to begin with, in their case as in the case of other proper names, various forms which indicate various stages in the elaboration of the translation, or in the knowledge on the part of the translator of the subject with which he was dealing, it is impossible almost to say which was the cause in many cases.

In the first place, there was the simple transliteration of the name. This transliteration, as I indicated in my previous paper,¹ follows very often an entirely different vocalization from that of the massoretic tradition. Such a common name as *Ιερουσαλημ*, when compared with *Εφραιμ*, shows this. The *-ημ* and the *-αιμ* represent the same termination, according to the Massoretes; though the *א* in the name of the capital city of the country only appears at the most five times in the Hebrew, the vocalization assumes its existence always. These transliterations have suffered many corruptions. In some cases this is owing to the uncertainty of the Hebrew text itself, or it arises from a confusion between one consonant and another.² In other cases the mistake is due to such a confusion as is so liable to occur between the Greek uncial letters Α, Δ, Λ, Μ, Ν.³ Moreover, any scribe who thought he knew a little Hebrew seems to have occasionally turned his hand and pen to emendations of his copy. Ignorance of Hebrew led to other distortions.⁴ Further still, in different names, the correspond-

¹ AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, Vol. VII, No. 1, pp. 1-19.

² *E. g.*, in Ezek. 27:16 two of the chief uncials, B and Q, have a confusion between *ל* and *ר* and read *Λαμωθ*, where the Hebrew should certainly be transliterated *Ραμωθ*.

³ Thus we have such a form as *Λαδα* in A of 1 Chron. 4:21 to represent *לעדד*, *Δαηλ* in Numb. 3:24 instead of *Δαηλ*, and any number of permutations and combinations of these sources of error.

⁴ Such a form as *Ουλαμμαν* for *לור* אילם, "formerly Luz," is due to this cause; for an analogy to this we may quote such a name as the English "Old Sarum."

ence of one consonant with another is not maintained even in the same book.⁵

In the next stage the name is given a regular Greek form, and is declinable, or the Hebrew transliterated form itself is declined; thus we have *Ιεροσολυμα* used as a neuter plural,⁶ and *Γομορρα* appears both as a singular feminine noun and once as a neuter plural.

There are still further developments to be noticed:

1. Where a name of a place is attached to a special incident, to account for its etymology, the name itself is often translated into its equivalent in Greek.⁷ This is most particularly to be noticed in the book of Genesis.

2. Just as in the Hellenizing period of Jewish history, Hebrew names of persons were changed into some Greek name, as similar as could be found—*e. g.*, Joshua became Jason—so it was apparently with the names of places. It is in this way that we must account for such a form as *Ἀφαίρεμα* in 1 Macc. 11:34—a sacrificial word of constant use in the ceremonial part of the Pentateuch, and occurring twice in this sense in Ezekiel and twice in 1 Maccabees itself—to represent Ephraim.⁸ A combination of corruptions in Greek and Hebrew leads occasionally to curious results.⁹

⁵ We have but to illustrate this by the uncertainty which prevails as to how the Hebrew שׁ should be represented. *Αμαληκ* and *Γομορρα* are the equivalents of two words, both beginning with שׁ and both שׁ's pointed in the same way by the Massoretes.

⁶ This form will be still further considered later.

⁷ Thus Penuel or Peniel becomes *Εἰδος τοῦ θεοῦ*, Beersheba becomes *Φρέαρ ὁρκισμοῦ*, and so on.

⁸ It may be interesting to note here that the Hellenizing form *Ιεροσολυμα* never occurs in the LXX except in the following apocryphal books: 1 Esdras (only A), Tobit, and 1-4 Maccabees, and once in Ecclesiasticus, as if it were a compound of *ιερός* and *Σόλυμα*. Josephus seems to connect the name Solyma with Salem (*cf.* Gen., chap. 14). The names Solyma and Solymi, as elsewhere known, are of Semitic origin and refer to Lycia.

⁹ The following table of readings in 1 Chron. 4:31 will illustrate this:

	חצר	סוסים
	חצי	סוסים
[HMICYCWCIM]		
HMICYEWICIM	A	
HMICYECOPAM	B*	
HMICYEWCORAM	B ^{ab}	

(-ωρειμ is the termination of the next name in the passage).

It may perhaps be permitted me in this connection, as a curiosity, to point out that I was able to show that in Ezek. 39:12 what had been always printed as the particle *τὸτε* in editions of the Vatican text, should really be *τὸ τῆ, τε* being an obvious corruption in uncials of *τε*, the reading practically of both A and Q, and a transliteration of the Hebrew *גִּי*, "a valley," in the expression, "the valley of the sons of Hinnom." Accordingly in Swete's text of Ezekiel it is so printed.

3. A still further advance is to be noted, when we find the Semitic names identified with quite different names assigned to the same places, rivers, or mountains by the Greeks. We have not to read very far in the LXX before we come across an instance of this, the identification of the Hebrew *יְדִיקָל* with the Tigris¹⁰⁰ in Gen. 2:14.

A simple transliteration, or even a Græcizing form or an etymological translation of a name, whether it be right or wrong, means little or nothing for our present purpose.

It is with the last class of names—purely Greek names in themselves—that I wish to deal more particularly, because I think it may show us, in some small degree, the extent of culture and information which the translator of any particular book had outside the book he was dealing with and the Jewish circles in which he moved. *Prima facie* I suppose we should imagine that such a person as we are thinking of would know little of the far East or West, and that what he would be most familiar with, in the days in which the translation of most of the books of the LXX was made or the original Greek books in that volume were written, would be the seaports or towns near the seacoast in the eastern Mediterranean, especially those where a considerable Jewish trading population resided, and also, in the case of an Egyptian resident, something of the interior of lower Egypt.

I propose in dealing with this question to show first of all what we may learn as to the translated books and their acquaintance with the Greek names of countries and places. We must, however, notice that there are just a few names of so remote antiquity and so wide

Lagarde's Lucianic text, however, follows the Hebrew T. R., but has dropped the final M and has *Ἀρεπρουν*.

There is also a very curious confusion in two passages in 4 Kings (17:16 and 18:11) where the word *עָרִי* (*i. e.*, cities) becomes both in B and A *οπη* (which so far as the letters go may be either a transliteration or a false translation or represent a reading of *עָרִי* for *עָרִי*) while in the Lucianic text Lagarde gives the further corruption of *ὀποιος* or *ὀποις* instead of *οπη*.

¹⁰⁰ But see later for these two names.

acceptance that it was inevitable that they should appear in any such Greek books, either originally written in Greek or translations, as those we are dealing with. The three most noticeable of these throughout the LXX are:

1. *Egypt*—a name as old as Homer in its use as the name of the great river, the Nile. According to Brugsch, the name is really Egyptian in origin and was primarily given to the chief temple at Memphis or to Memphis itself. But to the Hebrews the country was known as מִצְרַיִם—a name of which the derivation and the explanation of the form are both uncertain, though it has often been considered that the form was a dual as referring to the two Egypts—Upper and Lower. The Hebrew name is only recognized in the LXX in the translation of Gen. 10:6, 13 and the corresponding passage in 1 Chron. 1:8, 11, and in 2 Esdr. 9:1. There are obvious reasons why the name should have been transliterated in all these passages but one. The LXX gives no support to the modern theories of the importance of the Muṣri in north Syria or in north Arabia. The LXX version of Daniel, it is true, translates דְּנִיכֶבֶת, “the south,” by Αἴγυπτος, but this is evidently intended to stand as an equivalent for Egypt.

2. *Ethiopia*—the country of the burnt-faced—*i. e.*, sun-burnt—ones. The Ethiopia of the Greeks—a very ancient name—was of very uncertain and indefinite extent. This may be illustrated from the LXX by the fact that “the inhabitants of the wilderness” in Ps. 72:9; 74:14 (Heb. צִיִּיִם) are represented as Ethiopians, and that in Ezek. 30:5 פִּרְשִׁי is made equivalent to Πέρσαι, Persians. In this last passage Cush is identified with the Babylonian district of that name. For the earliest mention in Greek of the Asiatic Ethiopians we must go to Herodotus (iii, 94; vii, 70). Ethiopia stands in general for the Hebrew פִּרְשִׁי, a name used also by the Assyrians and imported in the first place from Egypt, where the name occurs as early as the twelfth dynasty, more than 2000 B. C. The transliteration Χουσι or Χουσαι only occurs in Gen. 10:6, 7, 8, just as we saw in the case of Mizraim, and in the parallel passages 1 Chron. 1:8, 9, 10. In other places where these Greek forms occur they are either the name of a man (*e. g.*, 2 Kings, chap. 18) or of a place (Judith 7:18).

That there was an Arabian Cush as well as a Babylonian and an Egyptian one seems to be generally acknowledged. It does not fall within the scope of this article to assign the passages of the Bible in which the name occurs to the different localities, but it may be that

the translator of Hab. 3:7 had some vague idea of this when he translated "the tents of Cushan" by *σκηνώματα Αιθίοπων*, which is parallel to *αἱ σκηναὶ γῆς Μαδιάμ*.

3. *Syria*.—This was another ancient Greek term of uncertain extent and was in its origin a shortened form of Assyria. It included, at one time at any rate, Assyria as well as Syria (Herodotus vii, 63), and even apparently Cappadocia. Districts in it were known as *Συρία ἡ Παλαιστίνη* (Hdt. iii, 91), *ἡ Φοινίκη Συρία* (Diodorus 19:93), and *Κόλη Συρία* (Strabo), of which the last is known to the LXX, as we shall see later.

The "Syria" of the LXX, however, is almost invariably the *אַרָם* of the Hebrew, except in a few cases where, owing to the similarity of the letters *ר* and *ס*, Syria represents Edom. In one passage (Judith 18:7), it takes the place of *אָדָם* "man," though when the clause is repeated in v. 28 the substitution does not occur. Traces of the inclusion of Assyria within the term still survive; once in Numb. 24:22, where the first hand of the Vatican reads *Σύριοι* instead of *Ἀσσύριοι*, while *Σούρ* in Ezek. 16:28 (A) stands for *אַשּׁוּר*, and *vice versa* in Isa. 17:3 (A¹) and in Jer. 42 (35):11, where *Ἀσσυριος* or *Ἀσσύριος* stands for *אַרָם*.

If, in the course of our investigations in this direction, we are tempted to ask why the *כַּשְׁדִּיִּם* of the Hebrews became *Χαλδαῖοι*, we cannot at present give an answer which is completely satisfactory. Is it simply the substitution "of a liquid for a sibilant before a dental?"¹¹ Or is the origin of the two names different? Delitzsch would have us believe that the Babylonian *Kašdu* is equivalent to territory of the *Kaš* a people in middle Babylonia before 1200 B. C.; while the Jews perhaps tried to connect the name with the Chesed, son of Nahor, of Gen. 22:22. After 1000 B. C., however, we meet with a land of *Kaldû* to the southeast of Babylonia, a name which eventually included more even than all Babylonia. But to enter into all this would lead us too far from our present subject.

That the terms Canaan and Canaanite were also interpreted somewhat widely seems also clear. In Deut. 32:49 (B) Moab figures as Canaan, though the name may perhaps have found its way in from the clause in the verse which immediately follows. In Josh. 11:3 (A*) the Amorites are called Canaanites, but here again perhaps from the same cause. In Exod. 6:15; 16:35; Josh. 5:12; Job. 40:25,

¹¹ Cf. HASTINGS's *Dict. of the Bible*, *sub voce*.

Phoenicia and Canaan are identified."¹² This use of the term corresponds most closely to the earliest use of it in the Egyptian monuments about 1800 B. C. Of the name Phœnicia itself no entirely satisfactory explanation has been given.¹³ A people called Fenkhu is mentioned as working in the Egyptian quarries so early as the sixteenth century B. C., but it is extremely doubtful whether there was any connection between them and the Phœnicians.

We proceed now to discuss the actual mention of particular countries or places by their Greek names in the LXX.

The first name that meets us in Genesis is the river Tigris as the equivalent of the Hiddekel. The name also occurs in both Daniels,¹⁴ Ecclesiasticus, and Judith. Josephus in his History of the Creation gives the form Δίγλαθ. This form corresponds very closely to Diklat; which is supposed to have been the Assyrian form of the name, and to Diglat, the Babylonian form. Pliny, indeed, asserts (vi. 9) that in its upper courses the river was called Diglito, and lower down Tigris. The earliest form of the Greek name was Τίγρης, and this goes back at any rate as far as Herodotus. Though these three names look so utterly unlike, yet it seems certain that they all had their origin in the pre-Semitic name Maš-tig-gar, the first sign of which was perhaps read Ahi.¹⁵

The name Mesopotamia dates from the time of the conquests of Alexander, and is a development from Συρία ἡ μέση τῶν ποταμῶν. An untenable suggestion has been made that the term has nothing to do with μέσος, but is a corruption of an Aramaic word meaning "district," and need not necessarily be limited to the district between the two great rivers, Tigris and Euphrates. The use of the word is limited to the Pentateuch, Judges (once in A), 1 Chronicles, Psalms (once; also Symmachus), and Judith. It represents various Hebrew expressions: Aram, Aram-naharaim, Naharaim (in 1 Chronicles and Psalms, where the present text reads Συρίας Μεσποταμίας and Μεσποταμίαν Συρίας or -αν), Paddan (with Aram separately translated by Συρία), and Paddan-

¹² It will be remembered in this connection that the Babylonians called Canaan the land of the Amurru (cf. PINCHES, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records of Assyria and Babylon*).

¹³ One of the least improbable conjectures connects the name with the valuable purple dye of Phœnicia.

¹⁴ In Theodotion, however, it may be only a gloss for Εδδεκελ or Ερδεκελ of Symmachus, [so Q omits], or the latter word may be a gloss for Τίγρης, as both occur in the text.

¹⁵ Cf. *Ency. Biblica*, art. "Hiddekel."

Aram. In the passage in Judges we have a still more curious combination, Συρίας Μεσοποταμίας ποταμῶν (A), for which B reads ποταμῶν Συρίας, which seems to be a corruption of a conflation of readings. There is no doubt about the district intended. In Judith 8 : 26 where the allusion is to patriarchal history we have the combination Μεσοποταμία τῆς Συρίας, as in Genesis, though it does not occur in the other passages. This may show an acquaintance on the part of the translator of that book with the LXX version of Genesis.

There is a very curious and marked variation in the treatment of the people whom we know as Philistines. In the Pentateuch, with one doubtful exception (Exod. 34 : 15 [A^aB]), the name is transliterated, as also in Joshua, and in a certain number of passages in the Vatican text of Judges; these last, however, cannot be held of much account, as the Vatican text of Judges is generally believed to be a very late recension. The transliteration is also reproduced in 1 Chron. 1 : 12 (parallel to Gen. 10 : 14) and crops up later three times in Ecclesiasticus and once in 1 Maccabees, though elsewhere 1 Maccabees, with 2, 3, 4 Maccabees, follows the other rendering, as does also Judith. It only survives once in the other versions (Theod. Judg. 3 : 3) though Aquila and Symmachus have the name pretty frequently under the form Φυλιστιαῖος. They are once called Ἕλληνες in Isa. 9 : 12 (11) by all the chief manuscripts. The common rendering in most of the books, outside the Pentateuch is, as everyone well knows, ἀλλόφυλοι. Putting this side by side with the rendering of Isaiah just mentioned, and assuming, as is generally allowed, that the Pentateuch is the earliest part of the Greek Bible, we may be permitted to draw the conclusion that at any rate the translators of these books had some notion that the Philistines were not of the same blood, *i. e.*, Semite, as the other inhabitants of Canaan, but of an origin akin to the Hellenic race.¹⁵ In fact, the Philistines seem to have had their origin in Crete or Cyprus. Why, then, was this translation of the name not used in the Pentateuch? Was it that the translators were not aware of this non-Semitic origin of the race? This could hardly be, because (a) the origin of the Philistines was said in the Pentateuch itself to be from Caphtor, and (b) the fact that they were an uncircumcised race is constantly mentioned. One would rather think that it was due to an anxiety not to put into the Torah, which stood on so much higher a plane to most Jews than

¹⁵ The use of the kindred words ἀλλοφυλεῖν, ἀλλοφυλισμός, in 4 and 2 Maccabees respectively, also points toward the Greek world, for they are used of the Hellenizing party.

the rest of the Hebrew Bible, anything that was not actually to be found written therein. The number of identifications of Hebrew names with Greek names in the Pentateuch bears this out, being exceedingly small. Besides the Tigris, which after all we have seen to be in its origin identical with Hiddekel, we have the *Ῥόδιοι*, or inhabitants of Rhodes, mentioned as they are also in the parallel passage in 1 Chronicles and in one passage in Ezekiel. In Genesis the Hebrew is *דִּדָּנִים*, and in Ezekiel *דִּדָּן*, but in 1 Chronicles there is a vacillation of the Hebrew between *דִּדָּנִים* and *דִּדָּנִים*, while Lagarde's Lucianic text has in that passage *Δωδανειμ*. Dedan, however, in Genesis generally figures as *Δαδάν*; it may be that the original reading in Ezekiel was *דִּדָּן* or *דִּדָּן*. The latter is implied by the philological interpretation of *Ῥόδιοι* in Q as *δρασις κρίσεως*, but Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion all have *Δαδαν*. Even if the name is rightly written in all these cases with a ר and not a ד, we still have to account for the short ο in the Greek. Cheyne would have us suppose that *Ῥόδιοι* is the natural substitution of a more familiar term in the Greek period, and that the original reading may have been *דִּדָּנִים* or Dardanim if it was not Dedan. This is a tempting solution, but it is difficult to see how ivory and ebony (see Ezekiel) could be especially connected with any Greek place. The only other passage in which Rhodes appears is in the list of kings and countries into which the Roman consul wrote on behalf of the Jews, 1 Macc., chap. 15. Rhodes had at one time dominion over some part of the coasts of Caria and Lycia and several neighboring islands.

One further identification in Genesis is that of On and Heliopolis—the latter name being corrupted by A in some passages—perhaps because of its being a more familiar name for a city—into the city of Ilium. Outside the Pentateuch, and in two passages in it in which there is no corresponding Hebrew, we have the name On itself. On was, as is well known, the center of sun-worship in Egypt and one of its most ancient cities. The Greek name is as old as Herodotus (ii, 3, 7, 59). It has been called “the university of the land of Mizraim.” After the dispersion it had a large Jewish population, which perhaps afterward migrated to Leontopolis, where Onias founded a Jewish temple early in the second century B. C.

It is perhaps worth while, in passing, to notice how Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, all identify Ararat with Armenia in the history of the flood, just, indeed, as the LXX translator of Isaiah does “the land of Ararat” with the land of Armenia (37:38). Of the name Armenia no satisfactory

explanation has been given. Symmachus in one passage of Amos (4:3) also identifies the Harmon of R. V. with Armenia, while a note on Ezek. 38:6 identifies Togarmah with the Armenians. Three other names Symmachus has in one passage of Genesis which point to an acquaintance with Asia Minor—Ellasar of Gen. 14:1, 9 becomes Pontus, Elam becomes the Scythians, and Goyim becomes Pamphylia from an attempt to render the Hebrew word which means "nations."

The Scythians seem by their invasion of western Asia to have carried sword and fire throughout the length and breadth of the country. Symmachus's identification of them with Elam shows, perhaps, the direction from which he imagined them to have come. They left their mark especially on the town of Bethshan, which became known as Scythopolis (Judg. 1:27, *Βαυθσάν, ἡ ἐστὶν Σκυθῶν πόλις*), perhaps because of a considerable settlement there in the seventh century B. C. Their cruelty seems to have become proverbial in later times, for the compiler of 2 Maccabees speaks of certain "hapless men, who, if they had pleaded even before Scythians, would have been discharged uncondemned" (4:47; cf. 3 Macc. 7:5; Demetrius, *de Elocutione*, §§ 216, 297). The name seems to have quite supplanted the older name, and the town formed in later times one of the group of towns known as Decapolis.

Of Pamphylia and Pontus little need be said. The district bearing the former name had, as that name implies, a mixed population of all sorts—aboriginal, Cilician, Greek. Pontus was a seacoast district first mentioned under that name by Xenophon (*Anab.*, v, 6, 15) on the southern coast of the Pontus Euxinus.

In the rest of the Pentateuch we do not find many additional Greek names. This may be due, as I have already suggested, to a scrupulous adherence by a Jewish translator to the letter of the law.

The exceptions are: (1) Tanis—the Greek equivalent for the Hebrew Zoan—which is of tolerably frequent occurrence throughout the LXX. The name is used also once for Sin (סין) in Ezek. 30:15 (A). The Greek Tanis is mentioned first in Greek by Herodotus (ii, 66). Antilibanus—three times in Deuteronomy, twice also in Joshua, and once in BA of Judith—a later refinement of title for a range running parallel to the Lebanon proper, and forming one of the walls enclosing what is now known as the Buka'a, and was known to the Greeks as Cœle-Syria. Both are included under the Hebrew title Lebanon, but are distinguished in the book of Judith (1:7). The name does not occur before Strabo, and no satisfactory reason seems to be given for its appearance in certain passages of the LXX instead of *Ἀλβανος*. (3) Cappadocia and Cappadocians. This is a strange translation of קפּפּדוּר and קפּפּדוּרִים and occurs in Deuteronomy and Amos, and also in Aquila and Theodotion's versions of Jeremiah (47 [29]: 4). A scholion on Ezek. 38:6 identifies Gomer and Cappadocia, though Gomer and Caphtor are, according

to Gen. 10:2, 14, of very different origin, the former being Japhetic, the latter Hamitic. This last identification seems to be likely, and as the district assigned to Gomer would be an indefinite one, and there was something of similarity in the sound of the names Caphtor, Cappadocia, this may perhaps have led to their identification. In other places where the name occurs it is transliterated. The name Cappadocia is probably of Semitic origin, and was in use by Greek writers as early as Herodotus.¹⁷

In the *historical books* outside the Pentateuch little knowledge of any places beyond the borders of Palestine is called for or displayed. A certain number of translations of names occur, *e. g.*, in Judges, Καλυθμών for Bochim, Myrsina by a misreading of the Hebrew for Heres, Petra (as in R. V., though not as a proper name) for Sela, and Schedia (? for Helbah), a name which also occurs in 3 Macc. 4:11; in 1 Kings (= 1 Samuel) Καινή by a misreading of 7 for 7. In 2 Kings (2 Sam.) Aquila from whom we should least expect it, gives us Ἐπιφάνεια as the equivalent of Hamath. The place still retains its Syrian name. This Greek name, and others like it such as that of the river Ἐλευθερος (1 Macc. 11:7) seem to have been invented at about the beginning of the second century B. C., under the Seleucid rulers when a strong Hellenizing wave swept over the whole of the near east. At any rate, the name Eleutherus is used in such a way as if it were not familiar to the writer of 1 Maccabees. In 3 Kings (by *cod.* A and Aq.), and in Ezekiel we have a tolerably unanimous consensus of Greek authority for identifying Gebal with Biblus or Byblus, and the two names certainly represent the same place. No explanation of how the change from Gebalto Byblus was made has been given; this place still retains the Semitic form Jubeil.

The African name Cyrene appears in A and Aq. of 4 Kings 16:9 (with the termination -δε in both cases; perhaps, however, the word Κυρήνηνδε is an interpolation in the LXX from Aq.); and in Aquila and Symmachus in two different places in Amos (1:5; 9:7). In all three places the name represents the Hebrew קִיר. The form is perhaps only a Græcized one, but to a certain extent it bears out Winckler's conjecture¹⁸ that the name in Hebrew should be קִיר, not קִיר. In Isa. 22:6, where Kir also occurs, the LXX ignores its occurrence. In the other two places where Cyrene is mentioned (1 Macc. 15:23;

¹⁷It would be an interesting investigation into a subject of which very little is known, to trace the earliest occurrences, and the meaning and derivation of some of these Græco-Asiatic names; but it is beside the mark here.

¹⁸See *Ency. Biblica*, *sub voce*.

2 Macc. 2:23), the African town is undoubtedly meant. Cyrene was famous from the earliest times (Hdt. iii, 131) as a center of light and learning.

Another curious name of a tribe that occurs in the LXX of 2 Chron. (14:15, 22) is that of the Ἀμαζονεῖς or Ἀλιμαζονεῖς. It is a temptation at first to endeavor to identify them with the Scythian Amazons, but they are distinctly called Arabians in the second passage; and the name seems to be a corruption gradually developed in the one case from some transliterated form of מִקְנֶה "cattle;" in the other of מַחֲנֶה "post" or "camp."

Troglodytes, or cave-dwellers, occur in 2 Chron. 12:2. We should not have been surprised to find the name used as a translation of חֲרִיטִים, i. e., the Horites; but it is quite in place where it does occur, in a list of African tribes which Shishak, king of Egypt, took up with him against Jerusalem in King Rehoboam's reign. The Hebrew name of the tribe is חֲרִיטִים; transliterated in Lagarde's Lucianic text as Σουχαιμ. They lived on the shores of the Red Sea and are mentioned by Herodotus (iii, 19; iv, 185). Aristotle (*H.A.*, viii, 12) describes them as pygmies. Troglodytæ served in Xerxes's army (480 B. C.) among his light troops.

The form Ecbatana, which Herodotus writes as Agbatana, for the name of the city of Media, known to the Hebrews as Achmetha, is of doubtful origin, but is probably only a corruption of the Hebrew name. The identification of the site of the city, indicated by both names, is still uncertain.

Outside the book of Esther the only mention of India is (1) in the formula which described the dominion of the Persian or Babylonian king as extending "from India unto Ethiopia." This has found its way into the LXX version of the book of Daniel and occurs also in 1 Esdr. 3:2. (2) A bombastic account tells how the Romans had taken "the country of India" from Antiochus, the Great King of Asia, and given it to King Eumenes (1 Macc. 8:8). There is also mention of the Indian mahouts of thirty-two elephants in the host of Antiochus Eupator (1 Macc. 6:37).

We also find in the apocryphal books (1 Esdras; 1, 2, 3 Macc.) Cœle-Syria as a recognized district although its dimensions seem to have varied considerably, sometimes being equivalent to Syria in its widest acceptance, sometimes to the district of Decapolis. It is in the strictest and most proper sense a name limited to the valley between Libanus and Antilibanus, and known as the Bukâ'a.

The geography of the books of Judith and Tobit, as being works of fiction, may be passed over. That of Tobit is certainly of the vaguest. The name Cyamon, a place "over against Esdraelon," though it looks like a Greek name, is probably only a corruption of a Semitic name, and the river called Hydaspes (1:6) seems to be inserted only in a vague way as the name of a far-off river. It is certainly not the Indian river of that name. Vergil, it will be remembered, speaks of a Median Hydaspes (*Georg.*, iv, 211), while Horace assigns to it the epithet "fabulous." (*Od.*, i, 22, 8.)

The book of Wisdom, almost certainly Egyptian in origin, the author of which, perhaps from delicacy of feeling or policy, never mentions the name of the country, though giving long and magniloquent descriptions of the Ten Plagues, gives us one name, Pentapolis, for the district of the five cities of the plain (Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboim, Zoar), after the analogy of Decapolis (Wisd. 10:6). It is a good old Greek name for a state comprising five towns and is used by Herodotus (i, 144) of Doris, and later of the district of the five chief cities of Cyrene in Libya.

Perhaps one of the most curious points to notice in the way of omission of Greek names in the LXX is that the Greek has never inserted the name Νεῖλος for the great river of Egypt, a name which occurs first in the *Theogony* of Hesiod. Homer called the river Αἴγυπτος (*Od.*, iii, 300).

It is, however, when we come to the translation of the *prophetic books*, and more especially the Major Prophets, that we meet with a far greater familiarity with Greek names, and a readiness boldly to use them instead of transliterating the Hebrew ones. This certainly points to these translations being of later date. Ἑλλάς or Ἑλλην is a constant rendering of Javan, not only in the LXX, but also in the other versions of Daniel; curiously enough it is once used to represent the Philistines, who, as we have seen already, were a non-Semitic race (see Isa. 9:12). The R. V. follows this rendering except in Isaiah. Twice in Jeremiah (46:16; 50:16) the "oppressing" sword becomes the "Greek" sword (ἀπὸ προσώπου μαχαίρας Ἑλληνικῆς) by reading יִנְיָ as יִנְיָ and treating it as a feminine adjective.

Rome, or rather the Romans, meet us only once in the canonical books, in the LXX version of Dan. 11:30 where Πωμαῖοι stands for "ships of Kittim." This, we should gather from the general character of the translation, is a midrashic paraphrase, intended to interpret the meaning of the original expression. It may be noted that Kittim is used both by Hebrew and LXX of the isles of the West in Jer. 2:10, and of Macedonia in 1 Macc., chap. 1; 8:5. This agrees in a way with Gen. 10:4, where Kittim is counted among the sons of Japheth.

The Libyans who appear first in 2 Chronicles as the natural equivalent of the Lubim, are also made identical with Put (Jeremiah once; Ezekiel twice). This identification is also made by Josephus, though, if the present order of the Greek words is right, Put is identified with the Cretans in Ezek. 30:5. As for Crete itself, it stands for what is called in R. V. "the seacoast" (חֹבֶל הַיָּם) in Zeph. 2:6. This is a paraphrastic rendering gathered from the verse immediately preceding, where the expression "the inhabitants of the seacoast" (חֹבֶל הַיָּם again; but LXX τὸ σχοίνισμα τῆς θαλάσσης) is in parallelism with "the nation of the Cherethites," who are identified here,²⁹ as they are elsewhere by some modern scholars, and by BQ* in Ezek. 25:16, with the Cretans.³⁰ The land, however, mentioned by the prophet seems certainly to be Philistia; at the same time, the Philistines are often connected with Crete, and there may be a trace of this in the rendering, if it is a genuine one.

There still remain a few names in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, which call for reference.

Tarshish and its inhabitants, often identified with the Greek Tartessus, are called Καρχηδών, Χαρκεδών, or Χαλκεδών (once in Ezekiel), and Καρχηδόνοι in Isaiah and Ezekiel. Elsewhere the name is transliterated. This gives the explanation which a writer in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* says is not apparent, for the use of chalcedony in the margin of the R. V. in Exod. 28:20 for the stone called חֹמֶט in the Hebrew. Καρχηδών is, of course, the Greek name for Carthage. Professor Sayce seems now inclined to identify Tarshish with Tarsus in Cilicia. Chalcedon was a very different place and was on the Asiatic coast opposite to Byzantium, but in the above passage it seems to be only a scribal corruption.³¹

Diaphanous robes (?) from Laconia appear in the list of female vanities at the end of the third chapter of Isaiah. It is true that "the silk of the Spartan plain at the present day is superior to the silk of every other district

²⁹ A different account of this passage, but probably an incorrect one, is given in the *Ency. Biblica*, *sub voce* "Crete."

³⁰ In this passage there is a curious variant, which must be of long standing, in A and Q^{mg}, κρητὰς for Κρήτας, which has its origin in an itacism, and which A and two cursives (26 and 106) have tried to set right by the addition of the word Σιδώνος.

³¹ There are many indications that the translations of parts of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets come from the same hands; e. g., in Hosea, chap. 5, and Jer. 26 (46):18 Tabor is represented by Ἰταβόριον. The preformative 'I- is somewhat difficult to account for, but the form occurs also in Josephus with a variant Ἀταβύριον, and this leads us on to the form Ἀράβυρις, the highest point of the mountains in the island of Rhodes, with its temple of Zeus Atabyrius on the summit. The island seems also to have been called Atabyria.

of Greece,²² but the silk industry there belongs to later times than this translation. These robes must be something like "Coan garments," which we meet with in Latin poetry. Silk or some other gauzy material seems to have been imported into that island from the East and there made up into garments. The nearest approach to these diaphanous robes in classical literature is the *Laconicae purpurae* of Horace (*Carm.*, 2, 15, 17).

Rhinocorura (or Rhinocolura, as it is sometimes called) is the true equivalent in Isa. 27 : 12 for the נַחַל מִצְרַיִם, or "river of Egypt," usually called the boundary torrent between Palestine and Egypt. It is now called the Wādi el 'Arish.²³ There is also a town of this name, and a curious story is told of the origin of the name by Diodorus Siculus (i, 60). All the suspected thieves in Egypt when Actisanes, king of Ethiopia, conquered it, were collected and had their noses cut off and were then planted in this place ; hence the name.

Syene (or Σοήνη) = סֹנֶה, today Aswān, it is interesting to note, is taken in Isa. 43 : 3 as the equivalent of סֶבַא, which was located in upper Egypt. No doubt the translator looked upon this as the frontier town of Egypt and Seba. In Ezek. 30 : 6 LXX²⁴ seem to have read סֹנֶה rather than סֵן on the ground that the latter place had been mentioned in vs. 15. Otherwise they have here given Σοήνη as the equivalent for סֵן, of which the usual Greek name was Pelusium.

The Greek name Βούβαστος or Bubastis, which occurs also in Herodotus, is a better attempt at representing the name of the city in Lower Egypt which was the home of the goddess Bast, with the head of a cat or tigress, and which gave its name to the twenty-second dynasty, than the Hebrew form Pi-beseth, a form which reminds us of Pi-hahiroth. It is permissible, however, to hold that the latter part of the Hebrew name was originally read פִּסְתָּה and not פִּסְתָּה.

Diospolis is the Greek name for the city which is called נֹב in Ezek. 30 : 14, 16,²⁵ and is generally known to us as Thebes. The name was probably given to it, because from the twelfth dynasty onward (*i. e.*, from rather earlier than 2000 B.C.), Amos was the most powerful divinity of southern Egypt. The city was called Diospolis the Great to distinguish it from others of the same name.

Turning to quite a different part of the world, we meet with "wool from Miletus" for the "white wool" of R. V. in Ezek. 27 : 18, among the imports of Tyre. The Hebrew word is צֶמֶר, and Jerome²⁶ is quoted as saying : "*Miletum* in Hebraico non habetur ; sed quia inde lanae praecipuae deferuntur, pro *Soor Miletum* interpretati sunt." The excellence of Milesian wool was known to Virgil (*Georg.*, iii, 306 ; iv, 335), who speaks of "*Mil-esia vellera*" more than once.

²² MURE, Vol. II, p. 224.

²³ For a different meaning assigned to מִצְרַיִם see *Ency. Bib.*, s. v. "Egypt, River of."

²⁴ In Jer. 46 : 25, LXX has a different text.

²⁵ Cf. FIELD, *Hexapla*.

The only books that remain which require any consideration are those of the Maccabees, especially the first and second. In these we find a much wider range of names, including especially a number of places where presumably settlements of Jewish mercantile residents were to be found. There is great difficulty in determining the extent and number of these Jewish settlements, partly owing to the adoption by the Jews of Greek names, and partly to their being enrolled, not as individuals, but as tribes of the particular state; but the matter is being to a certain extent cleared up by the study of the Greek inscriptions of Asia Minor. If Tarsus may be taken as an example, there was without doubt a very large Jewish population in some of these places.⁶⁶ Perhaps most interesting of all is the list of countries (in 1 Macc. 15: 23) to which the Romans are said to have sent a circular letter in behalf of the Jews. It is said to have been addressed "to Sampsames (?), and to the Spartans, and unto Delos, and unto Myndos, and unto Sicyon, and unto Caria, and unto Samos, and unto Pamphylia, and unto Lycia, and unto Halicarnassus, and unto Rhodes, and unto Phaselis, and unto Cos, and unto Side, and unto Aradus, and Gortyna, and Cnidus, and Cyprus, and Cyrene (or Smyrna)."

It is noticeable, in passing, what a large proportion of these names occur in the Acts of the Apostles and are names of well-known districts or places. Of the rest, not mentioned in the Acts, Sampsames (Σαμψάκης [A]) was read by the Latin versions as Lampsacus, and this is probably the true reading, though Black identifies Sampsames with Samsoûn on the south coast of the Euxine.

It is claimed for Sparta and the Spartans elsewhere in the same book (14: 8) that they were in friendship and confederacy with the Jews in the time of the Maccabees, and more than one communication is said to have passed between the rulers of the two countries, though how far the alleged correspondence set down in the book (12: 14) is genuine is very doubtful. The Spartans acknowledged a blood-relationship with the Jews, whether by way of flattery only is not apparent, but the object in view on both sides was a political relationship.

Of the other places mentioned, Delos was a place of world-wide fame, and in the time of the Maccabees a great center of trade and a free port, where the Jews (see Jos., *Ant.*, 14, 10, 14) were exempt from military service. By the time of the Acts it had quite lost its importance. Myndus was a wealthy place close to which considerable silver mines existed. Halicarnas-

⁶⁶ For an interesting paper on the Jews in the Græco-Asiatic cities, see PROFESSOR RAMSAY'S articles in the *Expositor* for January and February, 1902.

sus was near to Myndus. It is evident that the Jews formed an important part of the population of this place, for they were allowed special privileges (Jos., *Ant.*, 14, 10, 23). Phaselis ("the bean-city"), on the borders of Lycia and Pamphylia, an ancient city of importance, had an independence of its own. Aradus corresponds to the Hebrew Arvad, a town built on an island off the coast of Tripolis thirty miles south of Tyre and Sidon, one of the most ancient cities of the world. It had a coinage of its own. Gortyna, a famous city of Crete, as old as Homer (*Il.*, 2:646) was also an autonomous place with a coinage.⁷⁷

A curious question arises as to who the Galatians of 1 Macc. 8:2 were. The margin of A. V. ("Frenchmen") and R. V. settle the matter in the sense that they were Gauls, and the collocation of Spain with these people in the next verses, as well as the statement that they were conquered and brought under tribute by the Romans, makes a strong argument in favor of this identification. The form of the name is no argument against this, as Gaul was called *Galatia* long before it was called *Γαλλία* (cf. Paus., i, 4, 1). All this illustrates the variation in reading in 2 Tim. 4:10 ("Crescens to Galatia") between *Γαλλίαν* that of *Σ* and *Γαλατίας* (W-H). The historical arguments as to the meaning of the word in 1 Maccabees seem to be about equally balanced. Cisalpine Gaul was conquered by the Romans about 220 B. C., while the Asiatic Galatians do not seem to have paid tribute at all. On the other hand, the Roman army under Manlius had marched through Galatia in 189 B. C. probably less than thirty years before the time of 1 Macc. 8:2.

We hear of constant negotiations on the part of the Maccabæan house with Rome, and of ambassadors being sent to and fro between Rome and Jerusalem; and it is significant that the names of the ambassadors are of Greek form—Eupolemus, Jason, Numenius, Antipater (1 Macc. 8:17; 12:16). There seems to have been also an acknowledgment of the suzerainty of Rome, admitted by the fact of the dispatch of an ambassador with "a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight" (14:24). The *one* Roman consul mentioned in 1 Macc. 15:16 was probably L. Calpurnius Piso (139 B. C.). But any settlement in Rome of any considerable number of Jews does not seem to have taken place till after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B. C.

The mention of Spain has already been noticed. A knowledge of its richness in mines of silver and gold, and of the Romans having obtained possession of them, seems to have reached Jerusalem. Silver is mentioned first, perhaps, because the silver mines of Spain were richer and more abundant than the gold mines.

⁷⁷ It is interesting to notice that this passage is a *locus classicus*, as the sole authority for the information about the more or less autonomous position of some of these places.

Daphne (2 Macc. 4 : 33) was about five miles from Antioch in Syria and almost counted as a part of the city itself; in fact, this Antioch was called by the distinguishing title ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ. The sanctuary alluded to in 2 Maccabees must have been one dedicated to Apollo and Artemis. *Daphnici mores* were proverbial; and Antioch and Daphne have been called the Paris and Versailles of the East.

The people of Mallus are mentioned in 2 Macc. 4 : 30 as having rebelled against Antiochus Epiphanes with those of Tarsus (*ca.* 171 B. C.), because the cities objected to being given to Antiochis, the king's concubine. The exact site of this city is still a matter of doubt, owing to the shifting of the water-courses, and the question whether it was 150 stadia inland or 150 stadia east of a place called Antiochia or Magarsa.

The mention of Persepolis in 2 Macc. 9 : 2 carries us to the city the farthest to the East that is mentioned in the whole of the LXX. Ruins of two of its palaces still exist, and its cuneiform inscriptions are well known. It had already been sacked by Alexander the Great, but it succeeded in driving out Antiochus and his army in what is called a disgraceful flight.

"The haven of Tripolis" (2 Macc. 14 : 1) was a harbor with large commerce. Tripolis looked upon itself as the metropolis of Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus.

Two or three geographical terms perhaps deserve mention :

The עֲרֵב or "Plain," as it is called in A. V., is translated *περίχωρος* (a word which occurs with the same signification in the New Testament) in Genesis, Deuteronomy, 2 Chronicles, Nehemiah, or *περίουρος* (once, but twice in A in Genesis (19 : 25, 29) and in 3 Kings 7 : 46). It would seem that the two different renderings of this word in Neh. 3 : 22 (transliterated) and in 12 : 28 (translated) are intended to indicate a difference in meaning, though in the opposite way to that which we should have expected from the use in Genesis. In the first passage, the "Plain" is the plain of Jordan; in the second, the plain round about Jerusalem. This difference is indicated in R. V. by a difference in the printing—"Plain" and "plain."

Omitting any passage where the LXX obviously read the Hebrew differently, we find the עֲרֵב (A. V. the "South") translated paraphrastically as ἡ ἐρημος in Genesis (three times), Numbers (three times), Deuteronomy (once), Joshua (once), Isaiah (once). This may perhaps illustrate the use of ἐρημος in Acts 8 : 26, where "the way that goeth down from Jerusalem unto Gaza" is followed by the expression ἀπὸν ἑστίν ἐρημος—for Gaza stands on the border of the Negeb. Ἀψ is another rendering which occurs four times in Genesis, once or twice in Exodus, five times in Numbers, once in Deuteronomy, nineteen times in Joshua, once in 2 Chronicles, twice in Ezekiel, once in Daniel (Theod.); *μεσημβρία* represents the word twice in Daniel (LXX); *νότος* twice in Exodus, once in Numbers, seven times in Joshua (chiefly A), three or four times in Judges, eight times in 1 Kings, once in 2 Kings, twice in 3 Kings, three

times in 1 Chronicles, once in 2 Chronicles, once in Psalms, twice in Zechariah, twice in Jeremiah, seven times in Ezekiel, once (doubtful) in Daniel (LXX), twelve times in Daniel (Theod.). Translitative forms occur in Joshua, Obadiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. In Daniel (LXX; chap. 11) the meaning of נִנְי is given by translating it *Δήντος* in ten places. Such a variation of renderings of such a simple word as we find occurring in one book, Joshua, would help us to the conclusion, which is no doubt a correct one, that in that book, at any rate, we have a very composite text, far removed from the original Greek version, and often worked over by emendators.

The נִנְי, or "low country" of the A. V., has as its Greek representative ἡ πεδινή in Joshua, 3 Kings (once), 1 Chronicles (once), 2 Chronicles (three times), Zechariah (once), Isaiah (twice), Jeremiah (once); and this term is used in 1 Maccabees, where in one passage there is a curious conflate reading in *ἐν τῇ σερηλῇ πεδινή*. *Πεδίον* takes the place of *πεδινή* in Deuteronomy (once), Joshua (twice). Once in B *τὰ ταρανά* takes the place of *τὰ πεδινά* (Josh. 11:16). The Hebrew is transliterated in 2 Chronicles, Obadiah, Jeremiah (twice in B⁹), and 1 Maccabees.

Lastly, we have the technical word *νομός* as the name of a district used in connection with Egypt, and afterward extended to other countries (1 Macc., 10:30, 38; 11:34, 57).

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

If, with these details before us, we examine them in connection with the general knowledge of geography which had been acquired in the second century B. C., and of which a résumé can be found in Mahaffy's *The Greek World Under Roman Sway*, what shall we find? The answer is a short one. Beside the islands and Asiatic shores of the eastern Mediterranean, little is known. The writers of the Old Testament, though from the heights of their Palestinian home they looked forth over the waters of the Mediterranean, yet practically had no knowledge of the continent of Europe. And even in the books of the Apocrypha but little advance is made upon this. The books of the Maccabees, especially the first book, deal with the history of the Jews, as a people for the most part striving to maintain itself in a proud isolation from the rest of the world, even though a Hellenizing spirit is growing among them and cannot always be repressed. We hear of embassies to Rome and Sparta, as well as of a claim of ethnic connection with the latter, but these are only sent in a time of desperate effort for self-preservation. Besides, we meet with an Athenian a Thracian (though the reading is doubtful), and Indians, but this is all. As to the knowledge of Asia Minor and Egypt this is more exten-

sive and is due to the fact that nearly all the places mentioned could be reached in the course of coasting voyages, or lie up the river Nile, and many of them, at any rate, were centers of Jewish life and commerce. True, the Jews had also traveled farther west, but the farther from their spiritual home at Jerusalem they had traveled, the less did they keep up their connection with it. On the day of Pentecost, when a list of those who were present from foreign countries is given in Acts, chap. 2, Rome is the only European city mentioned; and when at last St. Paul carries the gospel into Europe, it is only after a special vision had been vouchsafed to him and he had heard the cry, "Come over into Macedonia and help us" (Acts 16:9), that he contemplates, and immediately carries out what he looks upon as a divine command to go still farther afield.

A further point to be noticed is that of the names of places or countries, or of adjectives connected with them, out of a total of seventy-four common to the LXX and the New Testament fifty-three occur in the Acts of the Apostles. The greater number of Palestinian names in the New Testament do not occur in the Old Testament, at any rate in the same form.

If we ask, further, what are the extreme limits of the names occurring in the whole of the LXX, we shall find them, if we omit "India" as simply part of a title, to be Spain on the west, Persepolis or Parthia on the east, Ethiopia on the south, and Macedonia on the north. Almost all the places in it would be found to have been included within the boundaries of the Greek empire of Alexander the Great and of the kingdoms which took its place. This is what we should have expected from the period to which the translation or publication of the various books can be assigned, commencing with the latter half of the third century B. C.

CRITICAL NOTE.

BRAHMANISTIC PARALLELS IN THE APOCRYPHAL NEW TESTAMENT.

THE apocryphal writings of the New Testament contain several allusions to India. The Gospel of Thomas is devoted to the story of the apostle's labors in that country, and of his conversion to Christianity of the Indo-Bactrian king Gondophares or Yndopherres, who began to reign about 25 A. D.¹ Bartholomew, likewise, is said to have visited India, although we are probably to understand under this name Arabia as the country to which he actually journeyed.² It would seem, at all events, that Christianity penetrated India before 200 A. D., and it may be that its introduction there occurred even earlier.³ From India Gnosticism received a certain amount of influence, and the docetic phase of this philosophized esoteric Christian movement shows marked traces of modification by the Hindu Sāṃkhya philosophy.⁴ This system has as its cardinal doctrine the duality of matter and soul, and it aims to give release from metempsychosis by teaching man to realize that soul and matter are essentially and entirely distinct.⁵

In view of this Indian influence on early Gnostic thought, and in consideration of the constant travel throughout the Roman empire at the period in question, one will not be surprised to find in the apocryphal New Testament certain passages showing close resemblance to Indian belief. I am fully aware that apparent borrowing may be

¹DUFF, *Chronology of India*, pp. 19, 20; JUSTI, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 369, s. v. "Wiñdafarnā(h)" 3; LIPSIIUS, *Apokryphe Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, Vol. I, pp. 225-347.

²LIPSIIUS, Vol. II, b, pp. 63-5; cf. pp. 132-5; MÖLLER, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengesch.*, Vol. I, p. 108; cf. Servius *ad Georg.*, II, 116, "sed Indiam omnem plagam Aethiopiae accipiamus."

³LASSEN, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, Vol. II, pp. 1118-28; AIKEN, *The Dhamma of Gotama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus the Christ*, pp. 288-97; SEYDEL, *Buddha-Legende und das Leben Jesu*, pp. 46-57; HOPKINS, *India Old and New*, pp. 140 f., 167; BERGH VAN EYSINGA, *Indische Invloeden op oude Christelijke Verhalen*, pp. 118-20.

⁴GARBE, *Sāṃkhya-Philosophie*, pp. 85-105; *Sāṃkhya und Yoga*, p. 4; *Philosophy of Ancient India*, pp. 46-8; cf. LASSEN, Vol. III, pp. 380-405.

⁵GARBE, *loc. cit.*; MAX MÜLLER, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 281-401.

merely accidental coincidence—*si duo faciunt idem, non est idem*—but at least a presentation of some analogues in Gnosticism and Hinduism may be of interest to students of comparative religion.

The first passage which I shall note in this connection is from the fragments of the docetic apocryphal Acts of John, §§ 2, 9, where John describes, as follows, the person of the Christ:⁶ *ἐπειρώμην γὰρ αὐτὸν κατ' ἰδίαν ὄραν, καὶ οὐδὲ πώποτε εἶδον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐπινεύοντας, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἀνεφύγους. . . . ἔβουλόμην δὲ πολλάκις σὺν αὐτῷ βαδίζων ἵχνος αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἰδεῖν, εἰ φαίνεται—ἑώρων γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἑαυτὸν ἐπαίροντα—καὶ οὐδέποτε εἶδον.*

The statement here made does not, so far as I am aware, occur elsewhere in the apocryphal literature of the New Testament, but it has a remarkably close parallel in the well-known Nala-episode in the Mahābhārata, where we have the passage (*Mbh.* III, fol. 61*a*, ed. Bombay, vss. 22-4):

As she prayed, the gods obedient stood with attributes revealed:
With unmoistened skin the Immortals saw she, and with moveless eyes;
Fresh their dust-unsullied garments hovered they nor touched the earth.
By his shadow doubled, dust-soiled, garland drooping, moist with sweat,
On the earth Nishadha's monarch stood confessed with twinkling eyes.

—MILMAN'S translation.

In the light of such a concept of the Indian deities as this, a passage of Philostratus, who wrote in the third century becomes of interest. He speaks in his life of *Apollonius of Tyana*, III, 15, as follows:⁷ *εἰδὼν φησιν [Apollonius] Ἰνδοὺς Βραχμᾶνας οἰκοῦντας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτῆς, καὶ ἀτειχίστως τετειχισμένους, καὶ οὐδὲν κεκτημένους ἢ τὰ πάντων.*

Damis, the fellow-traveler of Apollonius, says of the Indian Brahmans that *χαμενία μὲν αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι, τὴν γῆν δὲ ὑποστρωνῖναι πᾶς, ἃς ἂν αὐτοὶ αἰρῶνται, καὶ μετεωροπορεῖντας δὴ ἰδεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς πῆχυν δύο, οὐ θαυματοποιίας ἕνεκα, τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον τοῦτο παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλ' ὅποσα τῷ Ἠλίῳ ξυναποβαίνοντες τῆς γῆς δρώσιν, ὡς πρόσφορα τῷ θεῷ πράττοντες. . . . τοιοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου τὸ "ἐν τῇ γῇ τε εἶναι τοὺς Βραχμᾶνας καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ γῇ."*

This account shows that Indian beliefs were known to the Greeks, and the parallelism of ideas in the Acts of John with Hindu thought

⁶ Edited by M. R. JAMES in ROBINSON'S *Texts and Studies*, Vol. I, pp. 4, 10; cf. also LIPSIVS, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 450 f., 522 f. The Acts was apparently written about the second half of the second century, JAMES, p. x.

⁷ Cf. LASSEN, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 359 f.

is at least striking, and perhaps suggests an influence of Brahmanism on the apocryphal work.

A second passage of interest, in considering possible Indian influence on apocryphal literature, is found in a Gnostic hymn in the eleventh chapter of the same Acts of John. This hymn is prefaced by the words: *κελεύσας οὖν [Jesus] ἡμῖν ὥσπερ γῦρον ποιῆσαι ἀποκρατοῦντας ἀλλήλων χεῖρας, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αὐτὸς γενόμενος, ἔλεγεν· τὸ Ἀμὴν ὑπακούετε.*

The hymn is then sung by the Lord, and he departs "after dancing with us" (*χορεύσας μεθ' ἡμῶν*). Only in this place in apocryphal literature have I found an account of such an event. There is a certain analogy here with the dances of the Gōpīs round Krishna in India,⁸ although Thilo (*arud* Lipsius, I, p. 520) compares with the account in this apocryphal book the orgies of the Corybantes in Asia, or of Philo's Therapeutæ. It is noteworthy that it is only in the later pseudo-epic of India that we find a record of the erotic adventures of Krishna and the milkmaids. The real epic knows nothing of them.⁹

The Krishna legends seem to have arisen much later than the period of apocryphal New Testament literature.¹⁰ On the other hand, it is perhaps unlikely that the acts of John, one of the less-known books, influenced the Krishna-cult. It may be therefore that the resemblance between Christ and Krishna, in this apocryphal story, is merely an accidental coincidence.

The case is possibly different, however, with the hymn itself, if it be true that Indian philosophy influenced Gnosticism. The hymn contains in many places an approach to pantheism which is remarkably like the Vēdānta philosophy of India, by which the Sāṃkhya system was profoundly modified. Pantheism is not very prominent in Gnosticism. The speculations of Basilides, Simon, and the Ophites¹¹ stand no comparison with the daring of the Vēdāntic *tat tvam asi*, "That art thou." The hymn in question, in the Acts of John is very difficult of interpretation, at least for one not a theologian. I do not pretend to offer more than what seems to me may be a hint toward a partial solu-

⁸ Paintings representing this dance are a favorite subject in Indian art; cf. for example, LE BON, *Civilisations de l'Inde*, p. 717.

⁹ LASSEN, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I^a, pp. 768 f., II^a, pp. 1127 f.; cf., also pp. 465 f., 736-8; SCHRÖDER, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, pp. 331-3.

¹⁰ HOPKINS, *Religions of India*, pp. 428-33; *India Old and New*, pp. 145-67, especially, for the present paper, p. 166; see also BERGH VAN EYSINGA, *loc. cit.*, pp. 86, 99-102.

¹¹ HILGENFELD, *Ketschengeschichte des Urchristenthums*, pp. 206, 249; MANSEL, *Gnostic Heresies*, pp. 106 f.

tion.²² We may not unreasonably suppose the influence of Indian philosophy in such a passage from it as this: *λυθῆναι θέλω καὶ λῦσαι θέλω· ἀμήν. τρωθῆναι θέλω καὶ τρώσαι θέλω· ἀμήν. γεννᾶσθαι θέλω καὶ γεννᾶν θέλω· ἀμήν. φαγεῖν θέλω καὶ βρωθῆναι θέλω· ἀμήν. . . . οἶκον οὐκ ἔχω καὶ οἴκους ἔχω· ἀμήν. τόπον οὐκ ἔχω καὶ τόπους ἔχω· ἀμήν. ναὸν οὐκ ἔχω καὶ ναοὺς ἔχω· ἀμήν. λυχνός εἰμί σοι τῷ βλέποντί με· ἀμήν. ἱσοπτόν εἰμί σοι τῷ νοοῦντί με· ἀμήν. θύρα εἰμί σοι <τῷ> κρούοντί με· ἀμήν. ὁδός εἰμί σοι παροδίῃ.*

It may be, however, that these words are no more pantheistic than the fifth Logion of Jesus, *ἔγειρον τὸν λίθον καὶ ἐκεί εὐρήσεις με, σχίσον τὸ ξύλον καὶ ἐκεῖ εἰμί*, where Harnack²³ sees no trace of such a philosophy. On the other hand, Indian thought may have exercised some influence over the writer of the Acts of John. A passage of the gnostic Gospel of Eve,²⁴ cited by Epiphanius, *adv. Haereses*, 26, 3, becomes of interest as a parallel to the hymn in the Johannine Acts: *ἔστην ἐπὶ ὄρους ὑψηλοῦ καὶ εἶδον ἀνθρώπων μακρὸν καὶ ἄλλον κολοβόν, καὶ ἤκουσα ὥσεί φωνὴν βροντῆς, καὶ ἤγγισα τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, καὶ ἐλάλησε πρὸς με καὶ εἶπεν· ἐγὼ σὺ καὶ σὺ ἐγώ· καὶ ὅπου ἐὰν ᾔῃς, ἐγὼ ἐκεῖ εἰμι καὶ ἐν ἀπασίν εἰμι ἱσπαρμένους, καὶ ὅθεν ἐὰν θέλῃς, συλλέγεις με, ἐμὲ δὲ συλλέγων ἑαυτὸν συλλέγεις.* Such phrases as these, in the Gospel of Eve and the Acts of John, are not, in my judgment, to be compared with such sayings of Christ as "I and my Father are one," or "Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father in me." The spirit of the apocryphal book seems to be entirely different, and it may not be extravagant to suppose that it has been influenced by Indian thought.

Many a passage might be cited from the Sanskrit texts to show how deeply the philosophy is impregnated with the boldest pantheism that the world has ever seen. I have selected two sections from the Upanishads, which are of exceptionally exalted tone. The first of these, in verse, is from the *Kāthaka Upanishad* II, 18-22 :

The All-wise is not born, neither doth he die; from no one springs he, nor anyone doth he become; unborn, eternal, everlasting is this Ancient; nor is he slain, though his body may be slain. If the slayer think he slays, or the slain think he be slain, they twain are full ignorant; man neither slays nor is he slain. Smaller than the small, yet greater than the great, the All-Soul is hid in his creation's heart; yet by subjecting sense, one free from passion and from sorrow sees the All-Soul's magnitude. Though sitting still, he wanders

²² See in general on the hymn, LIPSIVS, Vol. I, pp. 525-35.

²³ *Über die jüngst entdeckten Sprüche Jesu*, pp. 17-21.

²⁴ See LIPSIVS, Vol. I, p. 529; FABRICIVS, *Cod. Apoc. Novi Test.*, p. 350.

far, though reposing, goes he everywhere; who but me may know the god with his joy and sorrow too? No grief the sage doth feel who doth the All-Soul know as the mighty lord, bodiless among the embodied, among the shifting motionless.¹⁵

The second passage, which is in prose, is equally striking. It is found in the *Chândōgya Upanishad*, VI, 13, 1 and recounts the conversation of Uddālaka Āruṇi, with his son Śvêtakêtu, as follows:

"Put this salt in water and sit down by me on the morrow." So he (Śvêtakêtu) did. He (Śvêtakêtu's father, Uddālaka Āruṇi) said to him: "Bring me the salt which thou didst put in water yester even." Though he tasted, he found it not, for verily it had melted away. "Sip from one side of it. How is it?" "Salt." "Sip from the middle. How is it?" "Salt." "Sip from the (other) side. How is it?" "Salt." "Throw it away and sit down by me." So he did (saying) "This is ever so." Then (Āruṇi) said to him: "Even though it is here, dear son, thou perceivest it not, yet verily it is here indeed. What that minuteness is, of that nature is this universe; that is the truth, that is the All-Soul, that art thou, O Śvêtakêtu."¹⁶

Excepting one parallel in the Apocalypse of Peter, to which I now turn, the Acts of John is the only portion of the apocryphal New Testament in which I have observed any remarkable similarities to Brahmanistic thought.

In the description of the punishments of hell, which fill so large a portion of apocalyptic literature in all religions, there is of necessity a vast amount of similarity. The parallel in Peter is the remarkable similarity between one of the hells which he describes and the famous Forest of Sword Leaves (Sanskrit *asipatravaṇa*) in Indian eschatology. The passage in Peter is very brief: καὶ ἐν ἐτέρῳ τινὶ τόπῳ χάλικες ἦσαν ὀξύτεροι ξιφῶν καὶ παντὸς ὀβελίσκου, πεπυρωμένοι, καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες ῥάκη ῥυπερὰ ἐνδεδυμένοι ἐκυλίωντο ἐπ' αὐτῶν κολαζόμενοι. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ πλουτοῦντες καὶ τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτῶν πεποιθότες καὶ μὴ ἐλεήσαντες ὀρφανοὺς καὶ χήρας ἀλλ' ἀμελήσαντες τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ θεοῦ.

Compare with this the Indian Asipatravaṇa-hell, thus pictured by the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa:¹⁷

Hear again. I shall describe another hell, the forest of sword-blades,

¹⁵ See DEUSSEN, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, pp. 274 f. JOHNSTON, *From the Upanishads*, pp. 13 f. It is interesting to note the close similarity of this passage to EMERSON's well-known poem "Brahma."

¹⁶ See DEUSSEN, *loc. cit.*, p. 168; cf. Max Müller's translation, in *SBE.*, Vol. I, pp. 104 f. JOHNSTON, *loc. cit.*, pp. 57 f.

¹⁷ XII, 24-33, translated by M. N. DUTT, Calcutta, 1896, cf. SCHERMAN, *Indische Visions-litteratur*, p. 37.

which is all fire, covering the earth for a thousand Yojanas. Scorched by the terrible and fierce rays of the sun, creatures dwelling in hell, always drop there. In it is a beautiful forest covered with cool foliage. The leaves and fruits thereof, O foremost of the twice-born, consist of sword-blades. There bark a million of powerful dogs, with large mouths, huge teeth and dreadful like tigers to look at. Beholding before them the forest covered with dews and shades, creatures, afflicted with thirst, rush toward it. Having their feet burnt by the fire raging underneath, they, greatly afflicted, cry out : "O father, O mother!" As soon as they reach there, the wind blows, shaking the sword leaves and the swords fall on them. They then drop down on earth, here a collection of fire, and there all ablaze with flames spreading all over the surface. The dreadful dogs then quickly tear into pieces their bodies and numberless limbs as they cry in agony. I have described to you, O father, the forest of sword-blades.

Christian vision-literature describes in the visions of St. Paul and Alberic a similar hell, which Becker, in his excellent Johns Hopkins dissertation, *Mediæval Visions of Heaven and Hell* (Baltimore, 1899), pp. 14, 43, supposes was derived from the Indian source here quoted.

The problem of Indian influence on early Christian literature is one fraught with difficulty, and a prudent conservatism is necessary. I trust, however, that the explanation offered for the passages in the Acts of John and the Apocalypse of Peter, where the existence of Brahmanistic elements seems at least plausible, may be deemed a reasonable one.

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RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

A FORERUNNER OF THE MODERN PSYCHOLOGY OF RELIGION.¹

IN these days, when the psychology of religion is heralded as a new thing, it is interesting to be reminded that for thirty years preceding his death in 1900 Dr. Everett gave his students a regular and systematic course of about thirty lectures on this subject. The fact is significant in various ways. It not only shows recognition of the strategic position of the psychology of religion in theological thought; it also reveals a connecting link between an older and a newer mode of handling the same facts.

The older mode of approach to the psychological facts of religion had two stages. Observation of these facts, or of some of them, is as old as reflection upon religion. Dreams, hallucinations, and the various automatic states that have been interpreted as inspirations, were an important part of the data for early mythical and theological theories. From the beginning until now men have reasoned that here, in this or that mental phenomenon, divinity touches our life. Skeptics met this mode of thought upon its own ground. Lucretius quoted with approval the saying of Petronius that fear made the gods, and Hume, in his *Natural History of Religion*, tried to show that belief in gods arises and develops through certain qualities of human nature rather than through mere reason or insight. But not until Schleiermacher wrote his glowing *Reden* did the psychological point of view come to clear consciousness as a principle of method. Up to the end of the eighteenth century the concept of religion was got at through the idea of God; but Schleiermacher compelled us to approach the idea of God through the fact of religion, and to study religion in the inner experience of it. As far as impulse and point of view are concerned, Schleiermacher may be regarded as the founder of the psychology of religion. But his analysis was incomplete, and the methods of modern psychology were yet to be developed.

These methods were still undeveloped when Dr. Everett's courses

¹ *The Psychological Elements of Religious Faith*. By CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT. Edited by EDWARD HALE. New York: Macmillan, 1902. xiii + 215 pages. \$1.50.

of instruction were fully organized. Accordingly, the volume now before us is not at all a product of the recent movement toward an empirical psychology of religion. There is here no hint of the psychophysical point of view, or of the genetic method which, tracing the growth of the child-mind, and correlating it with the development of the race-mind, is yielding such rich returns. Neither are the range and the variations of the religious consciousness in view, but only such typical facts as one can deal with without leaving the study chair. The biological and sociological problems with which the psychology of today is so deeply concerned have not yet emerged, and the method, as we shall see, reveals no sign of the present conflict between the structural and the functional conceptions of mind. The scope of the lectures is determined by a theological rather than psychological interest, namely, the logic of faith. In fact, the course was formerly given under the title "The Psychological Basis of Religious Faith." Naturally enough, no sharp distinction is made between the principles of metaphysics and facts ascertained by observation.

Nevertheless, the work occupies a mediating position between Schleiermacher and the empirical psychology of the present. It points out that, while Schleiermacher's definition of religion is apparently psychological, it is really dogmatic. "Schleiermacher gives no evidence that he has studied religious life in its various manifestations. . . . He has reasoned *to* feeling and not *from* it" (p. 75). If he had begun by studying the religions of the world he would have found in religion something besides the sense of dependence. Though Dr. Everett is strongly under the influence of Schleiermacher, on the one hand, and of Hegel, on the other, his intentional effort is to supplement the observation of the one and to bring the logic of the other into wholesome relations to empirical fact.

The line of thought is, in brief, as follows: First of all, it is maintained that feeling has the primacy in religion, both psychologically and historically. It is the essential thing, just as a grape vine is the essential source of grapes, though soil, air, and water are a *sine qua non*. A first preliminary definition of religion results: "Religion is feeling, or essentially feeling." What kind of feeling, then, is it that constitutes religion? Looking at very early religion for a reply, the author answers: "The feeling toward the supernatural," that is, toward anything that produces an effect apart from the means usually employed. But the notion of the supernatural has many sides, and it develops. Nature, as contrasted with the supernatural, comes to mean the uni-

verse considered as a composite whole, while the supernatural is that which stands in antithesis thereto, either as something apart from it or as the unitary reality through which the elements of the composite have their being. The feeling toward the supernatural may be negative (the result of apparent interference, whether physical or moral) or positive; and the positive feelings fall into three groups—the self-centered (as conciliation), those with divided center (as dread), and the God-centered (as love and worship). ✓

In the last group there is implied a positive content in the notion of the supernatural, a content which is summed up in the old conception of the three ideas of the reason—the true, the beautiful, and the good. These ideas of the reason now become identified with the notion of the supernatural, and so the definition of religion advances to this final form: “A feeling toward a supernatural presence manifesting itself in truth, goodness, and beauty.” The first and second definitions were inclusive of all religions; the last is only typical, that is, expressive of the type toward which religion, in its higher developments, tends to conform. By “reason” is meant the structural elements of intelligence which underlie experience and make it possible. These are conceived as instinctive tendencies to action, and at the same time as involving logical implications. All our intelligent acts assume the unity of the world, even in advance of all reflection upon the point, and this unity is synonymous with truth. Unity, moreover, is fundamental to goodness, which expresses the unity of a man with his fellows, and to beauty, which is unity in nature and between nature and the mind that contemplates it.

From this brief outline it will be seen that structural analysis of the human mind yields at once a definition of religion as a subjective fact, a definition of the kind of object toward which religion moves, and a basis for certainty of its objective truth. We have here, in fact, an interesting application of a Hegelian idea that has become fruitful in the philosophy of religion—the idea that the structure of our rational consciousness is such that, in order to think at all, we must, implicitly if not explicitly, assert the existence of absolute thought or God. This is the successor of the old ontological argument; but, instead of saying that the idea of God implies the divine existence, it asserts that all thinking whatever has this implication.

This is the outcome; and yet the lectures started with the proposition that feeling is the primary and essential fact of religion. The effort to reconcile these two apparently opposed views constitutes, as I

conceive, the most original and significant feature of the volume. On the one hand, religion is feeling; on the other, "goodness and beauty are really manifestations of truth, so that ultimately we have this one innate idea, the first idea of the reason" (p. 149). From this it follows, or appears to, that the ultimate in religion is the concept, as Hegel claimed. If the final definition of religion is "a feeling toward a supernatural presence manifesting itself in truth, goodness, and beauty" (p. 208), and if goodness and beauty are manifestations of truth, it follows that the recognition of truth as truth, or what Hegel called thinking the concept in the form of the concept, is the basal and ultimate fact.

But Dr. Everett certainly did not mean just this. He was too sympathetic toward Schleiermacher for that. In fact, the whole treatment of the subject might be viewed as an effort to mediate between Hegel and Schleiermacher, and of the presence of these two tendencies in his thought the author was fully conscious. At the outset, it is true, he does not qualify the proposition that feeling is the essential thing in religion and, indeed, in the whole conscious life of man. "Intellect represents the environment, feeling represents the man. Intellect brings to man his material; feeling is his response to this material. Intellect is analytic; feeling recognizes the unity of the object and is constructive." (P. 20.) Late in the discussion, however, he remarks: "When I spoke of the primacy of feeling, I had in mind its primacy in manifestation rather than in fact. Behind feeling there exists something which manifests itself in feeling, and this inner self is the instinctive self." (P. 141.) Again, he says that the ideas of truth (or unity), goodness, and beauty come to us through instinct (pp. 148 f.). Moreover, the synthetic function at first attributed to feeling is later transferred to thought, which is made "the primary response of man to his environment" (p. 153). Accordingly, feeling, thought, and instinctive tendency are all declared to be, in some sense, ultimate, but instinct is the conception upon which the author's thought appears finally to rest. "Instinct" is here both the reason that is back of all reasoning and the impulse whence feeling flows, and these two are therefore one at their root. Religion, then, is not any specific feeling co-ordinate with other feelings, or any intellectual perception co-ordinate with other products of intelligence, but rather the central impulse of intelligence itself and of feelings that are adumbrations of intelligence.

The history of religion, accordingly, is really the history of how

men gradually came to consciousness of the theistic idea that is implied in our intelligence. At first, this transcendental element, or the supernatural, was thought to consist of capricious beings like the worshiper himself; the unexpected or unusual was the sign of divinity. Later the supernatural was discovered to be the inner side, the real unity and transcendent source of composite nature. Morals and the æsthetic sense grew up at first with no conscious relation to the supernatural. But the relation is there, and when men become conscious of it, goodness and beauty are taken up into the idea of religion. Religion thus acquires three different senses: it is either what the worshiper intends or understands to be related to the supernatural; or in addition the supernatural implicit in rational functions which are not recognized as religious; or, finally, the actual or metaphysical relation of man to God. All three of these meanings are present, at one point or another, in Dr. Everett's discussion, and his effort is, apparently, to achieve a single conception of religion that shall include them all.

Even this meager hint is sufficient, I trust, to indicate something of the depth and many-sidedness of the book. But the book is only an imperfect reflection of these qualities as they shone in the classroom. For Dr. Everett left no manuscript of his theological lectures, and the volume now before us has been compiled by collating the notebooks of several former pupils. This task has been done faithfully and lovingly. Professor Hale has succeeded in reconstructing the lectures so as to present their substance in a connected and coherent manner. But the personal touches and the elaboration of detail that rarely, if ever, get into student notebooks, are necessarily lacking. The difference, for example, between Dr. Everett's essay on "Reason in Religion" (*Essays, Theological and Literary*, Boston, 1902) and the parallel discussion in the volume before us awakens keen regret that we are deprived of the author's complete statement.

For this reason, if for no other, a reviewer should hesitate to examine too critically the details of the treatment. It is practically certain that every illuminating idea is the author's, while the onesidednesses are likely to come from the refracting media. It would be easy to make a considerable catalogue of passages that display the finest insight. The chapter on the relation between beauty and religion, for example, is a piece of exquisite observation and interpretation. What Martineau did in the religious interpretation of the moral nature is here done in the religious interpretation of the æsthetic experience.

The sense of beauty is a "sense of companionship with the outer world, the sympathetic enjoyment of its perfection." This implies a unity in nature and between nature and the soul that answers to the notion of the supernatural. Beauty does more than suggest such speculative ideas, too, for in the experience of it there may be directly involved a sense of the divine presence.

Dr. Everett's method is that of structural analysis. Mental states are brought before us as though they were inert, much as bales of merchandise might be opened and the contents spread out before our eyes. At the best this method yields only a morphology or an anatomy of mind; the physiology of its processes escapes us. We miss the pulsation of life and the interplay with environment. One of the new contributions of modern psychology is the effort to catch mental states in the making, and to behold in them processes rather than static facts. This, in a general way, is what is meant by functional as distinguished from structural psychology. Structural psychology looks for the elements of mental states; functional psychology views these states as stages in the acceleration or retardation of a vital process. Each method may lead in either of two directions. Structural analysis, examining the logical phases of consciousness, finds the idea of God implicitly present; or, taking the direction that Locke gave it, such analysis may conclude that the entire mental structure is built out of sensations or other simple elements. On the other hand, functional psychology, recognizing the fact of a mental dynamic, may lead up to the question of the mental agent and its basal impulses; or, relating itself to biology, it may view mental processes as mere subjective shadows of the general organic evolution.

It is significant that Dr. Everett's analysis finally leads him to a dynamic and functional conception, namely, instinct (which as the new *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* shows, should in this case be called impulse). Similarly, the old structural notion of "innate ideas" really means with him something more like a functional "*a priori* principle." The outcome, then, is an attempted unification of the logical and psychological points of view in religion. The basal fact of the human mind is impulse; the specifically human impulses include the impulse to think as well as to feel and act; the impulse to think implies the existence of a universal mind; consequently religion is both impulsive and rational; but man comes to full consciousness of this fact of his nature only gradually, and herein lies the history of

religion. Dr. Everett does not attempt to trace the psychological process whereby the religious impulse comes to full self-consciousness in the individual or in the race. In fact, this constitutes one of the chief unfulfilled tasks of the psychology of religion.

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TRADITIONAL CHRISTIAN APOLOGETIC.¹

PROFESSOR FISHER'S work, in the form in which it originally appeared in 1883, is doubtless familiar to most of the readers of the JOURNAL. The respected author has felt himself obligated to put his material in a form "more consonant" with what he would "wish to say at present." As a result the edition before us records considerable changes. Some of the chapters have been thrown into the shape of lengthened notes at the end of the volume, new notes have been added, and a considerable part of the text has been rewritten in the light of increased knowledge and with a view to more recent speculation and research. In particular it will be found that the relations of Christian theism to the theory of evolution, the synoptic problem, and the authorship of the fourth gospel are handled more fully, advantage being taken as regards the two latter points of the results of recent German and English scholarship. There is no change, however, in fundamental attitude between the old and the new editions. That attitude may be described as distinctly conservative, though not of course, bigotedly or offensively so. To a large extent Dr. Fisher's standpoint on critical questions does not differ widely from that of Professor Sanday, to whom he dedicates his book "and whose writings," he justly observes, "are an example to contemporary scholars of thorough investigation and faultless candor." As to the general question, Dr. Fisher sees in Christianity the final and absolute religion, "not to be classified with other religions as if it were defective in the sense of containing error or as if it stood in need of a complement to be expected or required in the present stage of human life" (p. 372). This remark is the keynote of the volume. He seeks to show that Christianity is the alone true and valid revelation from God.

The qualities which Dr. Fisher brings to his task are worthy of all honor. Breadth of view, substantial learning, catholicity of temper,

¹ *The Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief.* By G. P. FISHER. New edition. New York: Scribner, 1902 xx + 460 pages. \$2.50.

patient and painstaking inquiry, generosity of judgment touching alien opinions, and a style singularly lucid and absolutely free from pedantry and provincialism—all these characteristics of Dr. Fisher's work generally are here conspicuously displayed. For the intelligent layman or overworked clergyman anxious to obtain a general survey of the problems discussed at present in the apologetic field, perhaps no other guide will prove at once so interesting and so stimulating as the author of this book. The immensity of the field which he traverses may be inferred from the titles of the chapters:

"The Personality of God and Man: the Self-Revelation of God in the Human Soul;" "The Arguments for The Being of God: Their Function in General and as Severally Considered;" "The Principal Anti-Theistic Theories: Pantheism, Positivism, Materialism, Agnosticism;" "The Divine Origin of Christianity Evinced in its Adaptedness to the Deepest Necessities of Man;" "The Divine Mission of Jesus Attested by the Transforming Agency of Christianity in Human Society;" "The Evidence of the Divine Origin of Christianity from its Ethical and Religious Teaching and from the Comparison of it with the Greek Philosophy;" "The Consciousness in Jesus of a Supernatural Calling Rendered Credible by His Sinless Character;" "Miracles: Their Nature, Credibility, and Place in Christian Evidences;" "Proof of the Miracles of Christ Independently of Special Inquiry into the Authorship of the Gospels;" "The Gospels an Authentic Record of the Testimony Given by the Apostles;" "The Authorship of the Fourth Gospel;" "The Trustworthiness of the Apostles' Testimony as Presented by The Evangelists;" "The Relation of the Christian Faith to the Bible and to Biblical Criticism;" "The Gradualness of Revelation;" "The Relation of Christianity to Other Religions."

It may, perhaps, be hypercriticism, but the order in which Dr. Fisher arranges his subjects seems not quite logical. For example, before we can attain any valid results as to the teaching or character of Christ, we must surely first examine the historicity of the documents from which we draw our information. It is obvious, also, that a consideration of the influence of Christianity in history should succeed and not precede the questions arising out of the biblical material. But a more serious criticism of a general nature remains to be made. The multiplicity and complexity of the problems here discussed in one volume render even an approximately adequate treatment impossible. There is a lack of unity and co-ordination between the various parts of the argument. The reader is almost bound to feel that the book is rather a series of disjointed papers or essays treating of given points than a compact and artistic-

ally constructed and sustained argument. One receives the impression that these chapters were originally intended for a magazine or review, and they reveal the limitations imposed by such a mode of publication. There is a distinct lack of power and impressiveness; there is no sense of movement or progress, no inevitable conclusion satisfying and convincing. As we rise from a study of the work we realize that in it Dr. Fisher has done justice neither to himself nor to his theme. And we cannot but think that this failure arises, not from want of learning, or candor, or sympathy, or literary taste, but from the apologetic method he follows in common with other English-speaking writers.

He undertakes to defend the Christian religion. But surely a preliminary to such a defense would be a presentation of what the Christian religion really is. Dr. Harnack in his *Das Wesen des Christenthums* justly complains that apologetics is in a hopeless muddle in our day, because it does not know what are the matters which it is its business to defend. Exactly so. One writer thinks it his duty to defend the historicity of the virgin birth; another passes no judgment on the question, but gives his strength to a defense of the resurrection; while a third believes that neither virgin birth nor resurrection is an essential of the faith. In view of the confusion in which apologetics welters, a radical change of method is demanded. The first question to be faced is: What is the essence of Christianity, that without which Christianity would perish? Then the results thus gained must be related to contemporary thought, to philosophic and scientific inquiry on the one hand, and to sociological study on the other. The mischief involved in the traditional method is the absence of a genuine *apologetic perspective*. In this work, for example, Dr. Fisher devotes chap. vii to a proof of the sinlessness of Jesus, and chap. xi to the defense of the Johannine authorship of the fourth gospel. Now, most religious men will agree that Christianity stands or falls with the moral perfection of its Founder. Can the same or anything approaching it be said of the proposition that John the son of Zebedee and not John the Presbyter wrote the fourth gospel? And this raises the question: What class of readers had Dr. Fisher in his mind when he sat down to write this book? Was he thinking of doubters whom he was anxious to win for the faith? Hardly; for then he would have omitted much that he here discusses as irrelevant to the main thesis, viz., that the Christian idea of God is the true one and that he has come in the person of Christ. Was he thinking of Christian students and their perplexities? In that case he might well

have set aside, as not needing discussion, such subjects, for example, as positivism or materialism. For most men, whether Christians or not, these theories are no longer living issues. On the whole, perhaps, we are safe in assuming that the author had in view professed students of religion, and that his aim is to assist them in clearing up intellectual difficulties and in getting a firmer hold on the Christian verities. We fear it must be said that Dr. Fisher does not come home to the needs most deeply felt by thinking Christians today. What some of us require is not a reply to Strauss or Renan; for, in spite of the latter's boast that he alone of all men understood Jesus, it is generally admitted that both were wide of the mark and that the Christian problem presents itself in a form today to which they were strangers. The question now is, *not*, Are the gospels historical? but, How far are they historical? Schmiedel, for example, assures us in his article in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* that there are only five absolutely credible passages about Jesus in general. These passages, taken with four others of a negative character dealing with Christ's view of miracles, are, according to this distinguished critic, "the foundation pillars for a truly scientific life of Jesus." Yet Dr. Fisher writes as if these words had not been penned. He apparently accepts the truth of the gospels as they now stand. He does not deal with the questions whether there are secondary elements in the gospel narratives, and, granting that such elements exist, how we are to distinguish them from those of primary historical value. Nor does he discuss such a question, *e. g.*, as to how far Christ's ideas of the kingdom may have grown from earthly expectations into a purified spiritual messianic hope, and how far his death, foreseen by him, caused him to throw his ideals into the future as being unrealizable in the present. As equally symptomatic of Dr. Fisher's insecure critical basis may be mentioned his citation in proof of an argument on behalf of Christ's predictive power, the text: "On this rock I build my church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it" (p. 459); yet Dr. Fisher cannot be ignorant of the fact that critics by no means ultra-radical have expressed grave doubts as to whether these words ever came from the lips of Christ.

An argument in proof of Christ's possession of miraculous powers is found in his message to John the Baptist when in prison (p. 183). But Dr. Fisher does not meet the present state of opinion, which is doubtful of the tradition that John the Baptist did really recognize Jesus as Messiah early in his career. The whole discussion of the question of miracles, while containing much that is valuable, suffers from

the weakness of the mass of apologetic writing on the subject: it does not carry conviction. Denial or doubt of the miraculous, we are told, "results from an untheistic conception of nature, and the relation of nature to God. When it is understood that God, transcendent and personal though he be, is likewise immanent in nature, and that nature and the interaction of its parts are dependent on his unceasing energy, the difficulty vanishes." (P. 166.) To which it is sufficient to reply that for such theistic thinkers as, *e. g.*, the late Dr. Martineau, the difficulty remains. At most such an interpretation of the relations of God and nature grounds the *possibility* of miracles. We can conceive of the immanent Deity putting forth an unusual energy, and thereby causing some events not explicable through known causes. But has God done this? Dr. Fisher's argument from the gospel records proves only that the contemporaries of Jesus believed that he did acts which were miraculous. But we cannot go farther than this on historical grounds. We can prove that many of Christ's deeds were accepted as miraculous, but the pressing problem is to relate that belief to our new knowledge of nature and our conceptions of God's relations to this world. Dr. Fisher gives us no assistance here. The same unwillingness to come to close quarters with urgent problems is evinced by his discussion of the resurrection. He does not discuss the accounts given in the synoptists of this stupendous event, but contents himself with saying in a foot note that "the inconsistencies . . . are such as are met with in secular history in connection with epoch-making events, the reality of which is not subject to doubt." He makes much of Paul's experience on the way to Damascus, but, granting that the apostle had an objective spiritual vision, the question still presses: How far are the synoptic accounts trustworthy? Are they legendary or not? Nor is any instruction vouchsafed us as to what we are to understand by the angels who announced the fact of the Lord's resurrection. Were they real beings? If not, what were they? And how far, if at all, does their presence in the gospel narratives weaken the historicity of the story? Dr. Fisher does not even hint at these questions. There are certain facts testified to by admittedly genuine apostolic literature, which have a distinct apologetic value, but which Dr. Fisher passes by; these should have been emphasized: (*a*) The universal belief in the primitive community, that they possessed the sense of the Divine as a sense of new power. (*b*) This power gave them dominion over the world and enabled them to realize an ethical ideal. (*c*) Joy and confidence took the place of despair so common then in the world.

They were certain of God and eternal life. (*d*) All this, together with the forgiveness of sins, was indubitably traced to the influence of Jesus Christ at once the historical teacher of Nazareth and the risen Son of God.

Behind the question of miracle lies, of course, that of philosophical standpoint. What is Dr. Fisher's philosophy? Nowhere does he give an explicit answer. Yet surely it is the business of one who would commend Christianity to the cultivated intellect of his time to come to terms with ultimate philosophical questions. He criticises Mill and Spencer, but the present reviewer can find no mention of T. H. Green, nor any attempt at indicating the relations of idealism to religion. Yet it is a growing belief among Christian students that some form or other of the idealistic philosophy must lie at the roots of Christian theism. The treatment of the philosophical problem of theism here presented is really related to an earlier stage of thought, and does not meet the needs of today. To dispose of Hegel and his philosophy in two pages is a mode of procedure that does not appear to promise much help to the philosophical student of religion.

So far our remarks have been mainly critical. It is a pleasure to exchange criticism for praise and admiration. Dr. Fisher's strength lies in his insight into the nature of Christianity as essentially the religion of redemption, and in his grasp of the way in which that religion is adapted to human needs. The chapters entitled "The Divine Origin of Christianity Evinced in its Adaptedness to the Deepest Necessities of Man," "The Gradualness of Revelation," and "The Relation of Christianity to Other Religions," are, within the limits set himself by the author, wholly admirable and will repay attentive reading. They form an excellent introduction to the most detailed study of the themes discussed. As an illustration of Dr. Fisher's style and mode of thought take his remarks on the misery of life and of the remedy supplied in the gospel. He here remarks:

Death stands waiting. More than half the human race expire in infancy. Before every individual is the prospect of this inevitable event, which we endeavor to avert and to postpone as long as possible, all the while, however, aware that this painstaking will at length be fruitless. The feelings sketched above are not peculiar to any single generation. They are not the result, as they are sometimes said to be, of a gloom engendered by Christian teaching. He who imagines that life of old was nothing but sunshine has forgotten his Homer and a thousand pathetic laments strewn through the noblest literature of antiquity.

What is the answer to the fear of death? Jesus Christ,

A man born of woman, subject like ourselves to temptation, absolutely identifying himself with his race in sympathy, not less than with the condemnation felt by God for the sin of mankind. He makes a full absolute surrender of his own will to the Father's will, with every new access of trial raises this surrender to a higher pitch, carries human nature victoriously through life and through the anguish of an undeserved death—the final test of loyalty to God and of devotion to men, willingly endured because it is the cup given him of the Father to drink. In that death is the life of the world. (Pp. 95, 97.)

Dr. Fisher frankly acknowledges that there are limitations in our Lord's knowledge as man. "No honor is done to him, and no help afforded to the cause of Christianity, in attributing to him scholastic information which he did not claim for himself, and which there is no evidence that he possessed." (P. 367.) The theological sanity of the author comes out also in his wise remarks as to the gradualness of revelation, and the Bible taken as a whole, the seat of authority—though it need not be added he has not said the final word on these points. The evolution of doctrines or religious ideas such as those of the divine government, sacrifice, and immortality is clearly, though briefly, sketched. And the conclusion is arrived at that the seat of authority in religion is not in the individual parts of the Bible, but in the Bible as a whole. "It is the Bible as a whole, and considered as self-interpreting—we might say, self-amending—authority that we are either bound to obey, or safe in following." (P. 370.)

To sum up: While we gladly acknowledge that this book offers much valuable apologetic material, and may be cordially commended to the attention of those who seek some entrance into the higher questions of our time, we must also express the hope that the distinguished author, now that he is freed from the cares of his professorship, will give himself to the task of constructing an apology more suited to the crying necessities of the hour, and less concerned with arguments and modes of thought no longer of vital moment—a task for which he is eminently fitted both by his intellectual gifts and his truly Christian spirit.

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SEMITIC RELIGION IN ITS OLD HOMES.

IN the course of a tour in Syria in the autumn of 1898, Professor Curtiss came upon some "high places" and sacred groves, and learned

that at many shrines sacrifices were made with rites resembling those of the ancient Canaanites and Israelites as described in the Old Testament. He was thus led to institute a search for survivals of early Semitic customs and beliefs in modern Syria. These inquiries were pursued as opportunity offered during the rest of his stay in the country, lasting till August, 1899, and in two subsequent visits undertaken for this special purpose in the summers of 1900 and 1901. His journeyings reached from Sinai to Hamath and as far east as Palmyra, and took him through some parts of the Druze mountains and the Nusairi region which are seldom penetrated by travelers. In these tours he had the company and assistance of several missionaries long resident in the country and intimately acquainted with the people and their language; and by their co-operation was enabled to get additional information through native Protestant teachers and others. The results of his researches are embodied in the volume before us.¹

The investigation by such students as Mannhardt of the customs and superstitions of the peasantry in many parts of Europe long ago showed that the ancient paganism lay but a little beneath the surface of their Christianity, and cropped out through it in every direction. So it is in Syria: neither Christianity nor Mohammedanism has extirpated the older Semitic religion; it survives today, partly in them partly beside them, substantially as it existed at the beginning of our historical knowledge, and phenomena which we may observe for ourselves illustrate our oldest Hebrew or Arabic sources, while, on the other hand, the descriptions of ancient rites interpret the customs of today.

Many observers have remarked that the shrines scattered over Syria and Palestine, frequently on hilltops, with sacred trees or groves beside them, are nothing else than the ancient "high places" (*bāmōth*), and that the saints, *nebis*, sheikhs, and *wells* to whom they are dedicated are only new names for the local divinities (*baals*). Renan, for example, in the *Mission de Phénicie* (1864)* showed how everywhere in the Lebanon region chapels stand on the site of ancient temples; the saints, especially St. George and Elijah, have taken the place of more ancient deities; and he expresses his conviction that the interior

¹ *Primitive Semitic Religion Today: A Record of Researches, Discoveries, and Studies in Syria, Palestine, and the Sinaitic Peninsula.* By SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, Professor of Old Testament Literature and Interpretation, Chicago Theological Seminary. Chicago, New York, Toronto: Revell, 1902. 288 pages. \$2, net.

*See, e. g., pp. 220 f., 687, and the Index, s. v. "Hauts lieux." A good conspectus of the results of the expedition in the field of religion was given by SOURY, *Études historiques*, pp. 128 ff.

appearance of most of these chapels, the nature and disposition of the offerings, the vows that are made, the form of prayers, differ but little from those which might have been seen in the same places before the advent of Christianity. At many of them Christians and Moslems worship alike. Of Belât, with its sacred grove, he writes: "It is the finest specimen of a Canaanite or Asherite 'high place' that can be cited." The true character of the shrines (Arab. *maḥām*, *mazār*, *ḡubbah*, etc.), of which nearly every village in Palestine has its own (the Survey enumerates some three hundred) has in the last thirty years been frequently commented on — by Clermont-Ganneau in 1875,³ by Conder in 1877 and 1878,⁴ and others. It had been recognized long before, as Clermont-Ganneau reminds us, by Edward Robinson. The whole subject of Moslem saint-worship, veneration of holy men, and the like has been discussed with unrivaled learning by Goldziher in a series of truly classical studies.⁵ For correct theory, Moslem or Christian, the saints are intercessors with God; in practice they are themselves the powers from whom help is sought, the "local divinities," as Professor Curtiss justly calls them.

At these shrines vows are made and fulfilled and sacrifices offered; they have their keepers or ministers, to whom first-fruits and other dues are paid; at some of them festivals are held at stated seasons; they have their own sacred legends, sometimes borrowed from the common fund of hagiology, sometimes recognizable survivals of ancient myth. Professor Curtiss has collected much testimony about this, the true religion of the common people of all creeds, especially about the occasions and rites of sacrifice. The facts themselves will not be unfamiliar to those who are acquainted with the literature; but the accumulation of evidence is very welcome, especially since much of it comes from regions and populations about which we were less satisfactorily informed, and in the case of some of which the existence of these customs had been denied.

One reason, doubtless, why these sacrifices have not oftener been observed is that, unlike those of the Old Testament, no offering is made

³ *P E F., Qu. St.*, 1875, pp. 208-11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1877, pp. 89-102; *Tent-Work*, 1878, Vol. II, pp. 218 ff., quoted by CURTISS, Appendix E.

⁵ "Le culte des saints chez les Musulmans," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Vol. II (1880), pp. 257-351; "Le culte des ancêtres et le culte des morts chez les Arabes," *ibid.*, Vol. X (1884), pp. 332-59; "Ueber Todtenverehrung im Heidenthum und im Islam," *Muhammedanische Studien*, Vol. I (1889), pp. 229-63.

by fire. As in the ancient Arab sacrifices, the blood only is presented to the deity. A feast frequently accompanies the sacrifice, but no religious significance seems to belong to it. In other cases the flesh of the victim is left to the poor, which, as in Moslem sacrifices generally, is regarded as a meritorious act. The blood is often smeared or poured on the entrance of the shrine,⁶ just as we are told that the heathen Arabs were accustomed to put blood on the walls of the Caaba at Mecca (Baiḍāwī on Coran, 22 : 38); *cf.* also Ezek. 45 : 18-20. Sacrificial blood is also applied to houses and tents, to persons and cattle. Similar as these rites are outwardly, they are in reality quite different. In the former the shrine succeeds to the ancient sacred stone (*maṣṣabāh, nuṣb*) as the seat or abode of the numen ; the application of the blood is a form of conveying the offering to the divinity. The smearing of blood on habitations or living beings, on the other hand, is a potent means of averting danger, disease, or death, as at the Hebrew Passover (Exod. 12 : 21-3, "the destroyer").⁷ The sacrifices at the building of a new house, beginning of public works, and the like, which originally had a somewhat different motive, seem now to be regarded in the same way.

The modern Syrian or Arab does not conceive of sacrifice as uniting man and God in the bond of table companionship, or as a sacramental communion ; the only essential thing is the shedding of the victim's blood.⁸ The common conception of the significance and efficacy of sacrifice is that it is a ransom. Edward Robinson thus describes a Bedouin sacrifice which he saw in 1838, in the desert south of Palestine :

Our Arabs bought of their visitors a kid, which they killed as a "redemption" (Arabic *fedu*), in order, as they said, that its death might redeem their camels from death ; and also as a sacrifice for the prosperity of our journey. With the blood they smeared crosses on the necks of their camels, and on other parts of their bodies. Such sacrifices are frequent among them.⁹

Professor Curtiss found the term *fedu* (in some places *fidi*) in common use for sacrifice ; and in answer to his inquiries was constantly told that the *fedu* ransoms or redeems the offerer or him in whose

⁶With the substitution of samn and henna for blood (p. 185) we may perhaps compare the use of red anemones by the Yezidis ; BADGER, *Nestorians*, Vol. I, p. 119.

⁷The modern Samaritans at their Passover put blood on the foreheads of their children ; PETERMANN, *Reisen*, Vol. I, p. 237.

⁸*Fajr ad-dam*, "letting the blood burst out."

⁹*Biblical Researches*, Vol. I (1841), p. 269.

behalf it is offered, and thus delivers him from danger or evil. Sometimes the substitution of the victim was explicitly affirmed. He is inclined to see in this name and interpretation a "primitive" Semitic idea," and to use it as a clue to the original significance of sacrifice.

Sacrifice in this simple form is undoubtedly very ancient among the Semites; we find the same use of blood in Babylonia, in Canaan, in early Arabia. But the antiquity of a religious custom is one thing, and the explanation men of today may give of it is another; especially when the custom is perpetuated in a community which professes a higher faith. Professor Curtiss has recognized this in regard to the theory of the intercession of saints; but he does not seem to have inquired whether the conception of sacrifice as a ransom might not also come from a higher religion, though as a matter of method this possibility must be eliminated before we can have any right to treat it as an ancient Semitic—not to say "primitive"—notion." There is, in fact, good reason to think that the terms *fedu*, *fidyah*, etc., and the idea they express are of Moslem origin. The annual sacrifice on the tenth of the month *Dhu-l-hijjah*, when it is incumbent on every man to offer for himself and his young son, is celebrated in commemoration of Abraham's sacrifice, in which his son was delivered from death by the offering of the ram; God says in the Coran: "We ransomed him (*fadaynāhu*) with a great sacrifice" (37:107). The victim in this typical sacrifice was thus a *fidyah*, a "ransom," and it is very natural that all sacrifices by which evils are averted from men should be regarded in the same light. Another example is the well-known story of the vow of 'Abd al-Muṭallib, Mohammed's grandfather, to sacrifice one of his sons, and the redemption of Abdallah by the offering of a hundred camels.¹³ This also is a ransom; the Koreish say: *fa'in kāna fidā'uhu bi'amwālīnā fadaynāhu* (I H., 1, 98). A *fidyah* by sacrifice (*nusk*) is recognized in the Coran for certain shortcomings in religious obligations (2:192). The use of the name *fidyah* or *fedu* for sacrifice once

¹⁰ See also his article, "Discoveries of a Vicarious Element in Primitive Semitic Sacrifices," *Expositor*, August, 1902, pp. 125-34.

¹¹ And, of course, not among them alone.

¹² Neglect of this precaution has led him in another case to take a quotation from the Coran as "a survival of ancient Semitic conception" (p. 69).

¹³ IBN HISHAM, Vol. I, pp. 97 ff.; TABARI, Vol. I, pp. 1074 ff. Professor Curtiss has this story (p. 209) in a blundering form—Abdallah appears as his own father, and the rest is all confusion—as an "interesting example" communicated to him by a learned Protestant pastor.

established, the common meanings of the verb *fadā*¹⁴ supply to even a rudimentary etymological reflection the substitutionary explanation which Professor Curtiss's questions so often elicited.

A somewhat similar conception of sacrifice underlies the Hebrew terminology: *kôpher* is a payment by which a man is bought off—a blood-wite, for example;¹⁵ *kipper*, properly, to redeem one by such means. But ancient as this notion unquestionably is, it is far from "primitive."

A synonym of *fidyah*, etc., is *kaffārah*, which, however, is not applied in the Coran to sacrifice, and has had its subsequent history in the law-books rather than in popular religion. Notwithstanding Lagarde's arguments (*Bildung der Nomina*, pp. 230 ff.), *kaffārah* is quite clearly an Aramaic word (*kappārā*), taken over from the Jews in its technical sense. The Arab lexicographers explain it either as that which covers, and so conceals, sin or as "that which wipes out sin" (e. g., *Tāj*, III, 567: 31); they were obviously not so sure of the native etymology as some modern scholars have been.

There are many other things in the book on which it would be interesting to dwell, but I have already exceeded my space. All students of Semitic religions owe a debt of gratitude to the author for his painstaking investigation, which not only adds largely to our knowledge but shows how fruitful well-directed research in these directions may be.

I cannot take leave of the volume, however, without protesting against the treatment of Arabic words. The excuse which the preface offers (p. 15) is really none; it amounts only to saying that it would have cost some trouble to do better. Certainly no one will quarrel with vulgar forms or local peculiarities of pronunciation, but monstrosities such as *mufādātūn*, *fidaāūn*—transcribed straight from the dictionary (p. 195)—do not fall under that head; and inconsistencies such as *dahhiyeh*, *fidce*, and *fedou* (p. 209) are quite needlessly exasperating. In other cases the transliteration is unintelligible; no one, for example, who is not familiar with Moslem terminology will be likely to guess what the Arabic word so often written *dahhiyeh* really is; nor will he be helped by learning (p. 175, note) that "there are other forms and transliterations," such as *Ushiyah* and *Idu's-Zuha*.

¹⁴For example, to redeem a prisoner in war by exchanging another for him, and the like.

¹⁵It may be observed that *kôpher* is generally rendered in the Arabic versions by *fadā*, *fidyah*, etc.

The author does himself an injustice in thus needlessly creating a prejudice against the general accuracy of his work.

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COMPARATIVE RELIGION AND THE THEOLOGICAL CURRICULUM.¹

SHOULD the theological faculty of the university be limited to the investigation and exposition of the Christian religion? Or should it be widened to the faculty of religions in general? These are the questions discussed *pro* and *con*, but finally answered in favor of the first, in Harnack's *Rektorsrede* delivered in Berlin on August 3, 1901. Taking up the affirmative side first, Harnack admits that abstract theory would require such an extension. If religion is not something accidental and therefore transitory in the history of humanity, if it expresses an elementary and fundamental relation without which man would not be man, there must be a universal concept for it. But this concept cannot be gained on the basis of single phenomena of religion by means of simple abstraction; for, like morals and art, it is at the same time something given and becoming, its true concept a self-unveiling ideal. It is evident that as complete an induction of phenomena as possible is desirable in order to the knowledge of such a concept. Hence the need of a survey of religion in all stages of its development. And hence a justification of the requirement that religious history be studied in its full scope. Limitation to *one* religion seems to be an inadmissible abbreviation. Secondly, in support of the affirmative, Harnack urges that religions are to be studied according to one and the same method, namely, the historical, and this method admits of no arbitrary limitation. We know no special method according to which the Christian religion is to be studied in distinction from other religions. Once there was such a method, a kind of biblical and philosophical alchemy. But the result was a progressive departure from real knowledge of the object, a substitution of one's own spirit for the object. The historical method alone is conservative; for it assures reverence—not for tradition, but for facts—and puts an end to arbitrariness. The third and final affirmative consideration adduced by Harnack is that ecclesiastical praxis seems to require the enlargement, under discussion, of the

¹ *Die Aufgabe der theologischen Facultäten und die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte.* Von ADOLF HARNACK. Giessen: J. Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1901. 22 pages. M. 0.50.

theological faculty. The clamor for Christian missions is more imperious today than it has been for a thousand years. Christian peoples propose to divide the globe among themselves, and have about done so. Whether an enduring and worthy civilization is possible without the preaching of the gospel may be a question ; but certain it is that the peoples which now have divided the earth stand and fall with Christian civilization, and that the future will endure no other by the side of it. Thus problems are set to the church as never before. It will be able to solve them only if it preach not civilization, but the gospel ; but the indispensable condition seems to be that the church comes to know religions of alien peoples in a fundamental way. Therefore ought not theological faculties to open their doors and include faculties of religion in general ?

So much for the affirmative, according to Harnack. But, in spite of these reflections, he in reality supports the negative. First, the study of any single religion cannot be detached from the study of the whole history of the people which has produced that religion. But language, literature, social, and political states belong to a people. Religion is inextricably intertwined with all these. To study all these, however, is to doom the student to a remediless dilettantism. Secondly, if we limit the theological faculty to the study of one religion, we must bear in mind which one this religion is. It is the religion whose property is the Bible, whose history embraces three thousand years, and which can be studied still today as a *living* religion. On this account we may say that whoever does not know this religion knows no religion, and whoever knows it together with its history knows all religion. Therefore, in view of the scope and fulness of Christianity, its study well-nigh supersedes the necessity of the study of other religions. But, thirdly, Harnack's decisive point still remains to be mentioned. He wishes that theological faculties remain for the investigation of the Christian religion alone, because Christianity in its pure form is not *one* religion along with others, but *the* religion. It is *the* religion because Jesus Christ is not *one* master by the side of others, but *the* master, and because his gospel corresponds to the inborn endowment of humanity unfolding itself in history. To be the guardian of this supernatural good, to preserve it in its purity, to protect it from misunderstandings, to bring its historically knowable features to ever clearer recognition — this, says Harnack, is the task of the evangelical faculties. Intrusted with this high task, they must decline to be burdened with the religions of the whole earth.

Such is Harnack's contention. His arguments on the negative do not seem to me to break the force of the considerations to which he refers when he holds the brief for the affirmative. For one thing, to the scientific spirit it would seem always a decisive concession to say that abstract theory was on the side of the affirmative. If the theological faculty limited itself to the study of dogmatic theology, the case could be made out for limiting dogmatics to the Christian religion, since by definition it is a normative science of the Christian religious faith. But systematic theology, to say nothing of the historical disciplines, includes apologetics also. But since apologetics, in idea, seeks among other things, to vindicate the claim of Christianity to be the superior, if not the ultimate, religion, there must be a comparison of the Christian religion with other religions. Such a comparison presupposes a knowledge of the other religions, and such a knowledge can be gained only by studying them. Besides, the historical study of the Old and New Testaments and of the Christian church pushes one inevitably to an investigation, on the part of the biblical student, of those religions which our religion drew upon in the process of making ; on the part of the church historian, to the study of neo-Platonism, Platonism, and oriental mysticism, apart from which patristic and scholastic experiences cannot be understood. In a word, there has been an organic evolution of religion, and some knowledge of the whole is indispensable to a full appreciation of any of the parts. Again, Harnack's argument that the subject-matter of religion in general is too comprehensive for the theological faculty proves too much. If it be required that one shall be an expert or specialist in the whole field, should all religion be included in the theological faculty, one may reply that it is even impossible to be such a specialist or expert in the narrower region of the Christian religion itself. In that case the argument would require even the removal of the Christian religion from the theological faculty. Besides, his argument would hold good equally against a philosophical faculty that sought to compass the entire philosophical development, or against the philological faculty, or certainly against the department of history. It ignores the right and the expediency of the division of labor within faculties themselves. A member of a faculty should be a specialist in some line of its work, on the one hand, and possess a general knowledge of the whole field, on the other. This is as possible and as indispensable in the case of the theological faculty as it is in the case of any other. And the charge of dilettantism and duplication is as

unwarranted here as in other domains of learning. Furthermore, Harnack's assertion that Christianity is the absolute religion, even granting that it is such, is not conclusive as an argument against the enlargement under discussion. Its finality cannot be made good by an appeal to its superior origin, since such mode of origin is incapable of verification. And even if its isolatedness and supernaturalness could be made out, this would not prove its absoluteness. Since Christianity is a historical religion, that is, a religion in process of historical development, its value can be best seen by comparing it with other religions subject to like development. It is impossible for the theologian to prove his point as regards the supremacy of the Christian religion unless he compares it with other like religious phenomena. Such comparison requires a study on his part of these other religions. Finally, Harnack's reference to the needs of Christian missions is not adequately rebutted by his own remarks on that subject. Even if the old view were right that alien religions are all false and worthless, or worse than worthless, a knowledge of this fact would manifestly be of great service to the propagandist of the Christian religion; but if, as is of necessity increasingly recognized today, there is no land so dark but that there is some light there, the bearer of the greater light, if indeed it be greater, cannot even meet the requirements of this greater light itself if he do not honorably recognize and wisely use the light he finds as he seeks to give the greater. It were difficult to mention a more important task than the teaching of the history of religion to our missionaries, unless it be, indeed, the more thorough study of our own.

For the rest, Harnack contends that all the manifold and variegated phenomena of religion are historically present in the development of the Christian religion. But how is the theologian to know this? By hearsay or by investigation of his own? Is not parasitism an evil no less than dilettantism? Besides, what preparation for the valuation of these different aspects of the Christian religion is so desirable as a knowledge of these aspects as they exist in their structural place in the religions to which they naturally belong? But these remarks of our hesitation to go with Harnack in his contention must not be construed as a lack of interest in his position or of gratitude for his brilliant discussion of a burning question.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS ON EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

VOLUMES VI and VIII of the great Berlin edition of the Greek Fathers¹ of the first three centuries contain Vol. III of the works of Origen² and the Oracula Sibyllina. Of Origen's works are printed: homilies on the book of Jeremiah; fragments from the catenæ on the books of Lamentations, Samuel, and Kings; as well as the well-known homily on the witch of Endor. It is with great pleasure that we say at the very outset that this volume is one of the very best contributions thus far published in the Berlin series. The philological acumen, and the palæographical and historical knowledge, shown by the editor in his work, and the painstaking care, overlooking not even the smallest minutiae, impress the reader most favorably.

By far the greater bulk of the volume (pp. ix-xxxviii, and 1-232) is given to the edition of the extant homilies and fragments of homilies. The introduction discusses the following five points: (1) History and transmission of the homilies. (2) Description of the manuscripts of the Greek text, represented by a single codex of the eleventh or twelfth century, preserved in the Escorial Library (codex Scorialensis, Q-III-19), of which a sixteenth-century, most conscientious, copy exists in the Vatican Library (cod. Vatic. gr. 623). The minute and reliable information concerning the Escorial manuscript constitutes one of the chief merits of the present edition. Before going to press, Klostermann obtained a photograph of the entire text, which assisted him greatly. The interrelation of the homilies was some years previous carefully examined and presented by the editor in a pamphlet: *Die Ueberlieferung der Jeremiahomilien des Origenes*.³ (3) The Latin translation by Jerome (in Constantinople, about 380 A. D.) of fourteen homilies, two of which are not among those found in the Greek manuscript. Klostermann collated two of the most ancient manuscripts containing the

¹*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, herausgegeben von der Kirchenväter-Commission der königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Band 6: *Origenes' Werke*, III. Band: Jeremiahomilien; Klageliederkommentar; Erklärung der Samuel- und Königsbücher. Herausg. von ERICH KLOSTERMANN. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. 1 + 352 pages. M. 12.50; bd. M. 15.—Band 8: *Die Oracula Sibyllina*. Bearbeitet von JOH. GEFFCKEN. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. lvi + 240 pages. M. 9.50; bd. M. 12.

²A review of Vols. I and II of Origen's works is printed in this JOURNAL, Vol. IV, pp. 839-44 (October, 1900).

³"Texte und Untersuchungen," N. F., I, 3 (1897), pp. vi + 116.

Latin translation,⁴ and also the quotations in Rabanus Maurus; and prepared for his own use a revised Latin text. It is a great pity that this Latin text is not printed alongside of the Greek. This was impossible, as the plan of the Church Father Commission admits only ancient translations when the Greek original is lost (p. xviii). But, if so, then, at all events, the two homilies found only in Jerome's translation should have been printed. The editor has done all that could be expected, and we hope that his revision of the Latin text will soon be published in the Vienna *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. The manuscript from which Jerome translated must have had a much better text than is shown in cod. Scorial. The differences are, at times, so great that Klostermann is more than justified in the suggestion that they go back to two different copies, dictated and written at the same time.⁵ (4) Many extracts or paraphrases are found in the catena on the prophets, which quite often assist in restoring a true reading. The manuscripts containing the catena are best divided into two groups: (a) the better group consisting of cod. Chisianus R VIII, 54, (saec. x), and cod. Vaticanus Ottob. gr. 452 (saec. xi), more important for the restoration of the original catena than (b) codd. Laur. Plut. V, 9, and XI, 4, both of saec. xi. The editor prints only those catena fragments which do not agree with passages preserved in the Greek text of the homilies. It is evident that only lack of space dictated such a penurious policy, which compels the student who desires to make good use of these catenæ to still go back to the edition of Delarue, and to consult the number of the *Texte und Untersuchungen* referred to above, where, on pp. 84-100, the fragments not given by Delarue are printed. (5) The history of the editions of the Greek text, beginning with the first edition, by Michael Ghislerius, in 1623, from the cod. Vatic. 623 and the catenæ. This was followed, in 1648, by the edition of Balthasar Corderius, from the cod. Scorialensis. Huetius (1668) combined the text of his two predecessors and consulted Jerome's translation. All of these editions contain a most arbitrary and inaccurate text, showing even intentional alterations, of which fact the editors do not give the slightest hint. Delarue (1740) reprints in the

⁴Cod. Colon XXVIII, saec. xii, and cod. Laudun. 299, saec. ix.

⁵P. xxiii: "Es ergibt sich denn ausser einer Anzahl von so klaffenden Differenzen, dass man die beiden Zweige der Überlieferung vielleicht lieber von zwei verschieden genauen, gleichzeitig angefertigten Stenogrammen ableiten möchte als von einer geschriebenen Vorlage, eine überreiche Menge von Stellen, an denen Hieronymus deutlich sehen lässt, wie eine Korruptel im Scorialensis entstand."

main Huet's text, and he, in turn, is copied by Lommatzsch (1843) and Migne. Klostermann concludes his introductory remarks by stating the principles on the basis of which the present edition rests.

The Greek text is printed as follows: Pp. 1-194, the twenty of the original forty-five homilies; pp. 195-8, fragments of homilies 21 and 39 from the *Philokalia*, as edited by Robinson; pp. 199-232, seventy-one fragments from the catena on the prophets. The references and quotations printed at the foot of the page are another proof of the wide reading and great discrimination of the editor in the selection of passages which really illustrate the text.

Pp. xxxviii-xliii and 233-79 contain the introduction and the Greek text of catenæ on the book of Lamentations. In the former section are discussed the early references to this commentary,⁶ the transmission of the text and its former editions, the same applying here what has been said of the editions of the homilies. The Greek text as printed numbers one hundred and eighteen fragments from the catena on the prophets, and the fragment from the Octateuch catena.

On pp. xlii-xlix and 283-304 we find the introduction to and the text of the fragments of the Commentary on Samuel and Kings, including the well-known homily on the witch of Endor. The editor is of the opinion that all our manuscripts of the latter go back to the text found in the Refutation of Eustathius in cod. Monacensis gr. 331 (saec. x), edited first by Allatius (1629) and recently by Jahn (1886). Following the text of this homily we have twenty-two fragments from the catena to the books of Samuel and Kings, on the basis of three manuscripts, and the fragment from the Cantica catena on 1 Sam. 2:3, 6; 10:2, 10. The volume closes with three careful indices giving (a) references to the Old Testament, the New Testament, and to ecclesiastical and secular Greek authors; (b) a list of proper names; and (c) a *Sachregister*; and five pages of additions and corrections, a proof of the extreme care and watchfulness of the editor.

The editor of the Sibylline Oracles has published "Vorstudien" in articles⁷ and in his treatise, in the *Texte und Untersuchungen*,⁸ to be mentioned more at length. The two introductory chapters give (1)

⁶Only known to Eusebius, Jerome, Maximus, and Olymiodorus.

⁷*E. g.*, in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*, 1901, pp. 193 ff.; etc.

⁸*Komposition und Entstehungszeit der Oracula Sibyllina*. Von JOHANNES GEFFCKEN. ("=Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur," N. F., VIII, 1.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. Pp. iv + 78. M. 2.50.

an estimate of the former editions;⁹ and speak of the purpose and aim of the present publication, which, the editor warns us, is not to be considered as *abschliessend*, owing chiefly to the chaotic condition of the text.¹⁰ The Church Father Commission had originally intrusted the editorial work to Ludwig Mendelssohn,¹¹ after whose death the present editor had access to and made use of the large manuscript material left by that great scholar. (2) The second chapter mentions the manuscripts and the transmission of the *Oracula Sibyllina*. The manuscripts are divided into three groups, the first represented by four, the second by six, and the third by four codices, none older than the end of the fifteenth century. To be added to these are two codices containing excerpts, and the quotations of later authors, especially Lactantius. A critical treatment of a few pages selected at random fully substantiates the editor's statement mentioned in footnote 10. Pp. liv-lv contain additions and corrections, and p. lvi a list of the manuscripts.

The text is printed on 233 pages, almost half of each page being given to critical notes and references.¹² The indices are an index of proper names, pp. 234-8, and a *Sachregister*, pp. 239, 240.

⁹ Beginning with Xystus Betuleius of Augsburg, 1545, published in Basel from the newly discovered *Σιβυλλιακοὶ χρησμοὶ* (now cod. Monacensis 351), Books I-VIII, 485; whose faulty edition M. Antonius Antimachus, of Ferrara, endeavored to correct by a collation, sent to the Basel publisher, of another manuscript, now known as the codex Vindobonensis hist. gr. XCVI, 6 (saec. xv)—a collation used largely by Sebastian Castalio in his Latin metrical version, published in 1546—and ending with that of C. Alexandre (Paris, 1841-56), to whom great praise is given, and of A. Rzach (Vienna, 1891), Books I-VIII, XI-XIV, and fragments. On the text of Rzach is based the new revised translation into blank verse of Professor Milton S. Terry (New York: Eaton & Mains, 1899; pp. 292), containing on pp. 278-85 a most copious bibliography. Another recent translation of the anonymous preface, and Books III, IV, and V, by Professor Friedrich Blass, is published in Vol. II of KAUTZSCH, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments* (1900), pp. 184-217; preceded by an introduction and a short bibliography, pp. 177-84. A bibliography is also found in E. SCHÜRER, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi* (1898), pp. 448-50, at the end of his excellent chapter, "Die Sibyllinen," pp. 421-48.

¹⁰ "Die Überlieferung des Textes ist eine geradezu grauenhaft verwahrloste; es sind altgriechische Orakel durch verständnislose Juden Hände gegangen und in ärgster Verstümmelung auf uns gekommen (vergl. III, 337-49, 433-88); jüdische und christliche Sprüche wurden bald korrupt, von der Nachwelt bis zur Unkenntlichkeit ruiniert" (p. xix). Also SCHÜRER, *loc. cit.*, p. 433.

¹¹ Concerning him see this JOURNAL, Vol. V, 550, July, 1901.

¹² Pp. 1-5 contain the Prologue, of late date (fifth—so Tycho Mommsen, Neumann, Schürer—or sixth century—so Alexandre); pp. 6-173 give the text of the first eight books, numbering respectively, 400, 347, 829, 192, 531, 28, 162, and 500 lines; pp. 174-226, Books XI-XIV, numbering 324, 299, 173, and 361 lines. Pp. 227-33 contain the text of eight "fragments."

It need hardly be added that the work of a scholar like Geffcken is done with great care and with the exercise of that caution which indicates the trained philologist and editor. He gives due acknowledgment to the great von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, whose special assistance he has enjoyed throughout the whole work, and to his friends C. Schultess and A. Möller, who assisted him in proof-reading. We commend the edition to all students of the Sibylline Oracles as the latest, and, at the same time, the best. In connection with it the same author's treatise on the composition and date of these oracles, in the *Texte und Untersuchungen*, should be consulted, for the criticism of the manuscripts and that of the history of the material in hand are closely interwoven; one supplements the other, neither being complete in itself. This treatise is not a history of sibyllisticism in general,¹³ but only of the Sibylline Oracles. The author begins with Book III (pp. 1-17), concerning which he not long ago published a long article.¹⁴ This book is the most interesting and important of the whole collection, containing, at present, 839 of the original 1,034 lines. Here we find the oldest portions of the oracles dating (a) from the Antiochian period, or the middle of the second pre-Christian century, written chiefly in a spirit of propaganda. This early collection is preserved in lines 162-78, 190, 194, 195, 201-336, 520-72, 608-15, 732-40, 762-6. (b) Still earlier are the sayings of the Babylonian sibyl, lines 97-154, and of the Persian, lines 381-7, dating from about 200 B. C., and followed by the Erythrean sibyl, lines 179-89, 337-80, 388-488, 492-519, 573-607, 616-37, 643-724, 741-61, 767-93. A fourth period, of Jewish character, is represented in lines 46-62, dating from the time of the second triumvirate, the author being very probably an Egyptian, who also contributed lines 156-61. Following, in turn, all these, we discover a Christian hand, to which are due lines 776, 371, 372, 63-92,¹⁵ where Beliar is none other than Simon Magus; and 93-6 (95 referring to Christ's second advent). Of lines 1-45 it can be shown that 1-7 are of late origin, and 8-45 of Christian, dealing largely with Christian apologetics.

In the same thorough manner Geffcken takes up Book IV (pp. 18-21) of Jewish authorship, Greek oracles being also made use of (lines

¹³ Somewhat on the style recently attempted by KAMPERS, *Alexander der Grosse und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophetie und Sage*.

¹⁴ "Die babylonische Sibylle," *Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1900, pp. 88 ff.

¹⁵ With Jülicher against Bousset.

49-114); V (pp. 22-30), on the whole of uniform character, being a bitter invective of a Jewish sibyllist full of hatred against Rome; VI (pp. 31, 32), a heretical hymn of Jewish-Christian origin of the second century; VII (pp. 34-7), a Jewish-Christian gnostic song also of the middle of the second century; VIII (pp. 38-46), known in its present form to Lactantius, as well as to Theophilus (after 180 A.D.). The author of lines 50-72, 139-50, 169-216 (?), 337-58, lived before 180 A.D., the year of the death of Marcus Aurelius. It is a Christian semi-historical, eschatological poem. Of like origin is a second author to whom lines 1-49, 73-130 belong. Both wrote against Rome and pagan life. But their opponents are fully alive to the situation; they accuse such Christian writers of plagiarism and interpolation of early genuine sibylline oracles. This accusation had to be answered, once for all, by the great proof of sibylline genuineness, the acrostic on eschatology, which we find in lines 217-50, the first conscious Christian forgery. Not much later, yet not by the same author, are lines 251-323; and again, later, lines 324-36 and 480-500, both of a parenetic character, but each also of different authorship. To this same period of Christian activity belong the doxology, lines 429-38, and the logos, lines 439-79. Of Jewish-Greek origin are lines (359, 360) 361-428, marred, however, by many late interpolations. Of pagan origin, again, are lines 131-8, 151-9, and 160-68. Book VIII, on the whole, presents the passionate fight for recognition of Christianity during the period of the early Apologists, at the time when a Lucian and a Celsus wrote their satires and invectives; at the time when Marcus Aurelius took notice of Christian teachings. Hence, the expression of fierce hatred of Rome and Romans; hence, the now anxious, now confident expectation of the approaching Antichrist, who would make an end of the wicked city. Books I and II (pp. 47-53) are, in fact, one book. I, 6-44, 154-76, 187-99, 214-37, are of Jewish-Hellenistic origin, the author living in the third century of our era, and a Phrygian by birth. There are many interpolations, lines 45-153, 179-86, 200-13, 238-51, 255-83, by the Christian hand, who wrote also lines 324-400, not much later than the former, yet somewhat later than the composition of Book VIII, from which many of the interpolations are taken bodily. Pp. 54-68 discuss the problem of Books XI-XIV, which, textually, are in even worse condition than Books I-VIII. The more important of these four books are XII and XIII. Books XII, XI, and XIV were written by Jews after the second Christian century, partly as a polemic against current Christian sibylline literature. Book XIII is the work of

an oriental Christian, a partisan of Septimius Odenathus, the Palmyrene. It is the only book that treats of a limited period, 241-65 A. D., was written by one author, and finished before the death of Odenathus. The "Fragments" are mostly fictitious in character and of Christian origin. They never belonged to a corpus of sibylline oracles. The prologue is a worthless fabrication of a Byzantine author, living between A. D. 500 and 600.

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

MODERN EXPERIMENTATION AND THE HOLY SHROUD.

THIS work of Vignon on the Holy Shroud¹ professes to be a scientific proof that the large piece of linen cloth upon which is the imprint of a human form and which is preserved as a sacred relic at Turin is in reality what it is claimed to be, namely, the shroud in which the body of Christ was wrapped after it was taken down from the cross. In order that the point of view of this review be understood, let it be stated at the outset that the reviewer has expressed his opinion of it as a scientific study only. Hence whatever may be said of its merits as a study in archæology or art, the following applies to its merits as a piece of scientific work.

The book opens with a brief history of the relic as far as it is known. Then follow photographs, both positive and negative, of the imprint upon the cloth. The wonderful details shown in the markings on the shroud are dwelt upon at length, and it is argued that they are too exact and realistic to have been the work of a forger. The markings on the back which indicate the result of the scourging to which Christ was subjected before crucifixion are especially mentioned as showing the wonderful detail in the imprint on the relic. These markings do not show clearly on the reproduction which appears in the book. It is further shown that the imprint upon the shroud is a negative one, the high lights being dark.

The so-called scientific part of the book deals with the production of these imprints and attempts to show that they were the natural result of the conditions which obtained at the burial of Christ after the crucifixion. It is shown that stains similar in color to those on the shroud can be produced by the action of ammonia on a mixture of olive oil and aloes. The experiment which is claimed to prove the authenticity of the shroud is then introduced as follows :

¹ *The Shroud of Christ*. By PAUL VIGNON. Translated from the French. New York : Dutton & Co., 1902. 170 pages. \$4, net.

We took the plaster cast of a hand and covered it with a glove of suede kid. We then poured some of the ammoniacal solution along the wrist so that it penetrated the plaster without completely saturating the glove. The vapors were given off very regularly through the pores of the kid without staining the linen by too much water or letting the oil penetrate the damp glove.

Working in this way we got an excellent impression of the back of the hand. . . . The print is sufficiently definite to show the likeness of a finger, but too diffuse to mark the actual outlines, and this may be said of all the fingers. . . . The print which we have obtained of this hand justifies us in asserting that under special conditions ammoniacal vapors may produce as distinct impressions of an object as those shown on the Holy Shroud. The experiment is so delicate that on a second trial the same glove did not produce so good a print as the first. . . . We shall continue these experiments if desirable, though they only present a limited interest. It has been proved by the gloved hand that an object in relief will give a negative image when it exhales ammoniacal vapors on a cloth prepared with a mixture of aloes. Henceforth our problem is to discover under what circumstances a *human body may become itself a source of such vapors.*

In the discussion of this problem it is shown that a human body might produce ammoniacal vapors under circumstances similar to those which attended the death of Christ. Nevertheless no experiments were attempted to prove that the result actually would follow. To the scientific mind, therefore, the case is still unproven. Mr. Vignon asks us to believe that because he obtained an imprint of a hand by the action of ammonia vapor on a cloth smeared with a mixture of oil and aloes (which print was apparently too diffuse to allow of reproduction, as it does not appear in the book), and that because a human body might, under the circumstances attending the death of Christ, produce the necessary ammonia vapor, therefore the imprint on the Holy Shroud of Turin was produced in this way and the cloth really is the shroud of Christ, because of the wonderfully accurate reproduction of the marks of the scourging, the various wounds, etc.

Hence we cannot but conclude that the work is not a scientific study at all. The scientific mind does not recognize as scientific a discussion which, after describing a few amateur experiments, points out how the result might have been attained, and then asserts that the result actually was attained in that way. Hence until Mr. Vignon has actually obtained from a human body imprints which are similar to those on the Holy Shroud of Turin, and has further proved that such impressions are permanent so that they will endure for two thousand

years, the scientist can do nothing else but suspend judgment and wait for the final proof.

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JEWISH POLITICS IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.

THE new edition of the second and third volumes of Schürer's *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*,¹ noticed in this JOURNAL (Vol. III, pp. 595 ff.), has now, after a lapse of three years, been followed by a new edition also of the first volume, which, like the others, has grown in size from 653 to 788 pages. Of the numerous additions those especially will interest American readers which deal with questions that have also been subjects of discussion there. I confine myself therefore to a consideration of the latter, at the same time adding a few remarks which may serve to supplement those of Schürer.

Already in the preceding edition Schürer had held that the *στέρπα Σεβαστή*, Acts 27:1, was a *cohors Augusta*, but composed probably of people of Sebaste. Mommsen (*Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1895, pp. 501 f.) misunderstood this to mean that *στέρπα Σεβαστή* was the equivalent of *στέρπα Σεβαστηνῶν*, expressing at the same time as his opinion that the cohort to which the centurion Julius belonged was the so-called *frumentarii*, and this view has been accepted by Ramsay, (*St. Paul*, pp. 315, 348) and Rackham (*The Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 478 f.). Schürer has not taken notice of Mommsen's view at all (nor, likewise, of the older one of Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 351, renewed by Belser, *Beiträge zur Erklärung der Apostelgeschichte*, p. 154). As a matter of fact, Mommsen's *frumentarii* were probably not regularly organized till later, and, therefore, the *στρατοπεδάρχης*, to whom Paul, according to a spurious reading of Acts 28:16, is said to have been delivered, cannot have been the *princeps peregrinorum*. For this reason Schürer was quite justified in simply upholding his original position against Mommsen also, without any further mention (pp. 461 f.) of these differing interpretations of Acts 27:1.

Likewise he justly declines (p. 577, note 38) to accept the so-called new chronology of the life of Paul, which, among others, was also advanced in this JOURNAL by McGiffert (1897, pp. 145 ff., and *Apostolic*

¹ *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*. VON EMIL SCHÜRER. Erster Band: Einleitung und politische Geschichte. Dritte und vierte Auflage. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. vii + 788 pages. M. 18.

Age, pp. 356 ff.). For, when Josephus declares (*Ant.*, XX, 8, 9) that Felix would undoubtedly have been punished for the wrongs perpetrated upon the Jews, had not Nero yielded to the pleadings of his brother Pallas, whom he held in high esteem at this time, we cannot accept that statement as historical, because Pallas fell into disgrace, at the latest, in the beginning, and not at the end, of the year 55. Accordingly, since Nero did not come to the throne until October, 54, Felix would have had to journey to Rome in winter time, to say nothing of the fact that Josephus places most of the events of his term of office in the reign of Nero. Therefore, his statement that Pallas was at the height of his power at the time when Felix was recalled, is unhistorical, and is to be explained either as simply an invention of the historian (so Bacon, *Expositor*, 1898, Vol. VII, pp. 129 ff., and Zahn, *Einleitung*, Vol. II*, p. 640), or else, as a confusion of Pallas's later standing at the court with the earlier (so Erbes, *Texte und Untersuchungen*, N. F., Vol. IX, 1, p. 17, and Schürer). However, there still remains the testimony of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, which, though in the main dependent upon Josephus for these events, may yet have used (contrary to Schürer) another source, viz., Justus of Tiberias, for its date of the recall of Felix. Nevertheless, Felix can hardly have been recalled as early as 55 or 56 and, consequently, Paul been imprisoned in 53 or 54, for according to Acts 21: 38 he was at that time taken for an Egyptian rebel, who, according to Josephus did not come upon the scene till the reign of Nero (*Bell. Jud.*, II, 13, 5, and *Ant.*, XX, 8, 6). Schürer cites this "decisive evidence," but nevertheless would place the recall of Felix in the year 60 rather than in 61. For at the Feast of Tabernacles 62, we find already his second successor, Albinus, in Palestine, and one year, to be sure, would seem too short a time to allow for the events mentioned as having occurred in the time of Festus (*Jos.*, *Ant.*, XX, 8, 9, ff.). Still this cannot be regarded as conclusive, for if Paul died in the year 64, at the expiration of the *δουρία* (Acts 28: 30), it would follow that he started for Rome in 61 and that Festus entered upon his office in the same year.

In still another instance dealing with this subject I can only partially agree with Schürer. On p. 711, note 19, he maintains against Ramsay that τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ Τραχωνίδος χώρας (Luke 3: 1) can as little signify a single province as τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν (Acts 16: 6). But this of course is not sufficient to disprove the so-called south-Galatian theory, which is wholly independent even of the explanation of that one phrase.

Nevertheless, just this one instance will prove anew how completely Schürer has mastered all the literature on the subject. Nothing seems to be able to escape his eagle eye in this respect, and his conclusions generally are so well founded that in most cases one can intrust himself unhesitatingly to his guidance. Only one wish still remains even after the completion of this volume, viz., that Schürer could have seen his way clear also to take up in the same manner other questions which, though originally they did not stand in his program, yet belong to it. Will he, who certainly is best capable of doing it, gratify this desire in the future, or must we wait for another?

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THEOLOGY AND SOCIETY.

PROFESSOR KING'S¹ volume comprises a series of twelve lectures given at the Harvard Summer School of Theology in 1901 and again at the University of Chicago in 1902. The book presents an amplification of one of the points which were made prominent in the author's earlier work, *Reconstruction in Theology* (1901). In this earlier and more comprehensive treatise Professor (now President) King had urged the necessity of reconstruction in theology upon several distinct grounds, such as the influence of the method and spirit of science in the modern world, the changed view of the world and of life introduced by the doctrine of evolution, the revolution in the view taken of Sacred Scripture which has been wrought by criticism, the increased emphasis upon the supreme significance of Christ's person, and the deepening of the "social consciousness." Now, it is this last fact, considered as a force adapted to modify theological conceptions and statements, which forms the distinct subject of the volume under review. It will thus be seen that the present work is an appendix, or supplement, to the book on *Reconstruction*, and can best be appreciated in the light of the earlier discussion.

The author's first task is to define "the social consciousness." In general, it means "the growing sense of the real brotherhood of men." This sense of human brotherhood is then more particularly analyzed into five elements: (1) The sense of the likemindedness of men, that is, a fundamental, rational, and moral likeness in their constitution

¹ *Theology and the Social Consciousness: A Study of the Relations of the Social Consciousness to Theology.* By HENRY CHURCHILL KING. New York: Macmillan, 1902. 252 pages. \$1.25, net.

and needs, with common capacities and experiences underlying all the varying degrees of their mental powers and acquired culture. (2) The sense of the mutual influence of men, that is, the conviction that men are "members one of another." To this sense of mutual influence science has contributed by the emphasis which it has placed upon the unity and coherence of the world, and philosophy has reinforced it by its insistence upon the organic unity of society. This "idea of humanity" has taken on three principal forms: (a) the conviction that every life inevitably affects every other; (b) that no man can realize his best self in isolation; and (c) that we only truly save our lives by losing them, that is to say, the very meaning of life is the fulfilment of our social relations—it is living with, for, and in the life of others. (3) The third element in the social consciousness is the sense of the value and sacredness of the person. This is seen in the increasing conviction that every person as such is an end in himself, in the emphasis placed upon equality of human rights and upon the rights of children. (4) The sense of obligation, that is, a growing sense of responsibility to others as having similar rights and similar value with ourselves. (5) The sense of love—the crown and completion of all the others—the giving of self in sympathy, helpfulness, and devotion to others.

Having thus defined the social consciousness, Dr. King shows how inadequate to the facts is the common representation of society as an *organism*. Being derived from the sub-personal world, this analogy is inadequate to emphasize the personal and moral factors which constitute the chief meaning of all social relations. Very justly does the author insist, as against this biological view of human existence, that it is only in man's personal life that we can learn the meaning of the subject-matter of sociological study. The higher life of man has its own distinctive peculiarities and it cannot be interpreted by the analogies of lower orders of existence. A society is not an organism, but a group of persons.

After showing what is involved in the very idea of a moral world, that is, a world of personal relations, namely, universal law, moral freedom, etc., the discussion advances to the question: What is the ultimate explanation and ground of the social consciousness? How is it possible that we should touch and influence one another? Not in consequence of physical race-connection, or heredity, or mystical solidarity. This possibility, our author holds, is grounded in our common dependence upon God. "We are not independent of one another, because we are all alike dependent for our very being upon

God. And we are thus members one of another, ultimately, only through him." (P. 42.) But this ground of union is not enough. The social consciousness finds its final support, not in a common life or will alone, but in the ethical purpose of a holy and loving Person. We must know that we are the children of a common Father, and that our moral efforts and struggles are supported and encouraged by the Holy Will which rules the world. If the social consciousness is not to be an illusion, it must be grounded in the "moral make" of the world.

The discussion thus far reviewed (fifty-two pages) clears the way for the two chief topics: the bearing of the social consciousness (1) upon religion, and (2) upon theology.

In discussing the first of these subjects, Dr. King proceeds to show how the social consciousness promotes a true, as opposed to a false, mysticism, and so contributes to the thorough ethicization of religion. This aim requires him first to define the false and the true mysticism. By false mysticism is meant a state of swoon or half-ecstasy as the essential condition of the knowledge of God. Such a mysticism both shirks the responsibilities of the individual reason and forsakes the path of experience and of history. It is too subjective, emotional, and unethical; it is abstract, unrational, unhistorical, and without any clear object. To such a mysticism the interests of the social consciousness are unalterably opposed. For this consciousness means nothing if it is not the clear sense of personal relations—the relation of the individual to his fellow-men, on the one hand, and to God, on the other.

What, then, is "the truly mystical," and how does the social consciousness deepen it? A true mysticism is a strong, clear sense of personality and of the meaning of personal relations. In this view it is seen that communion with God "follows the laws of a deepening friendship." Thus religion is correlated with the whole of life, and "every human relation, heartily and truly fulfilled, becomes a new outlook on God, a revelation of new possibilities in the religious life." Religion is the constant enlargement and enrichment of life in the knowledge, fellowship, and likeness of God, and in the fulfilment of the life of love in the kingdom of God. Such a clearly personal view of religion escapes the perils of emotionalism, subjectivism, irrationality, vagueness, pantheistic absorption, and excessive symbolism (the pitfalls of false mysticism), emphasizes the necessity of a rational and ethical interpretation of the world and of life, and seeks a knowledge of God and of man which carries with it the complete operation of the entire nature.

The next step is this: "We are bound to show how communion with God, the supreme desire to find God, necessarily carries with it active love for men. We must show how we truly commune with God in such active service" (p. 87). The absolute union of the religious and the ethical is now illustrated in a number of particulars. They meet and blend perfectly in Christ, and cannot be divorced for any real admirer of Christ. Again, the very idea of God's gifts, if intelligently conceived, means the use of those gifts. Moreover, the idea of union with God is that of accord with his ethical will, that is, of likeness to him in character and life. The very condition of a true knowledge of God is thoroughly ethical: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." This line of thought followed through and illustrated from the genius of Christianity issues in the conclusion that "the deepening communion with God is only through a constantly deepening moral life" (p. 101).

The remainder of the volume (pp. 105-246) is devoted to exhibiting the influence of the social consciousness upon theological doctrine. Returning to the analysis of the social consciousness, it is shown how, in each of its principal elements, it has affected theological doctrines. In the first place, the sense of the like-mindedness of men has transformed the old theory of an arbitrary election. It will not tolerate the idea of God's partiality in salvation any more than that of "privileged" and "governing" classes. It helps to show us the real dignity of common life and to exalt our appreciation of commonplace virtues. Dr. King here points out that the sense of humanity is not likely to take kindly to that effort to apply the biological law of natural selection to human life which is known as the doctrine of "conditional immortality." Finally, the social consciousness leads to fuller sympathy with men and larger hope for them, to the belief that God will judge men according to the light which they have enjoyed and to the conception of the future life as a sphere of moral development.

It is next shown how the mutual influence of men emphasizes the real unity of the race, deepens the sense of sin, and throws light upon the nature and method of salvation. The author here does well to insist that "this mutual influence of men holds for good as well as for evil; that few greater lies have ever been told than the insinuation that only evil is contagious, the good not" (p. 144). Space is wanting in which to follow the author in his application of his principle to redemption. A single extract will illustrate his point of view:

The expiation of the sin, the propitiation of the wrath of God, the satisfac-

tion of God—so far as these terms can have meaning, and so far as they express Christ's work—consist (1) in winning men to repentance, to sharing God's hatred of their sin; (2) in helping men to real power against sin; and (3) in the assurance of perfecting righteousness which is contained in the relation to God honestly accepted by men (p. 159).

The last and most elaborate chapter of the book deals with the influence of the deepening sense of the value and sacredness of the person upon theology. The significance of man's free, ethical, personal life, the meaning of Christ's person as the supreme interpretation of God, and the contents of the personality of God for religious thought, are the keynotes. The author finds the divine meaning and value of Christ, not in the vague, colorless categories of substance and nature, but in that perfect character which we can "transfer feature by feature to God with complete satisfaction." Dr. King would solve the problem regarding the eternally active love of God by the supposition of "eternal creation," that is, an "eternal creative activity of God," rather than by the theory of a trinity of eternal social relations which he regards as "plain Tritheism." The author frankly avows his acceptance of the "larger hope" for mankind, while granting that "the abstract possibility of endless resistance to God by men cannot be denied."

We have thus aimed to give the reader a sketch of the contents of Professor King's book and to bring into special relief its characteristic thoughts. It is the work of a man who believes that the gospel of Christ is the key to the greatest problems of our times if we will but study and understand its adaptation. It is the work of a diligent student of philosophy and of social questions—the product of a spirit as independent as it is devout. It is a "tract for the times." In a word, it is a vital book; it has the tone of reality throughout.

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THE PSALMS: FORM AND CONTENT.

IN the preface to his volume¹ on the poetical forms in the Psalms Dr. Grimme says very aptly that "over night a group of exegetes has arisen, whose motto is 'biblical meter.'" Outside of this word, how-

¹*Psalmenprobleme*. Untersuchungen über Metrik, Strophik und Peseq des Psalmenbuches. Von HUBERT GRIMME. Freiburg (Schweiz): Universitätsbuchhandlung (B. Veith), 1902. viii + 204 pages. M. 7.20.

ever, there is very little agreement, as almost every investigator has developed a special theory of his own. He further remarks that until our knowledge embraces the whole circle of the metrical forms of the Semitic tongues, and we have been able from these to reconstruct the original Semitic verse, so long shall we be in the epoch of attempts which are not adapted to convince the skeptic; and from this characterization he does not exclude his own attempt contained in the volume under review.

The first section deals with the meter of the psalms and is divided into two subsections: one a survey of the rules of Hebrew meter, which is mercifully short; the second dealing with emendations founded on metrical form. There is here the same reckless handling of the text which has characterized so much recent biblical criticism. If the text does not suit the conception of the critic as to what it should be, either in sense or sound, he seems to feel himself at liberty to emend it by mere guesswork. As between the metrical guesswork and the sense guesswork, we have a slight preference for the former; but either one of them is entirely subjective, as is shown by a comparison of the text emendations made by half a dozen different writers. This volume would have been much strengthened if the writer had first given us sufficient specimens of uncorrected poetry to prove his laws, before undertaking to apply the laws to correct the poetry. This is the largest section of the work, 112 pages, or one-half of the entire book. Without making an exact count, I should say that almost all the psalms of the Psalter are represented in these emendations. This fact by itself is sufficient, in the eyes of the cautious scholar, to condemn the work as a whole. The impression made upon the mind is that Dr. Grimme has developed a theory of meter and undertaken to fit the facts to his theory. It is true that by means of the meter corrections may be made in the psalms. In fact in the Psalter the metrical form is a valuable help in text criticism which we do not possess, except in a very small degree, in any other book; but it is a help which must be used with the greatest caution, with careful study of the versions, and with the presumption always in favor of the text as it stands, and not against it. The burden of proof must lie on the corrector. This, it seems to me, is the rule of caution and of good scholarship. Space will not permit me to discuss special cases of text correction made by Dr. Grimme.

The next section deals with psalms composed in two or more different meters. On the evidence of the meter Dr. Grimme finds that

thirty-nine psalms are composite. Of these, sixteen occur in the first book, nine in the second and third, three in the fourth, and eleven in the fifth. In many cases of composite psalms, especially in the first book, however, the composition consists merely in the addition of one or two verses at the close in a meter different from that in which the rest of the psalm is composed. This peculiarity is not found in the same form in any other book, which suggests that the first book existed as a collection by itself earlier than Books II to V. Dr. Grimme further concludes that the earliest form of meter was the four-beat; next to this and partly contemporaneous with it was the five-beat, and latest in time comes the three-beat. Examining the various books according to their meter, he finds that in the first book the four- and three-beat psalms are almost equal in number. Examining the other books he finds that the number of three beats in proportion to two beats increases as one goes on, but that in the fifth book there is a very large number of five-beat psalms, almost all the psalms of Degrees being of this character. From this and other metrical features of the psalms, he concludes that the first book was the earliest collection, after which followed the second, third, and fourth in order. The fifth book contains a gleanings of many old psalms, and in the matter of age stands closest to the first book. On the whole, this section is the most interesting and the most sane in this little volume.

Lack of space will not permit me to examine more closely Dr. Grimme's theories, nor to note more than the names of his two last sections on "Psalm Strophe" and the "*Paseq-Lagarmeh* in the Psalms" respectively. In general I do not feel that the method of rash and theoretical speculation which seems to me to characterize this book is best calculated to advance the study of Hebrew meter; and, in fact, I must say that the general impression made upon me by a comparison of the different theories of Hebrew meter so far presented to the world is exceedingly disappointing.

The first three parts of Engert's little volume* constitute almost an introduction to the exegesis of the Psalter. We say "almost," because, as the author has in view especially the discussion of the meaning of "the praying righteous man," the *I* of the psalms, his field is somewhat limited. However, his conception of his subject has allowed him to include in the discussion the greater part of the psalm material.

* *Der betende Gerechte der Psalmen.* Historisch-kritische Untersuchung als Beitrag zu einer Einleitung in den Psalter. Von THADDAEUS ENGERT. Würzburg: Gobel & Scherer, 1902. 134 pages. M. 2.

In the fourth part he passes from the historical-critical review of the views of others to a presentation of his own views with regard to this "praying righteous one." While attributing the Psalter to the post-exilic period, he holds that psalms of the pre-exilic time were incorporated at least in the first book of psalms. There are, however, no means at hand to determine to what extent these psalms were revised and reshaped. The object of the collection, as it was made in post-exilic times, was to glorify the newly established service of God by fitting psalms, and to make those psalms an expression of Jewish piety at the time of this redaction, that is, in and after the exile. The psalter is "the echo of the faithful heart to the words of the prophets, to the great deeds of the Lord toward his people." It is "the echo of the promises and declarations of the Lord, expressing themselves in fervent prayers and joyful hymns of thanksgiving."

Having thus established the date, the meaning, and the purpose of the psalms in general, he next discusses the religious ideas of the psalter. The one idea which rules and inspires all prophecy, that is, the Messianic hope, must find its most vivid expression in the Psalter; and, in fact, he finds that this hope gives to the psalms their characteristic impression. Israel is itself the Messiah; as such it has a rightful claim to divine help against the hostile power of the world. This mighty struggle against the world-kingdom is represented in the psalms as a battle for the right, which must be decided by the righteous judge in favor of the righteous one. This righteous one is the singer of our psalms, who suffers for the sake of his God. It is not an individual Israelite as such who is the singer of our psalms, but Israel itself, as the people of the Lord, prays and sings these hymns; not, however, the people in its merely national sense, for only too often the psalmist must supplicate the help of the Lord against his own brethren and his fellow-Israelites. The servants of the Lord are the עֲבָדִים and עֲנָוִים, and the use of these terms is a proof of the origin of the psalm collections in the post-exilic times, when the condition of the returned exiles was a wretched one, the rich and prosperous Jews having remained in Babylon.

We do not understand that Dr. Engert means to say that all such psalms were composed with any such sense as this, but that in the editing and adaptation of the psalter for its use as the hymn-book of the second temple, this has come to be the meaning throughout of the apparently individual *I*. It is the ideal Israel; Israel thought of as the Messiah, which speaks out of this *I*.

We commend the book as a useful and valuable little contribution to the discussion of the significance of the use of the individual subject in the psalms. Its value is enhanced by the historical-critical discussion of Psalm-interpretation.

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GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY: PRINCIPLES AND METHODS.

PROFESSOR MONCRIEF'S book¹ aims to meet the needs particularly of two classes of readers: first, beginners in the study of church history in the theological schools; second, general, nonprofessional, readers who wish to know something of the career of the Christian church from the earliest times. The plan of the work is simple. Following the common division of the Christian era into periods, the author gives an account of the principal religious movements, notes their relation to human affairs on a broad scale, and explains the significance of outstanding events and the influence of eminent personalities.

The work is accordingly descriptive and explanatory rather than narrative. The object seems to be to enable the student not so much to remember historical events as to understand them. The effect upon the reader is that, instead of the weariness and distraction with which beginners are often troubled on account of the way in which some church historians heap together events, important or insignificant, with no distinct guiding principle, or make digressions which unwind into long and wearisome dissertations, he begins to perceive that the bewildering maze has a meaning and a thrilling interest, because it exhibits the working of great principles which stand in the closest relation to problems of our own time.

The author also takes good care to guard the beginner against the danger of being satisfied with the general knowledge which a short history supplies. Carefully prepared bibliographies, with occasional comments on the character of works named, remind the student of the extent of the field and direct him how to explore it.

Such a book meets a real need, not only of the classes mentioned, but of teachers in ordinary theological seminaries. The method of teaching church history by making students "get up" a text-book containing the necessary information is very unsatisfactory as to imme-

¹*A Short History of the Christian Church.* By JOHN W. MONCRIEF. Chicago: Revell, 1902. 456 pp. \$1.50.

mediate results and supplies little stimulus to further study. Entire dependence on the lectures of a professor is almost worse. With such a work as Professor Moncrief's in the hands of his students a teacher is free to lay the emphasis where he will, and by training his students in the judicious use of the documents and works cited he may effect a broadening of their minds and stimulate them to continue their reading (which, by the way, is rather unusual) after they have left the seminary.

One cannot, of course, be satisfied with the author's historical perspective at every point. When, for example, a large amount of space, as is proper, is assigned to continental philosophy and theology in the eighteenth century, and the influence of Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist life in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is represented by only half-a-dozen lines each, there would seem to be at least a lack of proportion. We hope that future editions of the book may correct this. Then, too, the insertion of a few carefully prepared maps would be an aid to the reader.

In accordance with his position that "church history is an organic part of general history," the author is careful to explain the general conditions of the peoples concerned in the different epochs of the church. One of the great disadvantages under which both "secular" and "sacred" history have generally been studied is] that they are conceived as fundamentally distinct. The time is at hand when the student of political, social, or economic history will recognize the important influence of religion upon these phases of human life, and when the student of church history will see that narrow and false views of the part which religion has played in the world are the sure result of isolating it for purposes of study. Of course, the distinction between political history, for example, and the history of religion is valid, but it should not be forgotten that it is only by abstraction they can be separated. The true teacher of either one of these will do his work well only when its phenomena are considered as, in part, the product of forces of the other class. Especially must the theological seminary insist that its students shall study history in its integrity.

How comes it that church history, notwithstanding its relation to those things which affect us most deeply of all, is not studied so widely or with such stirring interest as political history? Is not this the reason: in the latter we are either dealing immediately with political units whose present condition and future destiny are of profound concern to us and whose past is vitally related to their future, or we are dealing with past conditions of other peoples in the hope of discover-

ing some answer to questions pressing upon us now for a practical solution; while in church history this is often left out of sight. To be more definite: church history labors under a heavy incubus of dogmatism and traditionalism which are supposedly based on some final authority. Some definitely formulated creed and some definite form of church organization is conceived as derived from apostolic teaching. Thus some of our greatest problems are settled for us in advance, and church history becomes mainly a record of conformity with or departure from these. Consequently interest fails because so little is at stake. The account of schisms and heresies of the past becomes a dreary record of aberrations.

Now, church history ought to be dominated by the practical interest; that is, it ought to be studied and written with the hope of obtaining some answer to questions of our own time. For example, Christian thought is now deeply concerned with the question, What is Christianity? It is imperative that this question be answered anew. No dogmatic or other system of the past can supply the answer. *That* must come out of the history of the Christian religion. Church history, if truly appreciated, is dominated, not by a bare scientific interest in mere facts, but by the highest of all practical interests, the religious interest.

Hence also we must think of Christianity as religion, rather than as church. It is a great religious fact today. History must tell us where it came from. It must tell us how it began, what elements entered into its earliest existence, how it has been influenced by external conditions, how it rejected elements of other religions in its progress, or how it absorbed something from them. We must begin to write "History of the Christian Religion," instead of "History of the Christian Church." This means, of course, that the study of comparative religion ought no longer to be neglected in theological seminaries. Christianity is not to be understood out of relation to the phenomena of religion before Christ and after Christ. By this broader view of the history of Christianity may we expect help, not only in seeking to decide such pressing questions as the relations of church and state and the great missionary problems, but also for the scarcely less important task of constructing a new Christian apologetic and dogmatic. The theological sciences, if properly treated, will be based on the facts of Christian history and the historical method.

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TWO NEW COMMENTARIES ON THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL.

THE two German commentaries now nearing completion present us with their exposition of the books of Samuel¹ at about the same time. It will be seen that the "Kurze Handkommentar" is this time not so brief as the other. The external form of each volume accords with that of the rest of the series which it represents. Nowack gives us a complete translation of the text; Budde has an elaborate table of contents and an index, both of which are lacking in the rival volume. Budde is fuller in the discussion of questions of introduction and literary analysis; Nowack gives us a table showing the analysis made by preceding commentators.

The student of the Hebrew Bible does not need to be told that the books of Samuel present phenomena of special interest both in textual criticism and in what is known as the higher criticism. The most conservative defender of the massoretic text cannot shut his eyes to its imperfections here; while the fact that different documents have here been combined in a composite narrative stands out on the very surface of what we read. The books have been repeatedly studied of late years with reference to both classes of problems, so that we now have a *consensus criticorum*, the existence of which is evidenced afresh by the two volumes before us. In a large proportion of textual emendations both these authors (though with independent judgment) follow the suggestions of preceding scholars. Budde, indeed, is himself one of these predecessors, having published his study entitled *Richter und Samuel* in 1890 and an edition of the text in Haupt's "Sacred Books of the Old Testament" in 1894. He tells us in the present volume that he prepared the English translation for Professor Haupt's series some years ago. It is to be regretted if the support to this series is not sufficient to warrant the publication of this volume.

In a notice like the present it is not possible to discuss the details of textual criticism. Both our authors recognize the fact that the current Hebrew text of Samuel is in a deplorable condition. Both agree that we have in the Greek version (or versions) a means of correcting many errors of the Hebrew. Both of them decidedly reject the reactionary

¹*Die Bücher Samuels*. Erklärt von KARL BUDDE. (= "Kurzer Handkommentar zum alten Testament," herausgegeben von KARL MARTI, Lieferung 18.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1902. xxviii + 344 pages. M. 7.

Die Bücher Samuels. Übersetzt und erklärt von WILHELM NOWACK. (= "Handkommentar zum alten Testament, herausgegeben von W. NOWACK.") Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. xxxiv + 262 pages. M. 5.80.

protest of Lühr (in the third edition of Thenius's commentary), and we may suppose that that protest will not be repeated. In every particular case of emendation there is, however, a weighing of probabilities which still leaves room for difference of opinion. I have been interested to notice that my own emendations (in the "International Critical Commentary") are usually approved by one of these authors, often accepted by both. Neither Budde nor Nowack seems to have re-examined all the Greek evidence in our hands. Both of them content themselves—as I did myself—with the principal recensions of the Greek as contained in the Vatican and Alexandrine manuscripts and in Lagarde's Lucian. There is undoubtedly room for more self-denying labor here. Professor Moore has pointed out that at least one other recension of the Greek may be recovered from the material gathered by Parsons. The next advance in textual criticism must come through a careful examination of all the Greek evidence accessible; and I hope there may be some time a Syriac Old Testament which will represent something more than the *textus receptus* of that version. If we could also hope for a Hebrew text constructed after the method of Cornill's *Ezekiel* with the critical apparatus on the same page with the text, I, for one, should be devoutly thankful.

Turning now to the higher or literary criticism, we find that the two commentaries before us adopt the results already current in the analysis of the books. It is apparent to the superficial observer that at least two histories of the early monarchy have been combined in our books of Samuel. The two documents differ remarkably, both in style and in point of view. One of them regards Saul as the divinely chosen deliverer of Israel; the other looks upon the monarchy as a mistake—the result of a self-willed demand on the part of a rebellious people, doomed to failure from the start. Of the two documents the former is by all indications the earlier in point of time. All scholars who concede the right of critical analysis agree on this point. When we come to fix a distinct date, there still remains a difference of opinion. Especially does the divergence show itself with reference to the later (theocratic) document. Budde identifies the earlier writer with the Yahwistic author of the Pentateuch (J), and logically he finds the Elohist writer (E) in the other document. What he means, however, is not the categorical affirmation that the same man who wrote the J stories in the Pentateuch wrote also the older parts of the books of Samuel (1 Sam., chap. 9, is a good sample of his work), but that the two writers belong to the same school. In this form the statement has

much to commend it. The J stories in Genesis, the earlier stories of the Judges, and the earliest history of Saul have some striking resemblance in style and in point of view.

When we come to the second document (1 Sam., chaps. 7 and 8, may be given as a specimen) there is more difference of opinion. The question on which the difference arises is whether this document shows the influence of Deuteronomy. Budde by ascribing it to E, or to the school of E, affirms that it does not. He is compelled to admit, however, that in places this stream of narrative has been retouched by a deuteronomistic hand. To me it seems that these traces of elaboration (as he calls them) belong to the original document, and I am therefore compelled to make the whole document deuteronomistic. The more one reflects upon it, the more difficult one finds it to suppose the theocratic theories of 1 Sam., chaps. 7 and 8, earlier than the exile. In this I am glad to find that Nowack agrees, taking the position that these chapters are exilic or post-exilic. In discussing the question, Budde argues that for an author of the deuteronomistic school to replace an earlier history with one of his own is unheard of. Doubtless it was the author's intention to replace the earlier history of Saul with one more consonant with his own ideas. But that post-exilic authors might do this is self-evident. We can think of no reason why they should not. The reader who is interested to see what can be said on both sides may compare Budde, p. 47, with Nowack, p. 36.

A question which has long puzzled the expositors is: Why should we have two accounts of the rejection of Saul by Samuel? That we have two accounts is to a certain extent explicable on the theory of two main streams of history. Still it is difficult to suppose that the author who was so favorable to Saul as to write 1 Sam., chaps. 9, 10, and 14, could believe Saul ultimately rejected by Samuel. But two writers did believe him rejected, one of whom has given us 13:7-15; the other has given us chap. 15. Which is the earlier? To answer this we notice that one ascribes impatience as the reason of Saul's rejection; the other finds the reason in a high-handed act of disobedience. It has seemed to me that the one which comes earliest in the text is earliest also in point of time, having been interwoven with the earlier document before that document was fused with the later one. And this seems to me confirmed by the position of Samuel in one as compared with his position in the other. The theory of 13:7-15 is that Samuel, being counselor, chaplain, or confessor of Saul, was the proper person to perform

the religious rites at the opening of a campaign. The theory of chap. 15 is that Samuel (though he has resigned the theocratic headship of Israel) has the right to command the king. And in addition this document holds that the ban (*herem*) must be executed upon the enemies of Israel to the last man. In both these respects the account seems to show a more advanced theocratic theory than the other, and this would carry with it the later date. Budde in his present work concedes that chap. 15 is the direct continuation of chap. 12, which all know to belong to the later stratum. He also finds in 13:7-15 marks of relative antiquity (pp. 87 and 107). Nowack still holds to the later date of 13:7-15 (*cf.* p. xvi). Nowack also repeats what earlier commentators have said about chap. 15 taking a "middle position" between the two main documents. The argument is that in this chapter Samuel appears neither as the seer of chaps. 9 and 10 nor as the theocratic ruler of chaps. 7 and 8. But we should remember that the theocratic ruler had formally abdicated in chap. 12, and that in the passage under consideration he claims the right still to command the king, and even to depose him in case of disobedience. Instead of occupying a "middle position" here, therefore, Samuel is quite as majestic a figure as in any part of deuteronomistic account. A further question is whether chap. 15 is the elaboration of an earlier and simpler narrative, as is supposed by Budde. This is well worth more minute examination than can be given it in a book notice.

The difficulty we find in assigning exact dates to all our documents is well exemplified by the scene with the witch of Endor (1 Sam., chap. 28). Budde is inclined to make it a part of the older narrative, and he has an elaborate theory of its having been cut out of its proper connection and reinserted in the same document from which it had once been removed. He pleads that the Samuel who in this chapter returns from the dead is not the theocratic judge of chaps. 7, 12, and 15, but the seer of chap. 9. But properly speaking he is neither—he is the powerless shade of a once powerful man, called back to earth to counsel an unhappy client. No argument can be deduced from this, for it must be the status of any of the manes. On the other hand, it is quite probable that the author who recounts Saul's rejection in chap. 15 should emphasize his rejection by the scene at Endor. So far from this author being scandalized by a king of Israel consulting a necromancer, he would find Saul's conduct in this respect quite of a piece with his disobedience in the matter of Agag. Does he not, in fact, say there that rebellion and soothsaying belong together? Nor can we argue

that Saul now seeks Samuel because he is his friend, and therefore, that this document knows nothing of the breach between the two. Saul seeks Samuel because he has no one else to whom to go, and because the shades may be compelled by the mysterious power of the 'ôbîh to give information concerning the future. When Yahweh refuses to answer him by Urim or by incubation, then in desperation he seeks what means of divination he can find.

And in this connection another indication of date must be noticed. Saul is said to have exterminated the diviners and necromancers from Israel. That this is the author's fixed conviction is evident from the whole scene—the secrecy of the visit, the disguise of Saul, the fear of the woman. But when, as a fact, were the necromancers proscribed by law or by royal authority? The only answer I can find is: in the time of Josiah. It was Deuteronomy that first forbade these secret arts. Up to that time they flourished without opposition, and in fact they survived the proscription. Isaiah, indeed, speaks with just scorn of those who seek help from dead men rather than from the living God. But his language only shows that no effective measures had yet been taken against such practices. All this points to a late date for 1 Sam., chap. 28. Not only have we in this section a continuation of the document which appears in chap. 12, but we have further evidence of the deuteronomistic character of the whole narrative of which the two chapters are a part. Nowack agrees with this view of the case—see his p. 135 compared with Budde's pp. 174 ff.

Second Samuel, chaps. 9–20, is now generally recognized to be a unit, except the account of Nathan's rebuke of David, which is allowed to be a later insertion. An exceptional position is taken by Mr. Stanley A. Cook who has made some acute observations, on which he bases an analysis of the passage in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* for 1900. Budde in treating the section examines Mr. Cook's arguments in detail, but does not allow them to be conclusive. I have the impression that in this controversy the last word has not yet been spoken, and that there is room for a fresh examination of the whole ground.

For 2 Sam., chap. 7, I may be allowed to notice Budde's extended argument. He finds it impossible to believe the chapter to be deuteronomistic, because a deuteronomistic writer would not ignore the temple of Solomon in a section which treats David's desire to build a house for Yahweh. This he finds "unthinkable in a writer of the deuteronomistic school, because to this school the temple is every-

thing" (p. 233). But is not this an overstatement? Do the deuteronomistic writers make the temple *Ein und Alles*? I should say not. Whether we insist on the deuteronomistic *school* as responsible for the production is unimportant. What we want to know is the date, and I confess it seems to me not improbable that an exilic writer should see in the destruction of the Solomonic temple a proof of its rejection by Yahweh because of its pollution by idolatry. Such a writer might nevertheless prize the Davidic dynasty all the more because of the trials it had gone through with the people of Judah in the years of the nation's suffering. We have every reason to suppose that loyalty was quickened by sympathy in the case of such kings as Jehoahaz, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah. The tenor of our passage is exactly expressed by the words (Jer. 33:17): "David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel." And this comes in a passage known to be exilic. Nowack refuses to put the chapter as late as this, though he dates it in the end of the seventh century—just after Deuteronomy.

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A POET-PRELATE: POPE LEO XIII.

WHEN Tennyson wrote his *Demeter and Other Poems*, sixty years after the publication of his first volume, he was justly regarded as a striking instance of poetic powers early developed and long retained; in the volume before us¹ we find the work of a man whose earliest poem here preserved was written when Tennyson was a lad of thirteen, and who, a decade after Tennyson died at eighty-three, was still writing poems of general interest and genuine merit. So long a period of poetic activity we suppose to be unparalleled in literary history; and our admiration is increased when we remember that for a quarter-century the writer has been the most conspicuous personality in Christendom, and that since he was made bishop sixty years ago he has always been one of the busiest of public characters. That the ablest and busiest of modern pontiffs should find time and strength for such diversions at ninety years, is a wonderful proof of his versatility and of his mental and physical vigor.

We cannot, to be sure, agree with the editor, Mr. Henry, in his exuberant laudation of these poems as a whole. To us the lighter

¹ *Poems of Pope Leo XIII.* With English Translation and Notes by H. T. HENRY. New York and Philadelphia: Dolphin Press, 1902. 338 pp. \$1.50, net.

ones seem mostly very trifling, and the more serious ones seem mostly very stiff and perfunctory. In few of them is there any trace of true poetic spirit; and where there is anything poetic in the expression, it is usually a too obtrusive echo of Horace or Virgil.

The poems are all in classical meters, and are quantitatively above reproach, though in the case of monosyllables, proper names, and long final vowels generally, there is a strange frequency of bold elisions (even before a long pause) quite foreign to the best Latin lyric and strongly suggestive of the freedom of comedy in this respect.

The serious poems are invariably dignified in thought and show a genuine religious spirit; but they are not highly vivified by emotion, and not much above the average of perfunctory religious verse in all ages — useful in its way, but unnecessarily abundant and quite outside the realm of true poetry. Yet there is in the volume enough of genuine poetry of considerable merit to redeem the work from commonplaceness and make us grateful for its publication. It is to be noted that nearly all of these more valuable poems are written in the pope's extreme old age.

While the ado made by Andrew Lang and others over the essentially prosaic *Epistola ad Fabricium Rufum* must be set down among the curiosities of criticism, the same cannot be said of the world-wide admiration felt for the vigorous and impressive ode written in December, 1900, on the beginning of the new century. This production alone would almost justify the writer's title to be called a poet, and is probably the most valuable recent contribution to Latin verse. Yet pessimism does not inspire poetry of the very highest order, and this poem is in fact a highly pessimistic denunciation of the nineteenth century with its Darwinism, materialism, and secularism — the closing stanzas being a fervent prayer for the restoration of Catholic unity. It may be observed that the thought of the lost temporal power and of the selfish indifference of even Catholic nations fills the aged pontiff with wrathful indignation, and imparts to his lines that strong personal feeling which can hardly be lacking in genuine lyric.

Another fine poem is the Sapphic ode written in 1896 for the fourteenth centenary of the baptism of Clovis. The editor's stirring English translation is little inferior to the original, if at all so. Almost equally good is the "Prayer to God and the Virgin," written in 1897 in the prospect of death; yet we need but compare it, *e. g.*, with Burns's hasty lines on a similar occasion, beginning:

O thou unknown, Almighty Cause
 Of all my hope and fear,
 In whose dread presence, ere an hour,
 Perhaps I must appear!

to see the difference between the work of talent and the work of genius.

In his rôle as prisoner of the Vatican, Leo writes under his own portrait in 1883 two fine elegiac distichs suggested by the aged Hildebrand's bitter complaint: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity: *therefore* I die an exile":

Iustitiam colui; certamina longa, labores,
 Ludibria, insidias, aspera quaeque tuli;
 At fidei vindex non flectar; pro grege Christi
 Dulce pati, ipsoque in carcere dulce mori.

In diction and syntax the poems perhaps never go beyond the extreme bounds of poetic license; but in the prose notes appended it is mournfully apparent that his Holiness is not infallible in his prose Latinity, either in diction or in syntax. Locutions absolutely inadmissible in good prose occur, often where there is no excuse of necessity for departing from good classical usage. Among these are ante-classical and post-classical words, and constructions which in classical Latin are found in poetry only and even there are rare, like *integer vitae*, p. 36; but of course the corn of modern thought cannot always be measured in the classical Latin bushel.

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THE TEXT OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In his small but important pamphlet Kittel¹ advocates a new edition of the Hebrew Bible which may be used as a real substitute for the massoretic text, especially for academic lectures. He begins with Klostermann's word:

Es ist ein Übelstand, dass, während dem griechischen und lateinischen Unterrichte berichtigte Texte mit Angabe der Varianten zu Grunde gelegt werden, hebräisch gelehrt wird nach der *editio princeps* des massoretischen Textes. . . . Es ist ein Übelstand, dass die akademische Jugend mit dem Vorurteile, in dem hebräischen Codex den überlieferten Text, oder gar die authentische Schrift des biblischen Autors zu besitzen, in die Vorlesung kommt, und deshalb jede Abweichung des Lehrers ihr das Gefühl einer willkürlichen Neuerung weckt.

¹*Ueber die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit einer neuen Ausgabe der hebräischen Bibel.* Von RUDOLF KITTEL. Leipzig: Deichert, 1902. 86 pages. M. 2.

A philologically good edition purged from manifest mistakes is needed. In the first part Kittel shows the necessity of such an edition. Our common editions are based upon the prints of the sixteenth century, especially upon the Complutensian Polyglot and the Bamberg Bible. The only MSS. that can be dated with certainty belong to the tenth and eleventh centuries. So that there is an interval of about 2,000 years between the oldest Old Testament texts (800-700 B. C.) and an interval of ten to sixteen or seventeen centuries between the latest Old Testament texts and these MSS. But from the time of the Massorites the text was fixed. Working back from the time of the Naqdanim (about 650-700 A. D.) through Mishnah, Gemarah, and Midrash, and through Jerome and Origen, the work of the Massorites can be followed to the time of Aquila, *i. e.*, the reign of Hadrian (117-38 A. D.). Though the interval is thus lessened by about 800 years, it is still great enough to excite the wish to lessen it even more, especially if it is considered to how manifold accidents the text was exposed when it was still without the protecting care of the Massorah (chap. i, pp. 4-13). These various sources of error are next considered. First, the twofold change of script from the ancient Hebrew script, in which the oldest writings were written, to the middle Hebrew script which was introduced shortly after the exile, and from this middle to the square script, the lower limit of whose introduction is the time of Christ. All Old Testament books had to undergo at least one change of script and not a few a twofold change. That such a change could not be effected without numerous mistakes on the part of the copyists is plain. Add to this the uncertainty of the division of the words, the lack of vocalization, the meager use of the *matres lectionis* and other sources of error at which Kittel only hints (p. 30; *cf.* also p. 3), and it will be agreed that the *textus receptus* is by no means free from mistakes, and the necessity of a revision is demonstrated (chap. ii, pp. 14-31).

The discussion of the possibility of a revision forms the second part of the book. Kittel defines first of all the attainable aim (chap. iii, pp. 32-47). It is true the ideal of all our endeavor is the recovery of the original texts of the authors. But "for the older and in the main also for the middle writings of the Old Testament this ideal aim is unattainable." Two propositions prove this: (1) As regards the consonantal text, our helps for its recovery go back with the few exceptions of the parallel texts only as far as the oldest translation, the LXX. (2) Even if we could restore the original consonantal text with absolute certainty

we should not know how it was pronounced at the time of the authors. For though we know that the massoretic pronunciation represents a later stage of the language, we have no means of restoring the system of vocalization of the old Hebrew, say of the tenth to the eighth centuries or even of the sixth or fifth centuries, B. C. The attainment of the ideal being impossible, the real aim must be to trace the text back of the Massorites to a definite point which lies between them and the originals. Kittel finds this point of time in "the text of those writings which the Jewish community read in the fourth and third centuries, B.C.," in other words, in the Hebrew text of the time of the LXX. The chief help for the reconstruction of this text is, of course, the LXX. The later translations are of value mainly in that they help us to control the LXX text. If they give a reading which for internal reasons is more correct than that of the LXX, that reading is to be accepted, for though the LXX did not read it, it may reasonably be supposed that the later translator had a Hebrew MS. before him, and it is not the text of the LXX itself, but that of the time of the LXX, that is sought. The parallel passages also are very valuable, but their number is unfortunately small. Where internal and external reasons show that the text is corrupt, in spite of the agreement of the versions, and where there are no parallel passages which could offer help, there remains as the last refuge the conjecture. But the right of conjecture for an edition such as is here intended is limited to those cases where it is probable, or at least possible, that the readings were to be found in MSS. from this time of 300 B. C. If, *e. g.*, a case comes up where it seems clear that the author wrote a certain word or phrase, restored by conjecture, this conjectured reading, however valuable it may be in itself, must not be received into the text-edition, if there are reasons for believing that the text of the time which is wanted here did not correspond any more to the original text. Else we should get a variegated text and not a uniform text, such as has been read at one time.

In which direction has this text to be sought? Only in the direction of the massoretic text, for "not any older text which is more or less closely related to the massoretic text, but the direct ancestor, the grandfather or great grandfather of the massoretic text" is sought. The LXX is an independent recension; its Hebrew original represents therefore a parallel of the massoretic text, but not the form of the massoretic text of that time. Thus only "where both recensions show the same type are they of help to each other, for here their differences signify indeed but variants of the same original text." It is clear that

not the LXX, but the massoretic text, must form the basis of the new edition. But how is this text to be vocalized? Does the massoretic punctuation represent the pronunciation of 300 B. C. (chap. iv, pp. 47-67)? After a careful and acute investigation of the pronunciation of the LXX, Kittel comes to the conclusion "that we may regard the pronunciation of the Massorah on the whole as customary already at the time of the Alexandrian translation," it being *a priori* probable that the entire system of Hebrew pronunciation has not been formed artificially by later reflection, but has been handed down as to its essential contents. And this conclusion Kittel maintains also against Sievers by showing that the time of the change of the ancient to the present pronunciation took place, not about the time of Christ, but in the first centuries after the exile, when the worship of the synagogue was established and with it the regular public reading of Biblical passages. With this coincides also the introduction of the system of cantillation in the reading of poetical texts, upon which system our pronunciation is based. This makes the question of the metrical character of the texts of "only secondary importance" for Kittel's edition (chap. v, pp. 67-76). While agreeing with Sievers as to a more ancient pronunciation of Hebrew poetry and the necessity of building the Hebrew metrical system upon this older pronunciation of the time when the poetry was composed, Kittel maintains that the system of cantillation of the Massorites was essentially accepted at the time in which the text is sought. Still, prosody is not without value for the edition. Those parts which were still written stichometrically at that time, as some MSS. of the LXX and some Hebrew codices would indicate, must be represented thus in the new edition. "Where a verse can still be recognized as such, it is . . . to be printed as verse. . . . Where, however, as so often, especially in the prophetic books, the verse cannot be restored any more or only by means of greater operations, simply *scriptio continua* is to be chosen."

In the last chapter (chap. vi, pp. 76-84) Kittel speaks of the arrangement of the proposed edition and makes the following points: (1) The massoretic text being the most important text for the reconstruction of the original, must be made the basis with consonants and vowels. (2) The massoretic text may be given as the text, and all changes be put in the form of footnotes, or the revised text may be given as the text, and the massoretic deviations be recorded in the margin; Kittel favors the latter. (3) In regard to the accents Kittel proposes, in so far as they are signs of punctuation—Kittel here follows Prætorius—to use only *Sillûq*, *Sôphpasûq*, *'Athnah*, *Zakheph* and

R'bhṣ, and perhaps also *S'gholta*. For the books *דברים*, besides *Sillāq*, only *'Olēw'yōredh* and *'Athnah*, and perhaps also *R'bhṣ gadhōl*. In so far as they simply mark the tone, they should be placed only where the accentuation determines the sense. (4) No distinction of the different sources of a book by means of different types or colors must be made, since the edition wants to give a text such as has really been read in 300 B. C., and it can of course not be assumed that the redactor indicated his sources in some external form. By this Kittel means to distinguish his edition from such works as Paul Haupt's "The Sacred Book of the Old Testament" (SBOT), but the reason he gives is not cogent. For he certainly does not mean that he wants to reproduce exactly the text of 300 B. C. outwardly, for in that case he must use, not the square, but the middle script; the representation of the different sources by colors would be no greater violation of his principle than the use of the square letters. Still for *practical* reasons Kittel's proposal is to be approved for his edition, for it is not primarily for scholars, but for students, and the practical use might be limited especially in our country, if it be identified with any one, even though it be the dominant, school of criticism. All of Kittel's practical suggestions are sane, cautious and to the point. The necessity of some such edition as Kittel proposes is apparent and is felt by every teacher of Hebrew. Kittel might have added that the constant inevitable emending of the text in the class, while it produces in some antagonism, produces in others the idea that the Hebrew text is so unreliable that it hardly pays to study it unless one wishes to become an expert; and that is an idea which would prove fatal with the study of any language.

The main proposition to reconstruct the text of 300 B. C. will at once be met by the statement that a goodly part of the Old Testament literature was written later. But this should really not be urged against Kittel; he knows it himself and means by "about 300 B. C." the time for the main body of the Old Testament. The text of those MSS. which underlie the translations made from about 280-150 B. C. is to be reconstructed (p. 38). He gets the "about 300 B. C." by reasoning that these MSS. were not written merely for the purpose of translation, and may therefore be dated one or two generations higher.

But the main question is: Is the ideal which Kittel sets himself attainable? The objection that "a critical edition of LXX on philological principles is indispensable . . . such problems as it presents cannot be solved *ambulando*" (G. F. Moore, *Judges*, SBOT, p. 22),

Kittel has already considered (p. 38, note). He concedes the justice of the objection, but declares that also a printed edition, if it existed, would not free us from the duty of deciding from case to case, for it would have a subjective character. It would simply mean less labor. Kittel is right when he does not wish to wait for such an edition of the LXX, for even the Oxford edition will not altogether be "a critical edition on philological principles."

In regard to the vocalization, it may perhaps be doubted whether the vocalization of the massoretic system is to be presupposed for the time about 300 B. C. Still, since we compromised in regard to the square script, we may do so here for practical reasons. The question becomes somewhat more important since Paul Kahle has adduced his material for the vocalization of the text according to the Babylonian system and has shown that it differs from the Palestinian in a good many instances, and corresponds very often with the pronunciation presupposed by the LXX.

One of the great advantages of Kittel's text is its uniformity; he wants to avoid *Buntscheckigkeit*. But is it really possible for him to reproduce a text such as has once actually been read about 300 B. C.? Now Kittel is extremely cautious in regard to conjectures; he would introduce only such conjectures into the text as do not exclude the possibility of finding support in MSS. of that time. But is not here, after all, some of the *Buntscheckigkeit*? A text with these emendations has never been read. The MSS. may all come from that specific time, but certainly no two of them would be alike. The use of the various MSS. for correction does not produce a text "wie er zu irgend einer Zeit einmal wirklich gelesen . . . worden ist." Such a text is a resultant text, but has never been read. Here again we might for practical reasons agree with Kittel's proposal, and certainly such a resultant text of about 300 B. C. would be a very fine thing to have, but since a checkered text cannot be altogether avoided, it would seem that the right of conjecture should be extended, and that surely such conjectures as those of which Kittel speaks, which represent the original reading of the author, should be admitted into the text even if they are not represented in MSS. of 300 B. C.

It is to be hoped that Kittel's proposed edition will really be published; it will be a great boon to students and teachers alike. Kittel's calm, clear, sane views inspire a feeling of confidence. Surely for such an edition great reserve and objectivity are necessary besides the other requisites, and Kittel impresses one as having all these.

The work of Paul Kahle^a on the massoretic text according to the Babylonian Jews has already been referred to above in connection with the ancient pronunciation. The MSS. which we have known so far in Babylonian vocalization exhibit no real differences in regard to the vocalization, though they use other methods of punctuation. It is, of course, to be presupposed that there must have been decided differences at the time when men began to exhibit the traditional oral pronunciation in written form. And some Jews of the ninth and following centuries inform us that even in their time differences between the Palestinian and Babylonian Jews still existed. But their information does not accord with the Babylonian MSS. which we have, and it must be concluded that these MSS. have been influenced by the Palestinian method of vocalization. Now Paul Kahle has found in the Berlin MS. or qu. 68o a real Babylonian MS. containing a Bible fragment with Massorah. And this MS. corresponds, as Kahle shows, with the statements of the ninth-century Jews. In regard to the method of vocalization, etc., it differs very much from those which we know already. *It presents also in details of punctuation an abundance of different traditions. We get here really a number of variants in the Hebrew text; it confirms several conjectures which have been made in regard to the Palestinian vocalization and gives them thus documentary foundation. It presents in many points a vocalization which agrees often much more with the transcriptions of LXX and with the traditions in Eusebius, Jerome, et al., than is the case with the Palestinian.* It makes it possible to judge the Palestinian punctuation from an independent point of view. It agrees, of course, with the latter in the main, if the different method of punctuation is not taken into account. But it is a remnant from a time when the vocalization had not yet become so uniform as later on through the Palestinian Massorites (p. 7). This is the summary of the investigations of the author, which show the great importance of the MS. The MS. is described (chap. ii, pp. 7-13). Then follows a chapter on the oriental Massorah, where under *b*, the importance of the MS. for the control of the lists of the eastern and western readings is brought out (chap. iii, pp. 13-23). Chap. iv treats of the oriental punctuation of the Hebrew (pp. 24-50). Here are a number of fine observations. In chap. v we have a synopsis of the verbal and nominal forms which differ in the MS. (pp. 51-79). Here a number of variants are

^a*Der masoretische Text des alten Testaments nach der Ueberlieferung der Babylonischen Juden.* Von PAUL KAHLE. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 108 pages. M 3.50.

treated. The rest of the variants follow in chap. vi (pp. 79-83). One look suffices to convince us of the importance of the material for textual criticism as well as for the history of the language. In Appendix I (pp. 83-9) the Massorah magna for Proverbs is given, and in Appendix II (pp. 89-108); Pss. 90-103, liber Canticum, and Threni I according to the Berlin MS. or qu. 680. The work of editing appears to be carefully done, so far as that can be judged without reference to the MS.

Every Old Testament scholar will at once perceive how valuable the contents of this little book are. And I, for one, am very grateful to the author, and trust that the other material which he promises may soon appear.

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SOME RECENT LITERATURE OF PHILOSOPHY.

PROFESSOR BALDWIN has brought together in a volume¹ papers which have appeared in various journals during the past fifteen years. They represent the wide range of the author's interests and publication; philosophy, historical and constructive; psychology, in both the general and the experimental lines. In many cases thought has now moved on beyond the points here discussed. Some of the essays have been incorporated for substance into the author's larger works. But the combination will be a convenience for the student. Of more especial interest to the readers of this JOURNAL are the lecture on "Psychology of Religion," which gives a summary of various points of view and an indication of the lines along which progress is making; the short paper on "Theism and Immortality," and certain aspects of several other papers. One possible value in including papers of so widely differing fields in one volume may be to make evident—if this is still in need of being made evident to any reading person—that experimental and evolutionary psychology on the one hand, and philosophical idealism on the other, may live together without discord.—Another volume of collected essays is that of Professor Howison.² The titles are: "The Limits of Evolution;" "Mod-

¹*Fragments in Philosophy and Science.* By JAMES MARK BALDWIN. New York: Scribner, 1902. ix + 389 pages. \$2.50, net.

²*The Limits of Evolution and other Essays, Illustrating the Metaphysical Theory of Personal Idealism.* By G. H. HOWISON. New York: Macmillan, 1901. xxxv + 395 pages. \$1.60, net.

ern Science and Pantheism;" "Later German Philosophy;" "The Art-Principle as Represented in Poetry;" "The Right Relation of Reason to Religion;" "Human Immortality;" and "The Harmony of Determinism and Freedom." Of these the first, fifth, and last are of special force and importance. The author, like Professor James, and not unlike Wundt, adheres to a pluralistic theory of reality. This theory is presented in these various essays, now in one of its factors, now in another; in none of these, however, is an exposition of it as a systematic whole undertaken. Proofs of this or that part of it are attempted in each chapter, but no establishment of the system as such; this, the author says, "must wait for another place and occasion." We shall anticipate with pleasure the fulfilment of the promise thus implied. The author's central thought which crops up in nearly all of his writings may very properly be called "the eternal reality of the individual." This, to be sure, is but one way of stating the general problem of the relation of worth to reality. The continuity, under law, postulated by evolution—the originality and self-dependence of personality postulated by the religious and moral interests: these are the terms of the equation to be solved. Now, the solution more or less negates inviolable continuity, thus injuring the intellectual interests in its effort to understand the world; and now it does violence to the autonomy and value of personality, thus failing to satisfy the moral and religious feeling of man. To keep causality intact in history as well as in nature, but to do so in such a way as to leave room for our supreme human and divine values, is to have found the philosopher's stone indeed. Professor Howison wishes to conserve our values and will not satisfy the intellectual interests at the expense of the religious—this is his merit. But he seems to declare the necessity of abandoning the hypothesis of the unity and continuity of the world which underlie the scientific principle of explanation, as the indispensable condition of producing and preserving the worthwhile—this seems to me to be his error, as it is the error common to all pluralists. Only by holding to the possibility and reality of the supremely worthwhile in harmony with the legal continuity and evolution of existence can both the ethical and the scientific interests of the human spirit be harmoniously satisfied. That we have not yet found the solution of this problem in detail, is no reason for cutting the Gordian knot by denying the right of the one or the other member of the equation. Besides, it is as desperate as it is serious today to seek the dwelling-place of religion in the interstices of a broken world. If that is the only way out, religion is done

for in principle already. We agree with the author in his thought of the eternal significance of personality; we do not yet believe that such significance can be maintained only by the negating, at any point or in any degree, the unity and continuity of existence. The riddle of the world and the riddle of life, their inner harmony, is the task of the future.

Deussen's *Metaphysics*³ was first published in 1877, and was translated into English in 1894. This third edition differs from the preceding editions by the addition of a new and extended preface on the meaning and essence of idealism. As is well known, the author's philosophical standpoint is that of Schopenhauer, and, like Schopenhauer, he regards as the other important lines of philosophy the Kantian idealism, the philosophy of Plato, and the Upanishads. In this preface he makes an admirably simple and clear statement of what he considers to be the essence of idealism, in the sense in which it was interpreted by Kant and Schopenhauer, and in which it is opposed to realism and materialism. Either time and space are real or not; and if they are real, then matter is real and materialism is justifiable. If, however, they are, as Kant demonstrated, only mental, and not independently existing realities, it is possible to maintain that ultimate reality is not material. The preface does not add anything, so far as the scholar is concerned, to the arguments which Schopenhauer brought forward in the statements and maintenance of his position. It aims rather to give a brief and more intelligible statement for the general reader. The point of special interest to the theologian in the writings of Schopenhauer, and likewise in its exposition through Deussen, is of course the identification by Schopenhauer of the Christian conception of self-sacrifice with the Indian conception of self-denial, and with Schopenhauer's doctrine of the denial of the will to live. At the time when Schopenhauer wrote, the romantic school in Germany was undoubtedly emphasizing all the positive factors of life in a way which did little justice to the element of evil, and minimized the real opposition and struggle which belongs undoubtedly to the Christian theory of life. The negative element of denial is certainly in the world and in Christianity. The question is, however, whether Schopenhauer, in opposing a too easy optimism, did not offer what is, after all, a more superficial view of self-denial than the New Testament demands. Is asceticism and the negating of desires the most difficult achievement, or is there

³ *Elemente der Metaphysik*. Von PAUL DEUSSEN. Dritte Auflage. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1902. xlv + 271 pages. M. 5.

a self-sacrifice which means a positive reaction, and an achievement that shall really change the situation instead of merely yielding to it? Is the overcoming of the world, which Christianity teaches, to be identified with the Stoic and Indian principle of negation? In this, its third edition, as in preceding editions, the book may be commended as a clear exposition of the principles of Schopenhauer's system, and it must not be forgotten that, although few of the specific doctrines of Schopenhauer are held in the form in which he presented them, his emphasis upon the will as fundamental has undoubtedly been one of the factors in that voluntaristic conception of mind and of reality which is so much in evidence in modern psychology and metaphysics.

Dr. Vorländer, who is well known for various critical works of shorter compass, has written a history of philosophy⁴ to fill approximately the place formerly occupied by Schwegler, as a relatively brief history of philosophy; or, rather, perhaps, a place intermediate between the work of Schwegler and the more comprehensive treatises of Windelband and Überweg. In method the author follows the chronological rather than the topical treatment, and is eminently objective. There are occasional critical observations, but the work assumes, on the whole, that its reader desires to know, in simple yet fairly comprehensive statement, what the various writers in the history of philosophy have had to say. Taking this aim and scope for granted, the work is very well adapted to its purpose. The exposition is clear, although condensed; there is a good sense of perspective in the treatment of various authors and in the prominence given to the subordinate topics in the work of an author. The literature, although by no means extensively cited, is given with sufficient fulness for purposes of introduction, and the student who does not care for full, exhaustive statements will find the manual very useful. The part which is likely to have most interest for the student who is already familiar with the history of philosophy is the last portion of Vol. II, dealing with the philosophy since 1840. This occupies pp. 403-526, and will be found very convenient for reference. For, although the treatment of the philosophical work of this period is necessarily extremely brief, the literature is brought down to the year 1900, and the student will be able, therefore, to obtain something of an orientation in value.

All who have read Professor Paulsen's books, as well as those who have sat in his class-room, expect in any subject which he treats a

⁴ *Geschichte der Philosophie*. Von KARL VORLÄNDER. Leipzig: Dürr, 1903. 2 vols. 292 and 539 pages. M. 5.50.

luminous style, a clearly-defined method, and a well-organized material. Although most of his published work has been in the fields of ethics and pedagogy, all students of Kant are familiar with his admirable short study of Kant's pre-critical development, which has never been surpassed in the clearness with which it sketched the main stages of the successive changes through which Kant passed before writing the *Critique*, and which remains one of the books to be read, whether one accepts his view of Kant's development or not. The scope of this larger work⁵ was determined largely by the series for which it was written, viz., Frohmann's "Klassiker der Philosophie." This series aims to present a general view of the life and writings of the various philosophers, treated in a way that should be valuable for the general public, as well as for the special student. In accordance with this aim, the present work covers not only the three important *Critiques*, to which something like 200 pages are given, but also the theories of law and of the state; the theory of religion and of the church; and also gives some account of Kant's life and a brief statement in conclusion of the metaphysical results of Kant's philosophy. There is no book in England, except Caird's massive work, which covers this whole field with anything like so satisfactory a result, and the book may without hesitation be recommended as the most valuable book for those who wish to learn what can be learned of Kant without a thorough and first-hand study of Kant's own writings. The work is, however, important for the student as well as for the general reader. As is well known by those familiar with the present tendencies of Kantian criticism, the interpreters of Kant divide in general into two schools. One school, represented by Erdmann and Vaihinger, lays stress upon Kant's opposition to the older rationalism and upon the limitations upon knowledge which he set up. Paulsen, on the other hand, lays stress upon Kant's opposition to empiricism. Nor does he stop here, but insists that, although Kant wished to change the *method* of the theory of knowledge, he had no disposition to change the metaphysics with which he began his philosophical development. According to Paulsen, he always maintained a Leibnizian metaphysics, however far this might be put in the background by his insistence upon the necessity of a critical method. It is this position of Paulsen which has called out especially the criticism from members of the opposing school in Germany.

⁵*Immanuel Kant: His Life and Doctrine.* By FRIEDRICH PAULSEN. Translation from revised German edition by J. E. CREIGHTON and ALBERT LEFEVRE. New York: Scribner, 1902. xix + 419 pages. \$2.50, net.

Paulsen points out that he lectured every year on Baumgarten's metaphysics, and there are various passages from certain fragments which might be cited to support more fully his position with regard to the things-in-themselves. When one takes up various points in the exposition for detailed examination, it would be easy to take exception to many statements. In the treatment of the category of causality, for instance, it seems to the writer that the author entirely misses the point, but the limits of this notice will not permit any discussion of this and numerous other details. For all critical study of the teaching of Kant the book of Caird remains the only reliable source for the English student who wishes to get the full significance of Kant's statements. The translation, as would be expected from a writer of Paulsen's clearness, under the care of so careful a scholar as Professor Creighton, is excellent and bears few, if any, traces of being a translation.

Caldecott divides his work on *The Philosophy of Religion*⁶ into two parts; the first he calls introduction, the second historical; a division open to manifest objections, since it implies no organism of thought. He defines religion as man's attitude to the being or beings distinguished from self and the world. But this definition makes the idea of God primary in religion, while, as the history of religion attests, it is only secondary. Nor, historically, is the being always distinguished from the world. In other respects the book is decidedly tendential, and its estimation of the philosophers of religion, whether in Britain or America, is conditioned thereby. In the historical part of the book the author purports to give a brief résumé of the systems of thought of all the leading philosophers and theologians of the two countries, but of course, there may be differences of opinion as to the criterion and fairness of his selection. The book has its merit as a handbook for speedy reference by the student, though it may be added that, on the whole, it is a work without special philosophic merit.

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JAMES H. TUFTS.

SOME RECENT LITERATURE ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

WE are particularly glad to greet a new contribution¹ to the study of the Vulgate. Its lamented author was a most enthusiastic student

⁶ *The Philosophy of Religion in England and America*. By ALFRED CALDECOTT. New York: Macmillan, 1901. xvi + 434 pages. \$2.50, net.

¹ *Les préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible dans les manuscrits de la Vulgate*. Mémoire posthume de M. SAMUEL BERGER. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902. 78 pages. Fr. 3.50.

and investigator of all that pertained to the history of the origin and perpetuation of the version of Jerome. His *Histoire de la Vulgate*, issued in 1893, has given him a high place in the circle of students of the Vulgate. In this book he has carefully collated several hundred of the about 1,200 MSS. of this version, and has at the same time copied many of the prefaces which Jerome and others prefixed to the separate books of the Bible. The narrative portion of this work (pp. 1-32) discusses in a comprehensive, yet concise, manner the significance of many of these for the understanding of the translations themselves, and for their influence on later biblical, particularly Vulgate, learning. The remainder of the book cites 334 codices of the Vulgate which furnish material on prefaces to the books of the Latin Bible. This is a most helpful and useful addition to the *apparatus criticus* for the study of the Vulgate.

*The Pentateuch in the Light of Today** embodies the substance of a short course of lectures delivered to teachers in London under the auspices of the Sunday-school Union. It is not intended for scholars, but for the general Bible-reading and Bible-studying public. It aims to present such results of higher criticism as have been received with practical unanimity by higher critics. Bacon's *Genesis of Genesis* and Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* constitute the quarry from which the author hews most of his material. Even granting practical unanimity among higher critics, we very much doubt the wisdom of attempting as yet to set forth these complicated results before the ordinary Sunday-school teacher. Who knows but that we may make other discoveries as remarkable as the recently found Hammurabi code of laws that may neutralize many of the so-called results of the higher criticism? Theories should be treated as such until facts establish the truth.

The attempt of Dr. Douglas³ to treat the life and work of Samuel on the basis of total rejection of "critical" results is an interesting one. It reveals a pious "rationalism" which puts that of the so-called "critics" to shame. The completeness of the difference in the point of view and the principles between the author and those whom he

* *The Pentateuch in the Light of Today*: Being a Simple Introduction to the Pentateuch on the Lines of the Higher Criticism. By ALFRED HOLBORN. New York: Imported by Scribner's, 1902. ix + 113 pages. \$0.75, net.

³ *Samuel and his Age*: A Study in the Constitutional History of Israel. ("The Bible Student's Library," Volume X.) By GEORGE C. M. DOUGLAS. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1901. xxiii + 276 pages. \$2.50.

opposes brings out with emphasis the fundamental likeness of the former and his school to the methods of the older anti-supernaturalists. The intuitive knowledge of what is in the mind of the biblical personages, the resolution of difficulties by considerations outside of the text, the *a priori* determination to find what one is looking for—in a word, the methods of “rationalism,” in distinction from those of “criticism,” are curiously revealed. The book is, also, useful as a challenge to the newer knowledge to justify itself as truer to the facts. The fact that the entire treatment, method, and results are anachronistic should not hinder the modern scholar from employing the book as a test of the modern position. Studied from that point of view, it may be of real service.

Nagel offers in his monograph⁴ on Senacherib's expedition of 701 B. C. a very thorough treatment of the documents, Hebrew, Assyrian, etc., from a most cautious and conservative point of view. The recent conclusions of Meinhold and others who find in 2 Kings 18:17–19:37 two documents of very different historical value are subjected to a microscopic investigation and found wanting. Winckler's bold conjectures and assertions are severely handled. Sometimes conservatism gets the better of sound historical reasoning, and the puncturing of the arguments of other scholars takes the place of the endeavor to find exact historical fact. Nagel finds very few difficulties, often, it seems, because the others have found so many. But the book will have an important place among the discussions on this ever-interesting episode, and should lead to a fresh examination of the materials available for its elucidation.

*Die Bücher Esra und Nehemiah*⁵ is a contribution toward the critical as over against the traditional treatment of these books. The author has no new and startling theory to propound. He makes use of the best new material on the subject, and carefully works through the historical and literary questions which naturally come up in these books. The theory of Kusters regarding Esra's return does not seem to trouble him, nor is he side-tracked by insignificant and minor data. The most interesting part of his brochure from a literary point of

⁴*Der Zug des Sanherib gegen Jerusalem.* Nach den Quellen dargestellt. Von GOTTFRIED NAGEL. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. viii + 124 pages. M. 2.50.

⁵*Die Bücher Esra und Nehemiah:* Untersuchungen ihres litterarischen und geschichtlichen Charakters. (=“Studien zur alttestamentlichen Einleitung und Geschichte, Heft 2.”) Von DR. CARL HOLZHEY. München: Lentner, 1902. 68 pages. M. 1.80.

view is § 11, where he presents his theory of the literary make-up of the books in question. Even in this he presents no radical position, but one that harmonizes well with the position of Gigot in his *Introduction*. The whole document is a mark of a healthful progress among a class of writers who have always stood for a stiff conservatism.

It is surprising that some one has not already undertaken the task to which Dr. Procksch has set himself in his *Geschichtsbetrachtung*.⁶ The two parts are set forth clearly in the title. "What was the Prophetic View of Israel's History" and "What Actual Historical Traditions Appear in the Prophetic Literature of the Pre-Exilic Age"—this is his double theme. He handles it with ample learning and fine appreciation. The book is a most useful contribution to Old Testament science.

The last fifteen years of Israel's history just before the fall of Jerusalem receive a new study in Erbt's *Jeremia und seine Zeit*.⁷ The book of Jeremiah supplies the material for this study. It is arranged under four themes: (1) "The Memoirs of Baruch, beginning at the Fourth Year of Jehoiakim," (2) "The Memoirs of Jeremiah," (3) "Jeremiah as a Prophet of the Nations," and (4) "Jeremiah as the People's Prophet." The main study is popular, while the critical discussions are embodied in smaller print. The author makes constant use of Cornill and Duhm, and the LXX occupies a large place in his field of critical vision. In each of the four above-named divisions he reconstructs the material into what he conceives to be the proper chronological order. While in the main this has its advantages for our understanding of the book, it in large part destroys its oriental character and occidentalizes it. There is a significance in the psychological workings of an oriental mind that must be sought after if we are to understand the utterances of the speakers and writers of the Old Testament. Was there any principle on which the compiler of Jeremiah worked? If not, we have a free hand to rearrange it, even to parts of verses. The question has not received due attention. But the innovation of Erbt's work is the arrangement of the prophetic utterances in transliterated rhythmical form according to the poetical principles of Sievers. This, like every other theory of Hebrew poetry

⁶ *Geschichtsbetrachtung und geschichtliche Ueberlieferung bei den vor-exilischen Propheten*. Von O. PROCKSCH. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 176 pages. M. 5.50.

⁷ *Jeremia und seine Zeit: Die Geschichte der letzten fünfzig Jahre des vor-exilischen Juda*. Von WILHELM ERBT. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. viii + 300 pages. M. 8.

hitherto advanced, and rigidly applied, requires severe and arbitrary handling of the text. Glosses and emendations merely to fit the requirements of the poetic theory shake the confidence of the reader both in this theory of poetry and in the results of the author's work. While good critical ability is displayed in the work, we are perforce led to suspect such results as are based on the enforcement of a theoretical principle of Hebrew poetry.

Riedel's volume⁸ is a collection of odds and ends, including notes on questions of biblical introduction and theology, canon, textual criticism, and lexicography. The general point of view is the traditional one that Moses was the source of all Hebrew legislation and that the prophets were but endeavoring to reform a backslidden people. The more important notes are (1) the marriage of Hosea (pp. 1-16); (2) the three great Jewish feasts (pp. 52-73); (3) the sabbath (pp. 74-89); (4) names and divisions of the Old Testament canon. In the discussion of Hosea's marriage the view of Umbreit is taken, that Gomer was a zealous worshiper of Baal, and the harlotry therefore spiritual rather than literal. In support of this a new interpretation of the name Gomer-bath-Diblaim is offered, viz., that גְּבִלִים = אֲשִׁישִׁים = cakes of pressed fruit offered to the Baalim, and that גֹּמֶר has here the force of בָּן in expressions like בֶּן־חֵיל; hence the name designates Gomer as one noted for her offerings of fruit to the Baalim. This conjecture adds little to a theory in itself weak. These investigations in general give evidence of the author's wide learning and clear understanding of the nature of the problems under consideration, but they fail to compel assent to their results.

The Song of Songs⁹ has passed through several stages of interpretation. This pamphlet is an all too cursory view of some of these methods. The author briefly looks at (1) the allegorical explanations of the book, on the basis of which the symbolical figures are interpreted according to our knowledge of their meaning in ancient times; (2) the dramatic interpretation, lately losing ground; (3) the song hypothesis, according to which it is made up of a lot of love-songs. The author, as Haupt in his recent utterances in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages* (July, 1902), believes the book is a compilation of erotic poetry of the ancient Hebrews, which can be paralleled by

⁸ *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*. Von WILHELM RIEDEL. Erstes Heft. Leipzig: Deichert, 1902. 103 pages. M. 2.

⁹ *Das Hohelied*: auf Grund arabischer und anderer Parallelen von Neuem untersucht. Von GEORG JACOB. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1902. 45 pages. M. 1.

material of the same character among the Arabs and ancient Egyptians and some minor ancient oriental peoples. A few illustrations are given to corroborate his proposition.

The "Baird Lectures" of 1889,²⁰ issued in an unchanged second edition in 1892, is here reprinted again. We had expected that a new and revised edition of this excellent conservative work would put in an appearance by this time, in which the author would treat the new material of the last decade on his theme. We still hope to see it.

An essay by Boehmer²¹ seeks to instruct the German people as to the true relations of the Kaiser and his folk from a sketch of the divine ideas upon the subject which appear in the history of Israel's kingdom. There is nothing significant in it for the scholar.

Israel's Messianic hope has received particular attention in some quarters.²² This is the fourth volume of a work devoted especially to this theme. It covers Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, the prophets of the return, and a general summary of teachings from Hosea down to Malachi. The interpretations of the various passages are characterized by much good sense. The author believes in the supernatural, in the inspiration of the prophets, and in their unique work and position in Israel's history. He likewise sees in Jesus Christ the beginning of the fulfilment of much of the messianic prophecy of the Old Testament. His work is a sensible popularization of the cream of Old Testament messianic prophecies.

The agitation which has for its purpose the encouragement of the return of the Jews to Jerusalem has an advocate in Professor Rohling,²³ of the University of Prague. In this work he marshals evidence to establish the propositions, that Jerusalem will again be the holy city; that it will be the religious capital of the whole world; that it will become again the capital of the Jewish nation gathered anew about it; that its splendor, its population, its glory, even temporal, will be great;

²⁰ *The Early Religion of Israel, as Set Forth by Biblical Writers and Modern Critical Historians.* By JAMES ROBERTSON. 2 vols. New York: Whittaker, no date. xv + 296; 292 pages. \$1.60, net.

²¹ *Gottesgedanken in Israels Königtum.* Von JULIUS BOEHMER. (= "Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie." V. Jahrgang, Heft 3a); pp. 1-79. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902.

²² *Les espérances messianiques d'Israel.* Par J. GINDRAUX. Vol. IV: Derniers grands et derniers petits prophètes. Lausanne: Bridel, 1902. 287 pages. Fr. 3.

²³ *En route pour Sion: ou la grande espérance d'Israel et de toute l'humanité.* Par CHANOINE ROHLING. Traduit de l'allemand par ERNEST ROHMER. Paris: Lethielleux, 1902. xix + 333 pages. Fr. 5.

and that it will become the center of all the nations. The book is at the same time a reply to Professor Lémann, of Lyon, whose recently published work on *l'Avenir de Jérusalem* interprets largely in a spiritual sense the passages of Scripture referring to that city. This book interprets such portions of Scripture literally, and maintains that ultimately Christ will reign not only during a thousand years or during a longer indeterminate period, but without end, as King of kings and Lord of lords in Jerusalem over the wandering humanity of the whole earth. The author gleans his material from every period of the Old Testament, and so interprets it as to add to the plausibility of the thesis with which he starts out.

The unique position of Old Testament prophecy is not generally recognized in the newer publications of today. Professor Jordan, however, has made an attempt to push this theme more to the front.¹⁴ His volume "claims to be considered as a series of suggestions, not as a complete system of prophetic theology, or even as an outline of such a system" (p. 3). The title then should rather have been "Some Prophetic Ideas and Ideals." There is no attempt either to sketch the work or career of any one prophet, or to give any adequate account of his times. The book is homiletical and general in character. It does not, except in this general way, trace the growth of religion and theology in the prophetic succession. It is a series of discourses, practical and spiritual in character, based upon some salient points or single utterances or incidents given in the prophets' messages. The critical position of the author is progressive. It would be ungracious to select single unguarded utterances or statements for criticism in such a work. The book-making, however, is censurable. To furnish each of the twenty-nine short chapters with a bastard title-page, always beginning on a right-hand page, and backed by a literary quotation, requires often from one to almost two blank pages at the end of a chapter. So that not seldom we have practically four blank leaves numbered as full pages between the end of one chapter and proper beginning of the next. There is no index of any kind—a radical hindrance to practical use.

*Hebrew Ideals*¹⁵ is one of the "Handbooks for Bible Classes," edited

¹⁴ *Prophetic Ideas and Ideals: A Series of Short Studies in the Prophetic Literature of the Hebrew People.* By W. G. JORDAN. Chicago: Revell, 1902. 363 pages. \$1.25, net.

¹⁵ *Hebrew Ideals from the Story of the Patriarchs: A Study of Old Testament Faith and Life. Part First (Gen. 12-25).* By JAMES STRACHAN. New York: Imported by Scribner's, 1902. 204 pages. \$0.60, net.

by Drs. Dods and Whyte. It is an attempt to give "a sympathetic interpretation of ideals, and it is written for the purpose of instructing and stimulating young minds" (p. 9). The contents embrace twenty-seven chapters, and each chapter is subdivided into several heads. Some of the themes are unnecessarily discussed in several places, as, "Faith," on pp. 22, 77, 105, 109, 156, 163; "Character," on pp. 15, 118, 152; "Truth," on pp. 39, 141, 153; and "Discipline," on pp. 59, 157, 160. The treatment is devotional, patchwork-like, and far from interesting even to those of maturer years. Such work too often reads into the narrative of the Scriptures things that cannot be ascribed to the patriarchs, and gives us a false conception of the ideals that governed them in their action. To project back into that age the ideals that govern men today is to misinterpret the simplicity and primitive character of the patriarchs. Most readers would find a running narrative, which depicts the character of the patriarchs, more interesting, instructing, and edifying.

The popularizing of the Old Testament has been greatly aided by Sanders' and Kent's "Messages of the Bible." No volume of this valuable series is more worthy of careful study than the last one by Kent.¹⁶ It is a careful codification of the Primitive, Deuteronomic, and Priestly codes. The Introduction is a lucid exposition of the basis of the work, discussing such points as the "Growth of Israel's Laws and Institutions," "The Record of Israel's Law," the various codes out of which the law material is gathered, and "The Final Completion of the Canon of the Law." The author's codification follows this order: (1) criminal laws, (2) private laws, (3) military laws, (4) religious laws, and (5) ceremonial laws. Such an arrangement requires some little repetition, but not enough to militate against the plan. There will be some questions, of course, regarding the order of growth, upon which we cannot all agree. But Kent's arrangement forms an admirable basis for work in a line that promises much for the history of Israel's jurisprudence. The paraphrases, too, simplify and tone down much of the harshness and offensiveness of the A. V. or the R. V. We wish the twenty-two pages of contents might have been printed across rather than in an up-and-down form on the page. It would add greatly to its convenience.

Professor R. L. Stewart contributes a volume on important locali-

¹⁶ *The Messages of Israel's Lawgivers: The Laws of the Old Testament Codified, Arranged in Order of Growth, and Freely Rendered in Paraphrase.* By CHARLES FOSTER KENT. New York: Scribner's, 1902. xxxiv + 386 pages. \$1.25.

ties in Palestine." It embraces a popular study of sixteen places intimately associated with outstanding events in Bible history. The introduction cursorily summarizes the results of Palestinian investigation from Robinson to the Survey Fund. The localities studied in detail are such as Hebron, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Shechem, Sea of Galilee, Mountain of Transfiguration, Pool of Siloam, Fords of the Jordan, Machærus, and Masada. Rather than the method pursued by George Adam Smith (whose name is incorrectly printed on pp. 82 and 123) the author describes these places only in the period represented by the biblical narrative. He brings to the reader the best obtainable information on each of the points taken up, avoiding the critical technique, and putting the whole in good readable form. A score of photographic reproductions add much to the interest of the narrative. The book forms an appropriate appendix to the author's *The Land of Israel*. For "Benaiah" we find "Beniah" (p. 18); for "El-Khalil" we note "El Khulil" (p. 42); for "twelve" we should evidently read "twelve hundred" (p. 73); for "1890" we should have "1880" (p. 182). We find no "Index of Scripture Texts"—always a defect in such a work.

GEORGE S. GOODSPEED.

IRA M. PRICE.

J. M. P. SMITH.

RECENT LITERATURE ON BABYLON AND THE BIBLE.

PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH has greatly stirred up many of the Old Testament and Semitic scholars of Germany by his *Babel und Bibel*¹. This lecture is a popular presentation of some of the chief contributions of discoveries in Baylonia to the understanding of the Old Testament. It was delivered in Berlin early last year, and at the request of the Kaiser was repeated in the royal castle. Such regal recognition secured for it an immediate and wide circulation. The lecture points out in almost dramatic language the results of discovery as seen in proper names, in geographical material, in historical corroborations, in ethnological facts, in governmental methods, and in private life. Each of these is illustrated by one or more discoveries on

¹*Memorable Places among the Holy Hills*. By ROBERT LAIRD STEWART. Chicago: Revell, 1902. 250 pages. \$1, net.

²*Babel und Bibel*. Ein Vortrag. Von FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH. Mit 50 Abbildungen. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 52 pages. M. 2.

the bricks of Babylonia. We find likewise that the author attributes the origin of several important biblical facts to cuneiform literature. Among these we note (1) the sabbath, in which he omits to mention that the nineteenth day was likewise observed; (2) the loss of immortality (p. 29); (3) the flood legends; (4) the ten ante-diluvian patriarchs. The Babylonian conception of Sheol has its counterpart in the Old Testament. The idea of angels and of God may have their beginnings in Babylonia, though the author's philological argument for the latter is rather hypothetical. That the primitive religion of the Canaanite tribes was monotheistic as affirmed by the author has not yet been proved. The illustrations are well reproduced and add beauty to the limpid flow of the text. The whole lecture is an enthusiastic entablature of the supreme importance of Babylonian literature for the right conception of the Old Testament.

*Babel and Bible*² is a translation of the above work, though "Babel" is not a translation of the German "Babel." The author's recognition of this fact appears on p. 34, where he translates it "Babylon" in one line and three lines below "Babel." In general the translation is faithful to the original. But the one thing that does not represent the original work is the matter of illustrations. Of the fifty-nine cuts in this translation, thirty-six are either entirely different from those in the German, or are poor wood cuts of them. There are seventeen of those in the German text that are not found at all in the translation. There are five full-page pictures in the translation and none in the original. A translation of a work of this kind should give the reader no such patched-up method of illustration, but an exact reproduction of the cuts of the work translated. Even with this defect the booklet will add to the author's already great reputation for oriental research.

*Bibel und Babel*³ is a popular treatment which aims, among other things, to answer some of the assertions of Delitzsch. In view of the similarity of Israelitish and extra-Israelitish culture, several points (pp. 23 ff.) are to be considered: (1) Elements of culture common to different peoples do not necessarily presuppose that one people bestowed the legacy upon the other. They may have had a common source.

²*Babel and Bible*. A Lecture on the Significance of Assyriological Research for Religion, delivered before the German Emperor. By DR. FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH, Professor of Assyriology in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German by THOMAS J. MCCORMACK. Profusely illustrated. Chicago: The Open Court Pub. Co., 1902. 66 pages.

³*Bibel und Babel*. Eine kulturgeschichtliche Skizze. Von EDUARD KÖNIG, o. Professor an der Universität Bonn. Berlin: Warneck, 1902. 51 pages. M. 0.80.

The Hebrews may not owe to the Babylonian many elements claimed by Delitzsch to have been derived from them. (2) There are some gaps alongside the common elements of traditions of two nations or their culture, which are not to be overlooked. One such notable omission in the Babylonian traditions is an account of the fall of man, though the much-made-of picture occurs. The demons of Babylonian and Persian mythology (*Babel und Bibel*, p. 43) have no counterpart in the Old Testament. (3) In case we find such common elements in Israel and other peoples, we must not cover up or conceal the relative peculiarities of the Hebrews. For example (*Babel und Bibel*, pp. 31 f.) Delitzsch mentions "the gods smelled the sweet savor of the offering," but omits, "the gods assembled like flies over the offerer," and the fact that there was a contention between gods and goddesses. (4) Not the things which Israel had in common with other nations made her character, but what she had as her own peculiar possession. König vigorously opposes Delitzsch's idea of monotheism originating in Babylonia (p. 37). Babylon is indeed the point of departure of many elements of culture, but religion possesses its classical literature in the Bible (p. 51). Babylonia may be called the brains of western Asia, but what forms the life of the Bible issues from a supra-mundane experience, and that remains secure. In Babylonia mankind struggled toward heaven; in the Bible heaven reaches down into the poor life of man.

*Babel und israelitisches Religionswesen*⁴ is a brochure which is directed against some of the positions of Delitzsch in his *Babel und Bibel*. The special points of attack are: (1) the sabbath; (2) the name of God, *Jhw*; this latter's appearance in the inscriptions of Hammurabi's time is held in doubt; (3) the creation of the world; (4) the account of the deluge. His contention in each of the specifications is that Delitzsch has claimed too much for the credit of the cuneiform literature, and that he has not carefully specified the particulars wherein the great differences between the Babylonian and biblical records lie. Regarding the Babylonian origin of Israel's monotheism, Barth says (p. 36): "Between the doctrine of a pure, ethical monotheism and the sensual polytheism of the Babylonians, there yawns in favor of the Israelitish religious consciousness necessarily a precipitous gulf, over which no bridge leads."

*Das Alte Testament und die Ausgrabungen*⁵ is the theme of a lecture

⁴*Babel und israelitisches Religionswesen*. Vortrag. Von J. BARTH, a. o. Professor an der Universität Berlin. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1902. 36 pages. M. o.80.

⁵*Das Alte Testament und die Ausgrabungen*. Vortrag der theologischen

which takes *Babel und Bibel* as its point of departure. Simultaneously with the appearance of this German edition, the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY for October, 1902 (pp. 685-708), published an English translation. It will be seen that the chief purpose of this document, after pointing out that the Old Testament does not depend upon Babylonian culture for many of its fundamentals, is to present a critique of Winckler's work in the third edition of *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*.

Another outgrowth of the present agitation over the part Babylon contributes to modern thought and life is *Die babylonische Kultur*, a pamphlet by Winckler.⁶ This is largely a popularization of earlier investigations by Stucken and Winckler of Babylonian mythology and astrology. Winckler attempts to establish, though in a brief and cursory manner, the fact that the discoveries in Babylonia have not only modified, but changed our ideas of world-history. These have laid a new foundation for our historical structure. Nothing could be more interesting than to scan the proofs of such a statement. But Winckler side-tracks himself before he has satisfactorily established his position, and plunges into a maze of astrological facts and fiction. Some facts recognized in modern science and life, such as the measures of time, the signs of the zodiac, and some of the movements of the heavens, are doubtless due to the penetrative observation and reckonings of the wise men of Babylonia. Winckler's treatment, however, too often leaves the realm of fact and enters that of speculation, to give the reader assurance that he is treading upon solid ground.

Among the discussions of the questions stirred up by Delitzsch we also note *Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel* by his old pupil Alfred Jeremias.⁷ The first section is a vigorous reply to the brochure of König, noted above. On the whole and in the long run he maintains that Delitzsch's representation of the established results of cuneiform research are beyond criticism. Still he allows that Delitzsch's position regarding the religion of Babylonia as touching the Old Testament is too subjective (p. 4). He thinks, however, that the monotheism

Conferenz zu Giessen. Von KARL BUDDE, o. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Marburg. Giessen: Ricker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903. 39 pages. M. 0.80.

⁶*Die babylonische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zur unsrigen*. Ein Vortrag. Von HUGO WINCKLER. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 54 pages. M. 0.80.

⁷*Im Kampfe um Babel und Bibel*. Ein Wort zur Verständigung und Abwehr. Von ALFRED JEREMIAS, Pfarrer an der Lutherkirche zu Leipzig. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903. 38 pages. M. 0.50.

declared by Delitzsch to have originated among the Canaanites was none other than that known among the heathen of that time. Budde's little book then comes in for its share of treatment. Budde's outcry is said to be that of one whose well constructed critical theory of the Old Testament is in danger (p. 16). Winckler's investigations as well as those of Assyriologists in general are shaking the foundations of the Graf-Wellhausen hypothesis, and pointing ominously to the hitherto too subjective method of treating the Old Testament. The second part of the pamphlet discusses the old oriental world and its opponents. It is a reply to a pamphlet which Jeremias attributes to König, who rather roughly handles Winckler's *Die babylonische Kultur*. Jeremias is clear-headed, well-informed and vigorous, and maintains, as indicated in his closing paragraph, the exaltation of the spirit of the Old Testament far above Babylon and its revelations.

The close resemblance between the records of Genesis and the cuneiform inscriptions has inspired another treatment of the theme^a by one who is an enthusiast in cuneiform mysteries. The first ten pages are a recital of the resemblances of the two records. Then the author strikes out into a piece of technical linguistics or gymnastics that few readers or even scholars can or care to follow. After having gone step by step through these intricacies we are prepared to testify to the author's learning and genius, to his ability to marshal his material to reach certain ends. But his genius is so acute, that it often helps his argument along by innocent-looking assumptions, which soon become a link in his chain. His thesis that the biblical-creation story is a redaction of a Sumerian Theogony and Cosmogony (p. 70), is not proved by the facts he presents. Such personal innuendos as we find on pp. 28-31 should have no place in a scholarly work.

IRA M. PRICE.

RECENT LITERATURE IN CHURCH HISTORY.

General.

Not long since a very intelligent professor in a large school said: "I suppose that not much is doing in church history at present." He was promptly assured that he was entirely mistaken. The historical method of study has awakened the liveliest interest in all departments of history. Many fundamental questions are up for reconsideration, and it looks as if nearly all history would have to be restated—in many

^a *The Creation Story of Genesis I: a Sumerian Theogony and Cosmogony*. By HUGO RADAU. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1902. 70 pages.

cases with extensive modifications. And so in church history there are all sorts of new productions, ranging from general works, written according to modern conceptions, to learned monographs resulting from exhaustive and critical studies of particular points or phases. The world is everywhere convinced that it cannot safely advance into the future without an accurate knowledge and a true interpretation of the past. The past must supply the ballast and give direction to the ship as it winds its way through the storms of the present into what we are sure will be the calmer seas of the future.

A few examples selected from here and there may suffice to show the truth of these statements. Let us take first of all some of the recent contributions to general church history. Among these should be mentioned the short, but excellent, general church history by Dr. Christian Geyer.¹ In 736 pages this book brings the history of the church from its beginning down to the rise of the Pietistic movement after the time of the Thirty Years' War. In the two former editions the work has already had a most favorable reception, but it now appears in a much improved and enlarged form. A distinct and very attractive feature of the work is that it combines science and art in such a way as to meet the needs of both the useful and the æsthetic. The illustrations, arranged in historical order, represent the best work of the leading architects, sculptors, and painters of the given periods. Among these we find the Atrium of old St. Peter's, St. Lorenzo outside the Walls at Rome, the Basilica of St. Paul's outside the Walls at Rome, San Clemente at Rome, the mosaic of the apse of the Church of St. Apollinaris at Ravenna, the early Gothic façade of Notre Dame in Paris, the portraits of Julius II. and Leo X. by Raphael, and the Madonna by Cimabue. These are specimens of what the reader will find distributed all through the book. The illustrations would surely aggregate more than six hundred, beginning with the rude work of the catacombs, and coming down through the successive steps of progress, decline, and revival, to our own times. There is lacking yet the fifth part to make the third edition complete. The work is peculiarly adapted to the needs of educated young people, and it will be sure to awaken and strengthen within them a new love for the church and its marvelous history. Moreover, there are few educated people in any line who would not find pleasure and profit in running through its pages, gathering its treas-

¹ *Kirchengeschichte für das evangelische Haus*. Von FRIEDRICH BAUM UND CHRISTIAN GEYER. Dritte Auflage. Mit 600 Textabbildungen und zahlreichen Beilagen. München: Beck, 1902. In 5 Lieferungen. M. 2.20 a part.

ures of thought, made clearer and more abiding through its numerous and well executed illustrations. Dr. Geyer is to be congratulated on having carried the work through to so successful an issue.

More condensed and organically connected is a small volume² of 319 pages in which Dr. Selden has charmingly told the story of the Christian centuries. As he says in his introduction, he does not mean this work as a church history, but rather as an account of the development of Christian civilization. There are many intelligent people who have a great variety of facts pertaining to Christianity, but these facts are all in confusion. Dr. Selden's purpose is to set these facts in order and impress upon their possessors the philosophy of the great movements of which they are organic parts.

The Ancient and Mediæval Church.

IN *Early Christianity and Paganism*³ the reader will find a graphic account of the sufferings inflicted on Christians by pagans prior to Constantine. The one thing Dean Spence has constantly in mind is this fierce, brutal assault on the new faith and the patient, unresisting, triumphant endurance of its adherents. This specific task—the history of the early persecutions—is thoroughly well done. The material is drawn at first hand from the writings of the Fathers, the official reports of the Roman courts, and the “Acts of the Martyrs.” There is little disposition to examine these sources critically. There is usually a decided leaning toward the acceptance of their genuineness and authenticity. This vast mass of original material, some of it rather credulously received, is worked over into modern popular form. The style is somewhat diffuse, but is always lively and sometimes glowing. It was well worth the dean's while to undertake a vivid, impressive narrative of the attempt to destroy Christianity, and in the task he set himself he has made a decided success. The book ought to find its way to a large circle of readers. Under the title *Early Christianity and Paganism* the reader naturally looks for many things that are either entirely omitted or are mentioned only in a cursory way. Beyond the account of pagan oppression and Christian suffering and martyrdom the book has little value. There is a chapter devoted to the

² *The Story of the Christian Centuries*. By EDWARD GRIFFIN SELDEN. Chicago, New York, and Toronto: Revell, 1902. 319 pages. \$1.50, net.

³ *Early Christianity and Paganism*: A. D. 64 to the Peace of the Church in the Fourth Century. A Narration Mainly Based upon Contemporary Records and Remains. By H. DONALD M. SPENCE. New York: Dutton & Co.; London: Cassell, 1902. xv + 560 pages. \$4, net.

revival of paganism, but what paganism really is in its inner spirit and real import is not treated. The relations and reciprocal influences of these two religions which were struggling for the supremacy are not considered except in so far as they were exhibited in this outward antagonism. There is no discussion of the effect of pagan life, thought, and institutions on the character and form of the Christian Church. Christianity seems in the author's mind to have remained always the same. The Ebionite, Gnostic, Manichæan, Monarchian, and other heretical movements, the Montanist, Novatian, Donatist, and other reformatory movements, the neo-Platonic and other philosophical movements, and all the rest, seem to have in no wise affected the Catholic faith, and to be worthy of only a passing word of condemnation. To the author it appears plain enough that in numbers, wealth, education, and social standing the Christians made marked advance, but he seems oblivious to the fact that in life, doctrine, organization, and worship the church suffered a marked decline. The Christianity he is talking about at the beginning of his book is not the Christianity of his concluding chapters. The Christianity which began the conflict with the Roman empire was not the Christianity that gained the final victory. The marks of general deterioration in idea, life, and worship from its original simplicity and purity are seen in asceticism, the magical effects attributed to the sacraments, priestcraft, superstitious reverence for relics and holy places, absurd modes of Scripture interpretation, multiplication of church offices and festivals, a secularized clergy, and a worldly membership. It had become a Christianity so overlaid with false accretions that the apostles would scarcely have recognized it. All this seems to have made no impression on the mind of Dean Spence. As a discussion of the internal meaning and movement of the pagan and Christian systems and of their effect upon each other the book is valueless, but as a treatment of the much narrower theme of the outward, physical assault of paganism on Christian disciples and the Christian church it is of very great value, and as such we commend it heartily.

The first volume of Professor Kelly's⁴ work was noticed in this JOURNAL, July, 1902. This second volume is in several respects an improvement on the first. There is given more of the "necessary narrative" to make the ideas the author is dealing with intelligible. His main purpose is more apparent, his arrangement of material more

⁴ *A History of the Church of Christ.* By HERBERT KELLY. Vol. II (from 324 to 430 A. D.). New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. xii + 341 pages. \$1.50.

orderly, and his language more easily understood. But the same misleading title remains, and, in parts, there is a lack of coherence and sequence which leads the reader to inquire whether in the author's own mind there was a connected line of thought. Part I he entitles "Arianism" and Part II "The Close of the Fourth Century." Part II treats of the place and influence of Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Chrysostom, nearly a third of the entire book being devoted to Augustine, while Ambrose gets only seven pages. The chief value of this second volume lies in the author's clear and profound insight into the character and thought of the greatest of the Latin fathers.

Several years ago there was discovered in the city library of Orleans a Latin manuscript containing twenty tracts, which appeared to be abstracts of sermons. The discovery occasioned a lively discussion, in which a number of distinguished students of patristic literature took part. The result is the probable reference of the sermons to Novatian and to the middle of the third century. Jordan gives a summary of the discussion,⁵ an epitome of each sermon, and an extensive critical apparatus.

Students of early church history will find much to interest them in a little volume which is No. 8 of the publications of the Church History Seminar at Munich.⁶ It is a thorough working over of the materials of the first three centuries, and an exceedingly clear and vivid presentation of the conclusions reached. This combination of essential qualities makes a very interesting and valuable book. It is divided into two parts. The first deals with the attitude of Christians toward Roman public life: their legal position; their attitude toward the state, toward public employments, and toward military service. The second part treats of the attitude of Christians toward social life; toward heathen society—familiar intercourse, mixed marriages, heathen pleasures, and worldly employments such as labor, commerce, art. The author shows how everything was against the Christians at the beginning, but how they gradually made their way, overcame all opposition, and at last could say: "Have courage, I have overcome the world."

⁵ *Die Theologie der neuentdeckten Predigten Novatians: Eine dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung.* Von HERMANN JORDAN. Leipzig: Deichert, 1902. x+224 pages. M. 4.50.

⁶ *Die Beteiligung der Christen am öffentlichen Leben in vorconstantinischer Zeit: Ein Beitrag zur ältesten Kirchengeschichte.* Von ANDREAS BIGELMAIR. München: Lentner, 1902. 340 pages. M. 8.

To be regarded with less favor, we think, is Heine's book.⁷ This book relates with glowing zeal the story of the conflict of the church with the emperor Julian, and its final complete victory. Many facts are given, but few readers will be able to follow the story to the end, because from the very beginning the author shows that he has no idea of Julian's very real side in the conflict. He is consequently unsympathetic and onesided. In our opinion the work has little scientific value.

Among the works covering more limited periods, and giving the results of special investigations we may find examples in such studies as that of Dr. Boehmer, who at the close of a long, critical, documentary examination⁸ feels obliged to entwine a few thorns into the laurel crown of Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury. For it appears that through the counterfeiting of documents he prepared the way for himself to the see of Canterbury, and having received the position put it above the archbishopric of York, and made the archbishop of Canterbury the chief ruler "of all the churches of the British island." Ten papal privileges, with several closely connected documents, make the basis for this investigation. They have long been known, and until recent times, have been looked upon as genuine, although some difficulties were discovered. In 1858 Hefele upon insufficient grounds sought to prove No. 1 false. In 1871 Stubbs declared the whole series to be highly questionable. Later critics declared certain ones to be false, and others to be suspicious. But the real solution was left for Dr. Boehmer. He begins with a statement of the problem. Then follow critical sections on the transmission of the ten privileges—the history of the ten privileges, etc. The evidence is cumulative that there has been a forger, and the question becomes ever more urgent: Who was the forger? It can hardly have been other than Lanfranc. It is not probable that he felt any remorse for his crime. "For," says Boehmer, "he did not, as his successor Anselm, belong to those pure, clear, truthful natures to whom a life with polluted soul is worse than death. He was a politician. Politicians always have a flexible conscience, and they not only act, but also their actions are to be judged according to the principle: the end justifies the means." (*Der Zweck heiligt das Mittel.*)

⁷ *Christus Victor! Kampf und Sieg der Kirche Jesu unter Kaiser Julian dem Apostaten.* Von DR. NIKOLAUS HEINE. Kempten: Kösel, 1902. xvi + 364 pages. M. 5.

⁸ *Die Fälschungen Erzbischof Lanfranks von Canterbury.* Von HEINRICH BÖHMER. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1902. vi + 175 pages. M. 4.

Modern Church History.

All readers of Professor Newman's first volume⁹ have waited with interest for his second and final volume. We are glad to assure them that they will not be disappointed. While the general conception remains the same, it is carried out more fully, a larger amount of material has been put in, there are more quotations from original sources, and the work as a whole is more complete. It contains 724 pages, and much of it is in finer type. Somewhat more attention is also devoted to philosophical, social, and political phases of development.

There are two general divisions. The first extends from the outbreak of the Protestant revolution to the Peace of Westphalia, 1517-1648. The second extends from 1648 to 1903 and is named "The Era of Modern Denominationalism." The first division contains 412 pages. It will thus be seen that the author allows himself space for a pretty extensive general treatment of this great period so interesting from all points of view. He properly regards Luther as the center of the mighty movement that first stirred the western world to its depths, and accordingly traces his career from his boyhood to the end of his life. He treats at length of the influences that made him. It was not accidental that this great leader should have been a Saxon, or a peasant, or that the Elector of Saxony should have been the political leader of the revolt. Luther was the child of his age. Among the strongest personal influences of his early life was that of Johann von Staupitz. This influence continued until after Luther was established at Wittenberg. Then their ways began to separate, and at last the pupil was openly denounced by the teacher. In 1516 Luther published the work of some mediæval mystic, called *German Theology*, and commended it most warmly. The influence of this work upon him was very great, and he became the standard-bearer of evangelical mysticism. The author seeks to estimate Luther at his true worth. He had a profoundly religious nature; he had experienced an overwhelming conviction of sin, and a realization of divine grace. This had come to him through the study of the Scriptures, the works of Augustine, and the German mystics. He had strong passions, an indomitable will, and an unwavering conviction that he was called of God to his specific work. Such a nature could stand no opposi-

⁹ *A Manual of Church History*. By ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN. Vol. II: "Modern Church History" (A. D. 1517-1903). Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1903. xi+724 pages. \$1.50.

tion, and when opposed he often went to the greatest extremes. This, we believe, explains the demoralizing elements in Luther's life, to which Professor Newman has given great prominence. The admirers of the great reformer can never cease to regret that he ever uttered the numerous expressions quoted, and could well wish to have them forgotten. Yet we have to remember that these sentences are incidental rather than fundamental in this hero of the church at a critical time.

The author devotes about fifty pages to what he calls "The Anti-Pedobaptist Reformation," in which he goes quite fully and satisfactorily into the different types of Anabaptism. The Zwinglian, Calvinistic, and Anglican aspects of the movement are also discussed with that rare good judgment and fairness for which Professor Newman is so well known.

In the treatment of the era of "Modern Denominationalism" we have a very interesting discussion. The author takes into consideration all the causes, new and old, that have combined to make history since the Peace of Westphalia. In religion the most evident phenomenon has been the rise of denominationalism. Denominations are the outward expression of the spirit of liberty which will not endure any restrictions upon what it considers its rights. Professor Newman believes in denominations, although he would readily grant that denominationalism has gone farther than it would had all parties been charitable and wise. It is not probable that it will go farther, but rather that different branches of the same denomination will reunite. He answers the taunts of the Romanists by showing that they have never been harmonious among themselves. There are many influences today tending to bring the great Protestant denominations together. Such are the Evangelical Alliance, the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, the Young Men's Christian Association, the co-operation of denominations, and intermarriages.

Other features of this age are: missionary endeavor, practical philanthropy, scientific research, and the historical method of study.

We may add another little volume which comes in the series of the "Oxford Church Text Books."¹⁰ It is a book after the high-church man's own heart. Protestants will find most interest in the concluding chapter on "The Principles of the Reformation." The concluding sentences are:

¹⁰ *The Continental Reformation*. By B. J. KIDD. London: Rivington, 1902. 142 pages. 1s., net.

If the vast mass of Protestants have maintained their Bible intact and kept their hold on the cardinal truths of the Trinity and the incarnation, that is not the merit of their Protestantism. For the Bible, as for the faith, Christendom is indebted to the undivided church.

Choisy¹¹ writes of Geneva in the period immediately succeeding Calvin, to ascertain the practical working of Calvinism after it was deprived of the guiding hand of the great theologian and ruler and left to itself. In the papal system, when it was at its height, the church and the state were distinct, with the church supreme in authority. In the Lutheran system the two were distinct, with the state supreme in authority. In the Calvinistic system the two were intermingled and identified so that they could hardly be distinguished from each other. Hence Choisy cannot entitle his book "The State and the Church at Geneva," but is compelled to entitle it "The Christian Calvinist State at Geneva." There was no state distinguished clearly from the church, and no church distinguished clearly from the state. Yet there were several organizations chiefly concerned with secular affairs, and others chiefly concerned with ecclesiastical affairs, though one great function of the former was to enforce the rigid morality demanded by the latter. After the death of Calvin the supreme influence in this mixed government was wielded by Beza, a man of less ability, though he towered far above the majority. During this second stage of the history internal harmony was preserved, and all immorality and levity were suppressed with terrible severity, yet with a tendency to recognize the state as different from the church, and as supreme within its own proper limits, to tolerate the lighter moral laxities, and to restrict the influence of the pastors. The change was so gradual, however, that Geneva may be said to have been a holy city for a hundred years after Beza died. In the first half of his book Choisy limits himself to narrative, and shows us the Christian Calvinist state at work with reference to various cases of immorality. After this, he devotes eighty or ninety pages to a delineation of the characteristics of this singular government, deriving his conclusions from the facts previously recited. Then, in a closing division of more than a hundred pages, he considers those features of the Calvinistic theology which would naturally lead to the organization of such a state, if applied logically and remorselessly. This last is by far the most original and important part of the book. The historical facts were already fairly well known, but it has not before

¹¹ *L'État chrétien calviniste à Genève au temps de Théodore de Bèze*. Par EUGÈNE CHOISY. Genève: Eggimann, 1902. xi + 523 pages. F. 10.

been so clearly shown why Calvinism is adapted to produce them. The influence of Calvinism upon a society which adopts it heartily has never before been so well studied.

Not altogether dissimilar to the purpose of Choisy is that of Schnitzer,¹² though his method is wholly different. Florence, like Geneva, was once under the government of strict moral law, though but for a short time. The scholarly world in general has been obliged to judge concerning Savonarola, her reformer, from the reports of historians who may have been well or ill informed. In this book, Schnitzer has begun the publication of the sources, so that his readers may form their verdict from the testimony of the best witnesses. Two documents are presented to us here. The longer is by Redditi, a layman, well acquainted with Savonarola, who wrote shortly after the tragical end of the rule of righteousness had come in the martyrdom of its prophet. Redditi gives his reasons for believing that Savonarola was supernaturally commissioned and inspired. The first reason is found in the transformation of Florence under his preaching into an earthly paradise. But Redditi gives emphasis also to the many predictions of Savonarola which were fulfilled, and to some miracles which he performed. The second document is much shorter and drier. It is chiefly valuable for the testimony of the writer that he had come to believe Savonarola innocent, though once opposed to him, because, on sifting much of the evidence which he had trusted it had proved to be worthless. Other documents are to follow these two, and Schnitzer will find a warm welcome for all that he shall give us.

We have no good history of the Reformation in Austria, and it is a pity that Böhl did not supply the lack in this large volume,¹³ instead of writing a mere contribution to a work which someone may be expected to produce at some future time. But since we must content ourselves with a mere contribution to the history, let us be thankful that it is a valuable one. Böhl is a theologian, rather than a historian, and his favorite study gives a strong dogmatic cast to his book. He begins with the controversies which raged in the Lutheran Church of Germany after the middle of the sixteenth century. These belong to the history of which Böhl writes simply because they led to the banish-

¹² *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Savonarolas. I: Bartolomeo Redditi und Tommaso Ginori.* Von JOSEPH SCHNITZER. München: Lentner, 1902. 102 pages. M. 2.80.

¹³ *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Reformation in Österreich.* Hauptsächlich nach bisher unbenützten Aktenstücken des Regensburger Stadtarchivs. Von EDUARD BÖHL. Jena: Fischer, 1902. vi + 482 pages. M. 9.

ment from Saxony of forty or fifty professors and pastors who held the strictest Lutheran views, and who took refuge in Austria and brought to the Protestant movement there a vast impetus and a strong conservative tendency. It is his sympathy with their views which leads Böhl to devote so much space to them and to place them at the beginning of his narrative. The unwary reader might receive the impression that the Reformation in Austria began with their arrival, though in fact it had already made great advances. After this first section Böhl devotes the larger part of his book to the more important of the persons who helped or hindered the Reformation in Austria, first the princes, then the nobles, then the preachers. He next studies the Austrian Protestant service-books, church organization, church visitation, and theological controversies. It is apparent from this disjointed arrangement that the reader cannot derive from this book any orderly conception of the history. But, if he begins with some knowledge of it, he will find much aid in judging of certain persons and events hitherto obscure. It is when Böhl treats of the chief persons of the history that he is able to make the best use of the documents in the Regensburg archives. These are of various kinds, such as official papers of both the civil and ecclesiastical governments, and correspondence between distinguished men. We owe Böhl much gratitude for the diligence and accuracy with which he has edited these sources and set them in their proper places as interpreters of movements long misunderstood. His book will always be used by writers on the subject as an invaluable storehouse of facts judiciously interpreted.

Like Böhl, Schäfer¹⁴ traces the fortunes of the early Lutherans in a Roman Catholic country, but he is far more thorough. He gives us three volumes, embracing almost two thousand pages. His work is of the highest interest and importance within the narrow limits to which he confines it. He calls it a contribution to the history of Spanish Protestantism; but, as he defines Protestantism, his work is a complete history. For him Protestantism is Lutheranism, and he expressly declines to say anything about Calvinism or Anglicanism in Spain. Nor does he write of Lutheran foreigners who visited the country and propagated their religion. He confines himself strictly to native Lutherans and to the Inquisition in its relation to them. The reader is at first somewhat vexed with this narrowness, but later he acknowl-

¹⁴ *Beiträge zur Geschichte des spanischen Protestantismus und der Inquisition im sechzehnten Jahrhundert.* Nach den Originalakten in Madrid und Simancas bearbeitet. Von ERNST SCHÄFER. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902. 3 Bde. 474, 430, and 872 pages. M. 31; bd., M. 33.50.

edges that it has a certain advantage, as it enables him to view without distraction the tragedy of Lutheranism in Spain, which was, after all, the chief Protestant influence there, and to follow from birth to death the principal actors in it.

The majority of these Lutherans were organized in two churches, one at Valladolid, and the other at Seville. The latter had existed fifteen years when it was discovered by the Inquisition. Short and sharp work was done by that "holy office" when its eyes were opened to the danger, and Lutheranism in Spain perished in blood and flame, as did all other forms of Protestantism. Yet the victims were not numerous. The church at Valladolid consisted of but fifty-five members, and that at Seville of but a hundred and twenty-seven. Schäfer is able to give us the names of all these people, biographies of many, and the disposition made of each one by the Inquisition. A few were burned because they would not recant; a few were strangled to death, because, though they recanted, it was only at the last moment; while the great mass were received back into the bosom of the church after undergoing temporary punishment. There was but little heroism among them.

The history of these Lutherans Schäfer has been able to reconstruct wholly from the records of the Inquisition, which were placed at his disposal by the Spanish authorities. His study of these documents has led him to a study of the Inquisition itself, and this part of his work is far more valuable than the other. Yet, like the other, it both loses and gains by its narrowness. Schäfer limits himself to the Inquisition of the last half of the sixteenth century, with which alone Lutheranism came into contact, though he is compelled at times to glance at the institution in its earlier stages. His presentation of the Inquisition of this brief period, derived as it is from an intimate acquaintance with the records, is able, clear, and exhaustive, but his knowledge of the earlier Inquisition is not so great. He begins with a bibliography of the Inquisition, which omits the monumental work of Lea, and the more discursive but yet weighty studies of Döllinger. His statements concerning the Inquisition of the era of the Reformation may be accepted as authoritative and final. His statements concerning the earlier Inquisition can be accepted only with reserve. His delineation of the Inquisition which he knows is so painstaking, so minute, so comprehensive, so scientific alike in its wide compass and its smallest details, that it will constitute a new point of departure in the investigation of this terrible instrument of intolerance and persecution.

The very coolness with which Schäfer writes, though offensive to the Protestant reader, has its advantages. Though he announces himself "a stiff-necked Lutheran," he expresses no horror when he records the death of his Spanish brethren. The persons burned and strangled and tormented seem to afford him nothing more than an opportunity to collect a set of statistics. The tedious processes of the trials, including the use of torture to procure evidence, are analyzed minutely, but with no word of blame. Indeed, the incautious reader may find himself in danger of admiring this dark tribunal, and of regarding it as an ingenious mechanism, rather than as an organized crime against God and man. Nevertheless, as the surgeon who suppresses his sympathies is able to do his work better than another, so perhaps Schäfer dissects the Inquisition more perfectly for the self-control with which he pursues his task. The result is a masterly analysis, which destroys many misconceptions and errors, and substitutes for them a completed structure of cruelty in the presence of which the thoughtful man can have no emotions milder than horror and hatred.

The general reader will find all that he wants in the first volume, which presents both the Inquisition and the Spanish Lutherans. The second and third volumes contain only supporting documents, and a glance at these is sufficient to convince one that they are abundant and carefully edited, and that the collection and publication of them must have cost the author enormous toil.

It is the view of Dr. Ernst Thiele²⁵ that Luther intended ultimately to publish a representative collection of German popular sayings, which should be free from the ribald coarseness that he objected to in the efforts of Agricola and Franck. A hitherto unpublished manuscript containing 489 sayings of this sort is preserved in the Bodleian Library. Though not intended by Luther for publication in its present shape, the collection is made by Thiele the nucleus of a very substantial contribution to our knowledge of German proverbs. Dr. Thiele is one of the editors of the Weimar critical complete edition of Luther's works. His thorough scholarship, intimate acquaintance with Luther's writings, and love for the specific editorial task, here involved, combine to render especially valuable his book of 468 pages.

A description of the manuscript, a discussion of the genesis and purpose of Luther's collection, a list of previous collections of pro-

²⁵ *Luther's Sprichwörtersammlung*. Nach seiner Handschrift zum ersten Male herausgegeben und mit Anmerkungen versehen. Von ERNST THIELE. Weimar: Böhlau, 1900. xxii + 448 pages. M. 10.

verbal sayings from the writings of the Reformer, including those of Saltzmann, Henseler, Goedeke, Schleusener, Ketscher, and Dietz, and a note concerning the editor's use of Luther's manuscript, introduce a reprint of the latter in accordance with the editorial principles of the Weimar *Gesammtausgabe*. Thiele has gleaned from Luther's other writings a large mass of material illustrating the 489 numbers of the manuscript. This, together with quotations from the works of other representative German writers of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, is the basis of the 395 pages of interpretative annotations (*Anmerkungen*), which are the chief feature of the book. A complete word-list facilitates reference to the contents of the volume.

Dixon's¹⁶ history of the English Reformation began to appear a quarter of a century ago. The sixth volume is now before us. The ground thus far covered extends from Henry's parliament in A. D. 1529 to the pope's excommunication of Elizabeth in A. D. 1570—a period of forty-two years. Vol. VI covers the seven years A. D. 1564–70, and its chief interest lies in the beginnings of that nonconformist struggle which still continues and which will never cease until to all Englishmen 'is accorded religious equality before the law. Though many readers will dissent from the Anglican prepossessions which color every page of Canon Dixon's narrative, yet every reader will admire and praise the painstaking research, the wealth of learning, the masterly marshaling of facts, the literary skill, and the finished style which are also displayed on every page.

Mr. Thwaites,¹⁷ editor of *The Jesuit Relations* and author of *The Colonies*, is well fitted to write the life of Father Jacques Marquette, of the Society of Jesus. He knows by heart the story of the beginnings, rapid success, and sudden extinction of the project of French empire and evangelization in North America. In his biography of one of the most devoted and heroic leaders in that vast enterprise of discovery, colonization, and missions he has drawn his material directly from *The Relations*, Marquette's own journals, and the notices of him in the writings of Dablon, the superior-general of the Jesuit order. The life was short and eventful, and might be quickly told, but the biographer, not confining himself to Marquette's early days and appointment to missionary service in the new world, and to a detailed account of his

¹⁶ *History of the Church of England: From the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction*. By RICHARD WATSON DIXON. Vol. VI. *Elizabeth*.—A. D. 1564–1570. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902. xvi + 327 pages. 8s.

¹⁷ *Father Marquette*. By REUBEN GOLD THWAITES. Illustrated. New York: Appleton & Co., 1902. xv + 244 pages. \$1, net.

discovery and exploration of the Mississippi river in company with Joliet, has given the central figure a proper historic setting by filling his pages with interesting and instructive notices of New France, of the habits and wanderings of the Indian tribes, and of the Jesuit missionary operations and experiences among them.

This belated notice of Cobb's¹⁸ *Religious Liberty* does not betoken a lack of appreciation. A book of this kind can be treated in one of two ways. It can be read, pencil in hand, with an eye keen to detect its slips; or it can be perused in a more generous spirit, with an eye to its general value and usefulness. If the former course is pursued, enough inaccuracies can be discovered to discredit it as an authoritative guide. Its statements must be otherwise verified before one would dare implicitly to follow them. Moved by a less critical temper, one will find very much in these chapters to call forth hearty approval. This is the first attempt to write in a comprehensive way a history of the rise of religious liberty in America—an attempt in a high degree successful. A dry, dull, colorless tracing of this history, though never so accurate, would be far less popularly useful. The man whose soul is in love with religious liberty will read these attractive, even delightful, pages in which are described the long, difficult, upward struggles of colonies and states toward and into emancipation from intolerance and enslavement of conscience with a fresh sense of the priceless value of the unrestricted freedom of which we are the heirs and possessors. If here and there, not frequently, he feels a twinge when he runs across a faulty statement or a misconception, he will not find it hard to condone these occasional lapses in view of the satisfaction afforded by the work as a whole. The few mistakes in this labor of love can easily be covered with the mantle of charity.

We turn next to two attractive volumes¹⁹ aggregating 1052 pages and edited by Dr. Grant. The first volume is devoted to the different nations, thirty-one in all. The editor has sought to secure the most suitable persons to write the sketches, and has we think, succeeded to a remarkable degree. We do not know where anyone seeking condensed information—whether general reader or specialist—could find it more compactly or judiciously put than in this volume. The second volume is devoted mainly to movements such as: "The Origin and

¹⁸ *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America: A History.* By SANFORD H. COBB. New York: Macmillan, 1902. xx + 541 pages. \$4, net.

¹⁹ *Christendom Anno Domini 1901-2.* Edited by WILLIAM GRANT. With an introductory note by CHARLES CUTHBERT HALL. Two vols. New York: Holt, 1902. \$2.50.

Progress of the Y. M. C. A.;" "The Salvation Army;" "Social Settlements;" "Church Union;" "Rescue Work;" etc. There are thirty of these chapters. An idea of the spirit that animates the volume may be gathered from what we may not inappropriately call its symphony of Christian life, on the fourth page:

To recognize as brethren those who differ from us in religion ; to accord to such the rights and privileges which belong to them ; to covet for them the best gifts and graces ; to give them full credit for the good that appears in them ; to speak well of their persons and to show interest in their work ; to rejoice in whatever success attends their labors ; to believe that their motives may be, at least, as pure as our own ; to bid them God-speed in life and action ; to follow after the things which make for peace and things wherewith one may edify another ; this is to manifest in no small degree the love of our Lord Jesus Christ ; the spirit of tolerance and good-will to men so fully exemplified in his life and enforced by his teachings.

Some idea of what the reader may expect will be gathered, for instance, from the chapter on "Religious Leaders of the Nineteenth Century": Simeon and Schleiermacher, by Professor Jackson; Bushnell, by Dr. Munger; Martineau, by Dr. Grant; Ritschl, by Dr. Garvie; Brooks, by Professor Allen; Moody, by Dr. Dixon.—An interesting contribution to church history is the translation of Guyot's book²⁰ from the French into German. On account of the numerous roseate publications on the progress and prospects of the Roman Church, and on account of unfavorable comparisons of Protestantism with Romanism, beginning with the Pope and carried on by the clergy, M. Guyot has undertaken a scientific investigation in order to learn exactly what the situation is. His conclusions are almost exactly the opposite of those reached by Roman writers. He is himself a free-thinker, but he believes that the salvation of France is to be brought about by the destruction of Romanism and the establishment of Protestantism. The work has seemed so opportune to the situation in Germany that most of it has been translated into German, and appears in a pamphlet of 181 pages. It is well worth a perusal by Protestants.

Somewhat closely connected with the same subject is a contribution to the Jesuit question by Professor Zöckler.²¹ This pamphlet is a

²⁰ *Die soziale und politische Bilanz der römischen Kirche.* Von YVES GUYOT. Autorisierte deutsche Uebersetzung. Frankfurt a. M.: Neuer Frankfurter Verlag, 1902. 181 pages. M. 3.20.

²¹ *Die Absichtlenkung; oder, Der Zweck heiligt die Mittel.* Beitrag zur Beleuchtung der Jesuitenfrage. Von OTTO ZÖCKLER. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902. 70 pages. M. 1.

reply to an article in the first part of the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* for 1902 by the Jesuit P. Reichmann. The article was aimed chiefly at Dr. Zöckler, who was the author of the "Order of the Jesuits" in the *Realencyklopädie für protest. Theologie u. Kirche*, Vol. VIII (3d ed.). This reply takes up the whole Jesuit question, and is a crushing refutation of Reichmann's position, and a damaging exposition of the true nature of the order.

The "Roman Catholic Yearbook"²² in French for 1903, prepared by M^{re}. Battandier, is a volume of 610 double-column pages with 115 illustrations. It is a well-arranged and very useful directory of the Roman church. It contains a general ecclesiastical calendar; a chronological list of all the popes, with brief biographical notices; a somewhat extended account of the present pope, with portraits, a plan of his apartments, the different names by which he has been designated, and an enumeration of the pontifical documents and acts issued last year; a list of the cardinals, with brief biographies, and their present residences; a list of the bishops, giving their official rank and distribution through various countries; a list of the monastic and mendicant orders, with the names and residences of their chief officials; a list of the Roman congregations, with their personnel and the decrees issued by them in 1902; and a hundred other matters of interest in connection with the system and administration of the Roman church.

In a series of small volumes the official writings of Leo XIII.²³ are made accessible to those who do not read Latin by a French translation finely executed.

Roman Catholic activities in Italy²⁴ are carried on by means of certain special congregations and committees. The entire composition of these bodies is here outlined, and the instructions under which they work are given. As we become acquainted thus with a part of the marvelous organization of the Latin church, we are led to ask whether there is not too much red tape and too little spontaneity.

ERI B. HULBERT.

FRANKLIN JOHNSON.

JOHN W. MONCRIEF.

²² *Annuaire pontifical catholique*. Par ALBERT BATTANDIER. VI^e Année (1903). Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse. 610 pages. Fr. 3.50.

²³ *Lettres apostoliques de S. S. Léon XIII.*: Encycliques, Brefs, etc. Texte latin avec la traduction française en regard, précédées d'une notice biographique, suivies d'une table alphabétique. Tome sixième. Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1902. 324 pages.

²⁴ *L'action catholique en Italie*. Paris: Ferou-Vrau, 1902. 80 pages.

RECENT LITERATURE IN SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

ONE of the most striking evidences that Harnack in his lectures on *Das Wesen des Christentums* has voiced a problem which men today feel to be very real is seen in the large number of books dealing with this theme. Some of them were evidently suggested by Harnack's book. Others have arisen independently. Seeberg, one of Harnack's colleagues at Berlin, who had the courage to write an excellent *Dogmengeschichte* almost immediately after Harnack's great work was completed, now publishes his public lectures on the fundamental truths of Christianity.¹ Unlike some of his professional brethren, Seeberg studiously avoids all polemic against Harnack, although the temptation to emphasize his own views by contrast must at times have been great. He has given us a strong, dignified presentation of Christianity as it has been traditionally interpreted. As the title indicates, he proceeds upon the theory that Christianity means certain "truths" concerning God, Christ, man, and the world. The first half of the book discusses the "truth" of the Christian religion, while the second half sets forth the "truths." His method is thus akin to that of the older theologians, who demonstrated the absoluteness of Christianity before setting forth its content. But in the presence of a miscellaneous audience of critical students, the lecturer naturally appeals to vital rather than to formal aspects of religious authority. The first part thus shows that Christianity meets the needs of religious aspiration as no other religion or philosophy does, while the second part shows the religious significance of the traditional doctrines of theology. The author will thus have a valuable message for many who are repelled by the radical traits of Harnack's book. His wide scholarship and broad and sympathetic spirit were never seen to better advantage than here.—A book more in harmony with Harnack's purpose is Soltau's.² He feels the pressure of the modern scientific spirit, and is willing to abandon a large portion of traditional Christianity if only he can save its central truth for modern life. He asserts that the current definitions of science are too narrow. Science should include morality, and here it finds common ground with Christianity. "Original Christianity" is then

¹ *Grundwahrheiten der christlichen Religion*. Ein akademisches Publikum in sechszehn Vorlesungen vor Studierenden aller Facultäten der Universität Berlin im Winter 1901-2 gehalten. Von REINHOLD SEEBERG. Leipzig: Deichert, 1902. v + 165 pages. M. 3.

² *Ursprüngliches Christentum in seiner Bedeutung für die Gegenwart*. Von WILHELM SOLTAU. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1902. 160 pages. M. 2.80.

differentiated from its later ecclesiastical forms by the adoption of the gospel of Mark and the logia of the first and third gospels as the norm. Yet even here much must be excluded as antiquated (*e. g.*, the eschatology of Jesus' sayings). We thus have an "original Christianity" which will readily fit into the ethico-scientific philosophy of a modern man. Soltau had already wrought out his position before Harnack's more brilliant lectures appeared. While sharing Harnack's sympathy with the perplexities of the modern scientific student, he lacks the personal religious warmth and historical sympathy necessary to give force to so radical a departure from current conceptions.

What would professional engineers think of a book on engineering written by a clergyman? Yet a book on Christian evidences by an engineer³ is expected to be read soberly! The author defines Christianity as "the facts and doctrines contained in the three creeds" (Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian) (p. 272). But a large part of the book deals with problems of which these creeds are totally innocent, *e. g.*, the authorship and date of the Pentateuch, and the scientific accuracy of the first chapter of Genesis. So many of the "facts" and arguments of the book may be so easily negated by any skeptic who chooses to collate the conclusions of recognized Christian scholars that the argument might readily prove a boomerang.—Dr. Pierson's⁴ essay into the field of apologetics reveals his strength as an orator and rhetorician; but unfortunately a weakness in critical scholarship is often evident. He has presented a masterly cumulation of facts which an infidel must somehow explain if he is to reject Christianity. But a vivid imagination leads the author sometimes to make statements which will scarcely stand the test of sober examination; as, for example, his triumphant appeal to the hundreds of Old Testament prophecies of specific details, all of which he declares to have been literally fulfilled. The book will be more consoling to unshaken believers than convincing to critical doubters.—Somewhat more satisfactory is Dr. Robbins's⁵ attempt to set forth inductively the evidence which compels belief in the divinity of Jesus. His supreme moral character, his witness concerning himself, his resurrection, his fulfilment of prophecy

³ *The Truth of Christianity*. By Major W. H. TURTON. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Co., 1902. 538 pages. \$1.25, *net*.

⁴ *The Gordian Knot; or, The Problem Which Baffles Infidelity*. By ARTHUR T. PIERSON. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1902. 264 pages. \$0.60, *net*.

⁵ *A Christian Apologetic*. By WILFORD L. ROBBINS. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. 193 pages. 2s. 6d.

(spiritually rather than technically), and the attesting power of the Spirit in the lives of those who believe in Christ—these are shown to have a religious value which makes it impossible for us to account for Jesus by any other theory than that he is divine.—A similar attempt to base Christian belief upon religious values is made in Niebergall's⁶ excellent pamphlet. But here the logical conclusions of this method are recognized, and the appeal is made exclusively to value-judgments. History can yield only objective facts (*Beweisgründe*), which are neutral spiritually save as the religious consciousness assigns significance (*Beweggründe*) to some. To those who have lost confidence in the historical evidence for Christianity the author urges the empirical test of action. If Jesus seems worthy of your moral and spiritual reverence, follow him practically without trying first to settle speculative questions concerning his divinity. While the argument is familiar, the thoughtful, clear way in which it is worked out makes the pamphlet of unusual value.—Another form of the same problem is presented in Vischer's⁷ inquiry whether the truth of Christianity is demonstrable. He asserts that no one can rest satisfied with mere value-judgments; for to be blessed by hugging an ideal with no objective foundation is to be dreaded above all things. But the "truth" of Christianity cannot be identified with its total historical content, for this includes papal tyranny, inquisitions, doctrinal errors, etc., which we cannot defend. If, however, we take some specific aspect of historical Christianity, we can be charged with arbitrary selection of only such material as will make for our desired conclusion. If we attempt to build on the historical Jesus, we can reach him only by the results of historical criticism, which are always tentative. No absolute demonstration can rest on historical data. Christianity is not mere history, but a belief in Christ as the revelation of God. But God is Lord of the universe; hence all truth in the universe belongs to Christianity. Thus Professor Vischer merely reproduces Justin Martyr's apology. Why is not this argument equally efficacious for Buddhism, provided one is allowed to define one's religion as the sum of truth, whatever it be and wherever it be found?

A little book of wonderful freshness and vigor comes from the pen of Arthur Bonus.⁸ He declares that we have attempted to describe

⁶ *Ein Pfad zur Gewissheit*. Von F. NIEBERGALL. Tübingen: Mohr, 1902. 45 pages. M. 1.

⁷ *Ist die Wahrheit des Christentums zu beweisen?* Von EBERHARD VISCHER. Tübingen: Mohr, 1902. 54 pages. M. 1.20.

⁸ *Religion als Schöpfung*. Von ARTHUR BONUS. Leipzig: Diederichs, 1902. 63 pages. M. 1.50.

religion in terms of cumbersome systems. We have imposed an intolerable burden upon laymen by making no provision for an untheological religious life. Today the scientific collapse of these systems just at the time when the spirit of independent thought is so prominent has brought us face to face with a momentous crisis. Religion must prove itself to be a creative power in the life of men, if it is to survive. The other-worldliness of past centuries must give way to a new Christianity which shall conquer the present world through the power of the divine life realized in the soul. God is the eternal creator. In religious experience we may share his creative power and through it transform the world. The author's stirring vigor reminds one of Nietzsche; but the content of his message is genuinely Christian.—An optimistic, but judicious survey of the spiritual currents of today is presented in Selleck's little volume of essays.⁹ The broad sympathies of the author are seen in his attempt to follow the Golden Rule in his treatment of movements in which he does not believe. He thus, for example, sets forth the positive religious value of Roman Catholicism and of Christian Science in an admirable way; and his exposure of defects is in a kindly spirit.—By way of contrast we may mention two pamphlets dealing with Christian Science in a polemic spirit.¹⁰ While there is ample ground for the keen thrusts of these arguments, yet it may be safely assumed that a movement of such extent does not spring up without some cause. And until that cause is discovered, Scripture refutation, satire, ridicule, and all other random weapons will have little effect save upon those who need no convincing.—In *Catholic Principles*¹¹ we have a vigorous tract to demonstrate the absolute and exclusive claims of the "American Catholic Church in the United States commonly called the Protestant Episcopal Church" as the sole rightful representative of Christianity. Proper apostolic credentials are of more importance to the author than spiritual qualifications. By reading into the word "kingdom" in the New Testament all the marks of the visible church, the author finds his full-fledged "Catholic" church in existence during the lifetime of Jesus. The New Testament is not a primary authority. It is the official promul-

⁹ *The Spiritual Outlook*. By WILLARD CHAMBERLAIN SELLECK. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1902. 349 pages. \$1.

¹⁰ *A Short Method with Christian Science*. By ALBERT G. LAWSON. 56 pages. *The Christian Science Cult*. By J. J. TAYLOR. 40 pages. Both published by the American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia.

¹¹ *Catholic Principles*. By FRANK N. WESTCOTT. Milwaukee: The Young Churchman Co., 1902. 410 pages. \$1.25, net.

gation of the Church. The skeptical critic will be somewhat amused at this naïve position so close to the infidel's theory that Christianity, Bible, and all are the creation of priestcraft. How can the "American Catholic Church" meet this argument without completely abandoning its theory of authority?—The immortal problem of theodicy is discussed in *Eternalism*,¹² a book consisting of short detached chapters written in a dogmatic style. Two propositions are iterated and reiterated: (1) Eternal justice is the fundamental law of the universe. (2) If God creates the vicious and crippled souls which come into the world we cannot maintain justice. To escape making God the author of evil, the author asserts the eternal pre-existence and after-existence of all souls. This life is but a fragment of such existence and reveals the character which each soul has achieved for itself in its former life. A universe of uncreated, undying, atomistic souls, each carrying with itself its own heaven or hell, each alone fighting the battle with evil, while abstract Justice on the throne of deity looks on and says, "Whatever occurs, I am not responsible"—such a theodicy will scarcely attract serious attention.

One of the greatest services which scholarship can render is the publishing of authoritative editions of works of historic value. Hitherto Schleiermacher's *Monologues* have been regularly published from the fourth edition which appeared in 1829. Schiele¹³ has given us the text of 1800, which is more marked by the youthful enthusiasm of the great theologian than are the later more reflective editions. The textual variations in the different editions are given in full at the foot of every page. A bibliography and an exhaustive index make this edition of great value to students of Schleiermacher.—An attractive reprint of two of Ritschl's great treatises¹⁴ will be welcomed by many students.—A cheap edition of Matthew Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*¹⁵ puts this work within the reach of everyone.

¹² *Eternalism; A Theory of Infinite Justice.* By ORLANDO J. SMITH. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1902. viii + 321 pages. \$1.25, net.

¹³ *Friedrich Schleiermacher's Monologen.* Kritische Ausgabe. Von FRIEDRICH MICHAEL SCHIELE. ("Philosophische Bibliothek," Bd. 84.) Leipzig: Dürr, 1902. xlv + 130 pages. M. 1.40.

¹⁴ *Die christliche Vollkommenheit: Theologie und Metaphysik.* Zur Verständigung und Abwehr. Von ALBRECHT RITSCHL. Dritter unveränderter Abdruck. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. 95 pages. M. 1.60.

¹⁵ *Literature and Dogma.* By MATTHEW ARNOLD. London: Watts & Co., 1902. 120 pages. 6d.

Kähler's¹⁶ is one of the many booklets called out by a remark in Harnack's *Das Wesen des Christentums*, p. 91: "Nicht der Sohn sondern allein der Vater gehört in das Evangelium, wie es Jesus verkündigt hat, hinein." As Harnack has since indicated, these polemical critics, without exception, overlooked *hartnäckig* the important modifying clause, namely, "wie es Jesus verkündigt hat." Kähler's argument is that Jesus was in the gospel as preached by Paul, by John, by the synoptists, and therefore Jesus was in the gospel as preached by himself. Harnack himself would admit the former, much as he is convinced that the latter is a *non sequitur*. The book grazes close to being a piece of special pleading and merits no extended consideration here.—Professor Ihmels's¹⁷ acute and profound discussion was evoked by the various writings of Troeltsch on the subject and on kindred topics, such as: "Die Selbständigkeit des Christentums," *Zeitschrift für Theologie u. Kirche*, 1895, 1896; "Metaphysik u. Geschichte," *ibid.*, 1898, pp. 1 ff.; "Zur theologischen Lage," *Christliche Welt*, 1898, p. 627; *Theologische Jahresbericht*, Vol. XVIII, p. 509; *Die wissenschaftliche Lage und ihre Anforderungen an die Theologie*, 1900. Is the religio-historical treatment compatible with the further judgment that Christianity is the only true religion? Ihmels agrees with Troeltsch in the rejection of the neo-Kantian treatment of religion and in the demand for the recognition of ontological principles. He differs with Troeltsch because he holds the latter's position to be destructive of a joyous and firm attitude toward Christianity. Such an attitude can be gained only by means of an investigation of Christianity as an object that is surely given, that is, by means of a Christian theory of knowledge fitted to this object; such a Christian epistemology accordingly can establish the validity of its object with full certainty only on the basis of the unique supernatural miraculous causality of the experience of conversion operating on the basis of the Bible and guaranteeing the Bible. Ihmels's desire for stability and certitude in this region is intelligible and praiseworthy, but his method, which is that of Frank, of whom he is a disciple, is open to serious objection. Both alike attain the satisfaction of their desire by appealing to what is to them the absolutely isolated supernatural factor of regeneration, or, as they sometimes say, conversion. The method presupposes

¹⁶ *Gehört Jesus in das Evangelium?* Von MARTIN KÄHLER. Zweite Auflage. Leipzig: Deichert, 1901. 38 pages. M. 0.75.

¹⁷ *Die Selbständigkeit der Dogmatik gegenüber der Religionsphilosophie.* Von LUDWIG IHMELS. Leipzig: Deichert, 1901. 34 pages. M. 1.

a conception or theory of the supernatural which is no longer tenable from the point of view of modern science and philosophy. According to Ihmels, the supernatural principle is verified in the inner miracle which is itself dependent upon outer miracle. But it is to be urged against him that historical science can neither prove nor disprove the possibility or impossibility, the occurrence or non-occurrence of a miraculous event. In a word, it is the way in which Ihmels draws the supernatural into his argument that vitiates his conclusions, careful and instructive as his discussion is in so many directions.—Loofs's book¹⁸ was overdue eleven years—a circumstance for which the author offers no explanation. He, however, congratulates himself that on account of the delay he has been made debtor to the historical and systematic labors of Kattenbusch, Harnack, Zahn, Kunze, Burns, and Heimbucher. The works of these men have necessitated manifold revisions of his own manuscript. To Kattenbusch in particular is he under obligation. Unlike most outlines, the book is greatly burdened with *Anmerkungen*, but the text is uniformly intelligible without reference to these on the part of the student. The book is divided into two parts, historical and methodological introduction, and expository symbolics. In the former he discusses the symbols that have arisen in the history of the various branches of the Christian Church. In the latter he takes up the orthodoxy of the Greek-Catholic and the Roman-Catholic Churches. The confessional and dogmatic cult, custom, and piety of these Churches are set forth with patient detail as to fact and with philosophical comprehension and insight as to principles. The whole book is a monument of vast and exact historical learning, and will probably remain an authority on the subject for years to come. The author promises that the second half of his work shall appear within a year.—Symbolics, as conceived by Plitt in his *Grundriss*¹⁹ has both a theoretical and a practical task. As it fulfils the former, it is a history, interpretation, and comparison of the confessional theology of the various churches; as it fulfils the latter, its practical service consists in its being an irenicon on the basis of the results of the modern scientific study of the Bible. The editor has carried the work on to further completeness. The introduction and

¹⁸ *Symbolik oder christliche Konfessionskunde*. Von FRIEDRICH LOOFS. Erster Band. (= "Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften," sechzehnte Abtheilung.) Tübingen: Mohr, 1902. xvi + 430 pages. M. 6.60.

¹⁹ *Grundriss der Symbolik oder Konfessionskunde*. Von GUSTAV PLITT. In vierter, umgearbeiteter Auflage herausgegeben von Victor Schulze. Leipzig: Deichert, 1902. 175 pages. M. 2.80.

the first part (Greek Church) have been subjected to a further elaboration. In the second part (Roman Church) a series of changes have also been made. The appendix, treating of extra-ecclesiastical communities, is almost entirely new, but the treatment of the Lutheran Church and of the Reformed Church remains as the author himself left it. The book is simply written, the array of facts is vast, and its objective treatment is true to the scientific spirit. It is not a philosophy, but the history, of confessions and as such is to be confidently recommended to all who wish a simple introduction into a complicated and difficult subject.

GEORGE B. FOSTER.

GERALD BIRNEY SMITH.

RECENT LITERATURE IN PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

SEVENTEEN of the representative men of the Bible are treated by Dr. Matheson in a suggestive volume.¹ It begins with Adam and ends with Job. Questions of historical criticism for the most part are ignored. The "Great Gallery" of the Jewish nation is filled with portraits. Who painted them is a matter of indifference. The interpretation of them is the thing of prime importance. What in them is universal in distinction from what is merely national, what is of permanent, instead of temporary, worth? Old notions in reference to the characters discussed are radically modified or wholly set aside. New and suggestive interpretations are presented and vigorously defended. In all these is the accent of conviction. Here and there the spirit of assurance crops out. It is barely possible that the author's new constructions may not be absolutely right. His discussions are also at times disfigured by rationalistic explanations of Old Testament miracles. The burning bush at Horeb was a dream in a hot day. The prophets of Baal with Elijah on the slopes of Carmel were an "œcumenical council." The fire sent in answer to Elijah's prayer was fire imparted to life. Elisha when he healed Naaman "sent him to a bathing establishment." It is a pity that so good a book should be marred by such inane puerilities.—Dr. Hovey's *Life of Barnas Sears*² is a fascinating biography. The subject of it is made to live over again before our eyes his long and unusually useful life. He lays a stone wall

¹ *The Representative Men of the Bible*. By GEORGE MATHESON. New York: Armstrong & Son, 1902. 369 pages.

² *Barnard Sears, A Christian Educator: His Making and Work*. By ALVAN HOVEY. New York: Silver, Burdett & Co., 1902. ix + 184 pages. \$1.

to secure money to meet the expenses incident to his early studies; graduates from Brown University, takes his theological course at Newton, becomes a pastor at Hartford, and preaches with power; studies in Germany and France, and makes large acquisitions of knowledge; serves as professor of Christian theology at Newton and as president, and for seven years as secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, being in that office the successor of Horace Mann; then for twelve years he is president of Brown University and discharges the manifold duties of his high office with great wisdom and tact. His crowning work was the administration in the South of the Peabody Educational Fund. This was soon after the close of the war. There was much bitterness of feeling to be allayed and prejudice to be overcome, but by his broad charity and Christian courtesy he carried forward his great work with little or no friction, and securely laid the foundations of the public-school system in the southern states. Just at the close of the volume the author lifts the curtain and lets us look in upon the delightful domestic life of this truly great man in his Virginia home. The facile and eloquent pen of the biographer, who is now more than fourscore years old, has lost none of its skill, and now as in the past whatever it touches it adorns.—In a brief treatise³ Mr. Fletcher, tutor in an English Wesleyan Pastors' College, Richmond, Surrey, presents the fundamental principles of homiletics. His discussion is hardly adequate, but it is clear, scriptural, and suggestive. He has an interesting chapter on the preacher's use of the Old Testament.—In the thirty-four sermons of Dr. McKim's volume⁴ the innermost truths of the gospel are presented to us. The ethical scope of the doctrines unfolded is revealed and their practical application to life is forcefully urged. The preacher in all his utterances evinces a clear apprehension of present theological thinking. He is Catholic in sentiment. Without dogmatism, he speaks from positive conviction. He has that intellectual grasp of divine truth which comes only from an experience of it. His style is clear as crystal. We did not find an obscure sentence in the whole book. It also has that directness which is indispensable to genuine sermons. We are glad to give this volume most hearty commendation.—Dr. Hillis's new book⁵ is one of his best. According to the

³ *Chapters on Preaching: A Manual for the Guidance of Young Preachers.* By GEORGE FLETCHER. London: Kelly, 1902. 176 pages. 2s.

⁴ *The Gospel in the Christian Year and in Christian Experience: Practical Sermons for the People.* By RANDOLPH H. MCKIM. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. xii + 343 pages. \$1.40, net.

⁵ *Faith and Character.* By NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS. Chicago, New York, and Toronto: Revell, 1902. 134 pages. \$0.75.

freshest thinking of the hour, he sets forth what it is to be a Christian, meets fairly and convincingly the excuses for not becoming one, and with great luminousness and tenderness presents the wonderful love of God that is poured forth even upon the vilest of sinners. In the last chapter he discusses popularly and wisely the subject of Christian growth. This little volume can hardly fail of doing much good.—The author justifies the printing of his *conférences*,⁶ or direct, familiar talks, on the ground that spoken language more perfectly reflects thought than written, and has consequently more vitality and power. The volume contains six discourses. In the first the author shows the importance of studying religious ideas in the light of their historical surroundings; in the second he argues that the existence of God is proved by the universality of the belief in it; in the third he maintains that creation can be accounted for neither by materialism nor by agnosticism, but only by the personal activity of an adequate, intelligent first cause; in the fourth he discusses the procedure of God in creating: here we may adopt the view of successive creations, or the germ theory of Augustine, or evolution, but not spontaneous but theistic evolution. In the fifth he contends that the only rational solution of providence is the direct control of all events by a personal, immanent God; in the sixth and last he teaches that we find the only rational and scientific explanation of human nature and its destiny in the teachings of the Bible. The whole treatise is fundamental, simple, clear, incisive, wholesome.—In a series of essays⁷ thirteen distinguished churchmen urge the necessity of reform in the established Church of England. With entire unanimity they advocate the creation of parish councils, composed of both clergy and laity, elected by popular vote, and also a general church legislative body, likewise composed of both clergy and laity, and elected by popular suffrage in the various dioceses of the kingdom. This, they maintain, would give each church practical autonomy, and the laity a voice in determining both doctrine and discipline. Such reform is demanded in order to deliver the established Church of England from mediævalism and to bring it into line with modern progress. It is a vigorous and timely discussion.—Bouillat, a Roman Catholic abbé, sets forth in a bulky volume⁸ the

⁶*Premières vérités: Conférences prêchées à Saint-Honoré D'Eylau.* Par le R. P. J. HÉBERT, O. P. Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1902. xi + 170 pages. Fr. 2.

⁷*Church and Reform: Essays Relating to Reform in the Government of the Church of England.* London: Bemrose & Sons, 1902. xiii + 181 pages.

⁸*L'église catholique.* Par l'ABBÉ J.-M.-J. BOUILLAT. Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1902. xxvi + 450 pages. Fr. 5.

nature and constitution of the church from his point of view. His treatise is both doctrinal and apologetic. He states and defends all the distinctive dogmas of Rome. He claims for her nearly all the triumphs of Christianity. She has emancipated the slave, ennobled woman, tenderly cared for children, befriended the laborer, succored the poor, advanced science, instructed the people, and has been the source of all true progress. While these claims are extravagant and cannot be successfully substantiated, the author writes from conviction. He is, however, at times too dogmatic; still, he is not bitter. His style is simple and clear, and he has given us an excellent compendium of Catholic doctrine.—In a volume of excerpts from the discourses of Archbishop Keane⁹ a single quotation is appropriated to each day of the year. All the excerpts for the days of any given month are on one subject and follow each other with something of logical sequence, so that during the year twelve important topics receive at least fragmentary treatment. Thus, for January the subject is "Right Living," for February "Religion," for March "Home," etc., while for the closing month of the year the topic for meditation is "Death and Resurrection." The object of the book is to inculcate lofty sentiment and to kindle devotion. Here and there is enunciated distinctive Roman Catholic doctrine, which will be repugnant to the Protestant reader, but most of the volume cannot fail to be an incentive to purity, patriotism, and piety.

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

⁹ *Onward and Upward: A Year Book, Compiled from the Discourses of Archbishop Keane.* By MAURICE FRANCIS EGAN. Baltimore: Murphy. 387 pages. \$1, net.

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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

Volume VII

JULY, 1903

Number 3

CATHOLIC—THE NAME AND THE THING.

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THERE is probably no word that is more misused in modern times than "Catholic." It is a name used to conjure with, and it stands for things which excite the passions of men to an extraordinary degree. It is, indeed, one of the great words of Christianity, ripe with historic meaning, and pregnant with all-important consequences. It is important, therefore, that we should know what the name really means, and what things are actually embraced under it. There is only one pathway to this knowledge. We must, so far as practicable, divest ourselves of every form of provincial, sectarian, and partisan prejudice, and trace the word in the lines of historic investigation from its origin until it gained a stereotyped meaning.

The word "Catholic" had its origin in the Greek language; and the things it stands for in Christianity originated at a time when the Greek language was the religious language of Christians in the West as well as in the East, in Rome and Africa and Gaul, as well as in Alexandria, Asia, and Antioch. The word is not found in the Greek Bible of the Old Testament, or the New Testament. It is an adjective compounded of the preposition *κατά*, meaning in this connection "throughout," and the adjective *ὅλος*, "whole," properly in the accusative, *ὅλον* or *ὅλην*, in

accordance with the noun to which it is attached. These words are used separately often enough in the Greek Bible and in Greek literature, but, as compounded into an adjective, though quite frequently in Greek literature in the sense of "universal," not until the sub-apostolic age in Christian literature. We first meet the word in the epistle of Ignatius, the bishop of Antioch, to the church at Smyrna, early in the second century, in the sentence: "Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people be, even as where Jesus may be, there is the catholic church" (8). The catholic church is the church gathered about Jesus as its head, just as the church of Smyrna was gathered about its bishop. The catholic church is thus the universal church as distinguished from the local church, the church throughout the whole world, under Jesus Christ the bishop of all; as Ignatius says, in this same epistle: "that he might set up an ensign unto all ages, through his resurrection for his saints and faithful people, whether among Jews or among gentiles, in one body of his church" (1); using *σῶμα*, the favorite term of Paul. We find three uses of the word in the letter of the church of Smyrna on the martyrdom of Polycarp, its bishop, soon after the martyrdom in 155 or 156. There is no good reason to question their genuineness. The letter is addressed "to all the sojourning churches of the holy catholic church throughout every place" (1). The martyr, when arrested, offers prayer for "the whole catholic church throughout the habitable world" (8). Jesus Christ is represented as "the Shepherd of the catholic church throughout the habitable world" (19). It is evident, therefore, that in the church of Smyrna under its bishop Polycarp, and the church of Antioch, under its bishop Ignatius, the term "catholic church" had become a name for the universal Christian church as united to Christ the universal Shepherd, Bishop, and Lord. The name "catholic," like the names "church" and "apostle" and "Christian," seems to have originated in Antioch.

Although the term does not appear in Hermas, the Roman prophet of this period, yet the conception does. For he uses the image of a tower for the church as built up of living stones

in four courses or generations, of apostles and prophets and ministers,¹ just as Paul uses the image of a temple;² and he conceives of the church as the bride of Christ,³ just as Paul does.⁴ Hermas frequently uses the term "*holy church*" for the whole body of Christianity united to Christ, in this following Peter who represents the Christian body as "a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ."⁵ Justin, who represents, in his origin Palestine, and in his chief Christian service Rome, does not use the term "catholic," but represents the unity of Christians as the true Israel of God in accordance with Paul⁶ and in fulfilment of the prophecies of the Old Testament. The *Muratorian Fragment*, representing the Roman church of the latter half of the second century, uses the term "catholic church" twice, as synonymous with "one church spread abroad through the whole world." Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, who represents Asia in origin, but Gaul in his ministry, writing in the last quarter of the second century, says that "the catholic church possesses one and the same faith throughout the whole world."⁷ We may say, therefore, that the word "catholic" had become a common name for the church throughout the world by the close of the second century.

The Christian church of the second century was not only in conflict with Judaism and heathenism, and so passed through a number of persecutions with its martyrdoms; it also had to wage a still more difficult war against Gnosticism in its manifold forms. It therefore became necessary to battle for genuine Christianity, against the many spurious forms proposed by the Gnostics to make an eclectic religion by mingling Christianity and heathenism; and Christian writers were obliged to appeal for authority to the traditions of the apostolic sees and to the apostolic writings. The catholic church, therefore, insisted upon its historic unity with the apostles, as well as upon its geographical unity throughout the world, and its mystic or vital unity with the enthroned and reigning Christ. Irenæus is the most

¹ Sim. 9:15.² Vis. 4:2.³ 1 Peter 2:5.⁴ Eph. 2:19-22.⁵ Eph. 5:23-26.⁶ Gal. 6:16.⁷ *Adv. Haer.*, I, 10:3.

reliable exponent of this situation. He speaks of the "rule of the truth which he received by means of baptism."⁸ "The church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, even to the ends of the earth, has received from the apostles and their disciples this faith," which he defines in terms similar to the Apostles' Creed.⁹

The church having received this preaching and this faith, although scattered throughout the whole world, yet as if occupying but one house, carefully preserves it. She also believes these points just as if she had but one soul, and one and the same heart; and she proclaims them, and teaches them, and hands them down with perfect harmony, as if she possessed only one mouth. For although the languages of the world are dissimilar, yet the import of the tradition is one and the same.¹⁰

Irenæus says: "When we refer the heretics to that tradition which originates from the apostles, which is preserved by means of the successions of presbyters in the churches," they object to tradition, saying that "they themselves are wiser not merely than the presbyters, but even than the apostles, because they have discovered the unadulterated truth."¹¹

And so the three great adjectives qualifying the church gradually originated "*holy*," "*catholic*," and "*apostolic*." Writers differ in their use of these terms. They were often used interchangeably as standing for essentially the same things. The adjective used in connection with the article of the church, in the so-called Apostles' Creed, varies in the ancient writers. The original form of the Roman symbol was probably "holy church," the word of St. Peter and Hermas, which was subsequently enlarged to "holy catholic church" not later than the early years of the fourth century.

The name "catholic" thus stood for three essential things: (1) the vital unity of the church in Christ; (2) the geographical unity of the church extending throughout the world; (3) the historical unity of the church in apostolic tradition. These things only gradually emerged from concrete forms of common experience into abstract forms of definition, due partly to the external forces of controversy, partly to internal forces of evolution.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 9:4; cf. 22:1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 10:1.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 10:2.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, III, 2:2.

It is undoubtedly true, as Irenæus and other ancient Fathers have stated, that there was in Christianity a sacred deposit, committed in oral instruction by the apostles to the churches which they established, and which did not find complete expression in apostolic writings. Moreover, the church was inhabited by the divine Spirit, the great teacher, counsel, and guide, in accordance with the promises of Jesus and the experience as well as the teachings of the apostles. This deposit was used by the church under the guidance of the divine Spirit, when it was needed in the unfolding of its knowledge and of its life. It soon became necessary, after the death of the apostles and of their immediate successors, to collect in definite form some of the essential things of this deposit. We cannot take time to trace the gradual evolution of these things in the different apostolic sees; but it was certainly the work of the second Christian century to give us the consensus of the church, in a canon of Holy Scripture, a creed known as the Apostles' Creed, and the organization of the church in its order, discipline, and worship.

Several important questions now emerge :

1. If the catholic church maintains its unity with the apostles by historic succession, ought we not to limit the scope of catholicity to those things that can be proved, from apostolic writings, to be the teaching of the apostles? In this case the New Testament would be the test of catholicity, and not the writings of the Fathers of the second Christian century. If the teaching of the apostles is to be limited to that recorded in the writings of the New Testament, then we must either limit ourselves to the express teaching of the New Testament, or recognize at the same time legitimate logical deductions and practical applications. This latter principle has been so universally recognized that it is hardly worth our while to argue for it. If this be so, then the church of the second century in its logical unfolding and practical application of the teaching of the New Testament gave the church what may be called the catholic type, as distinguished from the New Testament type.

But we must go farther than this, and say that it is difficult to suppose that the entire teaching of the apostles is actually

recorded in the New Testament. The teaching of one apostle, Paul, dominates the New Testament. Where shall we find the teaching of the Twelve, commissioned by our Lord to make disciples of all nations and teach them his commands, unless we find it in the traditions of the churches which they established? It is recognized by many modern historians that the Christian church of the second century did not follow Paul in his distinctive teachings; but was more in accord with such teachings of Jesus as we find in the synoptic gospels, and with what we know of the mind of the Twelve only by incidental references in the New Testament. Arguing back from effect to cause, there must have been other extended and more powerful influences than those of Paul, leading even the Roman church in somewhat different lines from those Paul marked out. How can this be explained unless we suppose that Peter and other authoritative teachers gave instruction which did not find its way into writings, but was written in the minds of their hearers and inscribed upon the institutions of the church?

When Harnack says that "only one gentile Christian, Marcion, understood Paul" (in the second century), "and he misunderstood him;"²² what is that but to imply that Paul's theology as understood by Harnack had not the same preponderating influence in the church that it has in the New Testament? But inasmuch as the epistles of Paul were gathered into the canon before the catholic epistles, and especially in the Roman church, may it not also imply that the church of the second century did not understand those epistles as some modern Germans do; and may they not after all have been correct?

The old Protestant view that the church of the second century declined from the apostolic faith, as expressed in the New Testament, is historically impossible and incredible. Such an unfaithful and declining church could never have sustained the stress of martyrdom and have overcome the seductions of Gnosticism, and then have come out of the martyrdoms of the second and third centuries into the victories of the fourth century. It is not valid historical criticism which justifies the

²² *Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. I (1886), p. 62.

interpretation of the evolution of catholic Christianity as a secularization of Christianity. It is not true that Greek philosophy and Roman administration secularized Christianity.

Clement of Alexandria was more just in his estimation of the facts when he said:

Perchance, philosophy was given to the Greeks directly and primarily till the Lord should call the Greeks. For this was a schoolmaster to bring the Hellenic mind, as the Law the Hebrew, to Christ. Philosophy, therefore, was a preparation paving the way for him who is perfected in Christ.¹³

The same may be said of the Roman administration. Philosophy was prepared by divine Providence to give Christianity its philosophic form for doctrine, and the Roman administration was prepared in the same way to give Christianity its administrative organization. To regard all this as secularization, and as a victory of vanquished heathenism over Christianity, is to misinterpret Christian history. It is the effort to interpret ancient Christianity after a modern theory which is contrary to the principles of the philosophy of history and any just conception of historical evolution. It is not strange that this theory results in making the history of dogma end in bankruptcy.

It is necessary to say that New Testament Christianity is one thing, catholic Christianity is another, later, and in some respects more complete thing, however far short it may fall of the ideals of Christ and his apostles in other respects.

2. The next question that emerges is whether we are to limit catholic Christianity to the consensus of Christianity as recorded in the writings of the second Christian century. We have already seen that we cannot limit the teaching of the apostles to that teaching as recorded in the New Testament. So we cannot limit the teaching of the catholic church to that which has been transmitted to us in those writings of the second century which have been preserved; for as many of the prophets and apostles of the first century were not so much writers as teachers, preachers, and organizers of churches, just so in the second century many of the great bishops and teachers have left us no literary monuments, and many of the writings of other influential teach-

¹³ *Strom.*, I, 5.

ers and writers have been lost. We have, therefore, only a very partial and incomplete literary expression of the faith and life of the church when it realized, emphasized, and gave expression in historic forms to its catholicity. The church of the third and fourth centuries cannot be explained merely on the basis of the literature of the second century. Furthermore, the divine Spirit was working mightily in the church and guiding the church in all its parts to use its sacred deposit by logical deduction and practical application to new needs and circumstances as they arose. Especially in the field of the practical application of Christianity literary records often fail us when most needed. It is necessary to supplement to some extent, therefore, the literature of this century, if we would comprehend all that the catholic church stood for at the close of that century. But how far shall we go in this regard and where shall we stop?

It is necessary to include the third Christian century with the second in thinking of the ancient catholic church, for there is no evident line of cleavage between them. The processes of the second century did not reach their conclusion until the third century. The external struggles of Christian Rome with imperial Rome still continued, and the blood of the martyrs continued to attest the reality of the catholic faith and life. The integrity of apostolic Christianity had still to be maintained against various eccentricities and corruptions. The internal evolution of the church under the guidance of the divine Spirit went on, and treasures new as well as old were brought forth from its sacred deposits. The canon had been defined as to its first and second layers; but there was still uncertainty as to the apocrypha, the catholic epistles, and the Revelation, and other early Christian writings. There was a consensus as to the Apostles' Creed in the essentials of its primitive Roman form, but its clauses had not altogether reached their final form. But especially in the life and institutions of the church the writers of the third century give us important help to determine even the consensus of the second century. There can be no doubt that the church has always been influenced by external more than by internal forces in the formulas it has constructed at successive stages in

its history. It is, therefore, those features of Christianity that are more external which are most emphasized before the world. Those features which are more internal and esoteric are in the background of documents and writings, and in not a few instances are outside the scope of their discussion. In this case the silence of documents may be the best evidence of catholic consensus on such matters as were already established beyond controversy. It is necessary, therefore, if we would understand catholicity in its entire scope, to ascertain the consensus of the Christianity of the second and third centuries as to Christian life and Christian institutions as well as to Christian doctrine. It is especially necessary to do this because with the fourth century the great doctrinal discussions came into the field which were determined by the great ecumenical councils, fixing the orthodoxy of the church, and as a result of this situation the faith of the church became the most prominent thing; and that cast its shadow over the previous centuries also, giving an exaggerated importance to the preparatory evolution of doctrine in those centuries in the statements of subsequent writers.

3. Standing on the basis of these councils, the Greek church has ever named itself the Orthodox church. The question now arises: Are we entitled to use these definitions of orthodoxy as belonging to catholic Christianity? May we say that these are simply definitions of that which the church really believed in the previous centuries, and that they are only a necessary evolution of the sacred deposit of apostolic and catholic teaching? A careful study of this question makes it evident that, as we distinguish catholic Christianity as a second stage to New Testament Christianity, so we must distinguish orthodox Christianity as a third stage in the order of evolution of Christianity. We have no more right to put the definitions of the great ecumenical councils back into the catholic church of the previous centuries than we have to put the definitions of the catholic church of the second and third centuries back into the New Testament times.

It may, however, be urged that, while this may be true of all the later councils, it cannot be true of the council of Nice, for we must regard that council as giving expression, at the begin-

ning of the fourth century, to the consensus of the Church of the previous century. But we cannot take that position in fact, for the Nicene council did not define the consensus of Christianity. It made one opinion orthodox and dominant over against a widely prevailing Arianism and semi-Arianism. If, moreover, we recognize that the first council may define the catholic faith by limiting orthodoxy to one of several views hitherto prevailing, and may so divide the Christian church into sections, of which only one can be called catholic, there is no valid reason why we should stop with that council, or indeed with any council, for it establishes the principle that to be and remain catholic one must accept as final the decisions of the catholic church on any question, in any and every age until the end of the world. And this is quite easy so soon as the principle is recognized. For we have to bear in mind that the catholic church has always claimed in such decisions that it is not really making any new doctrines, but simply defining apostolic Christian doctrine over against errors which have sprung up in contravention to it. If these later definitions of catholic doctrine are to be regarded as really catholic, then as an inevitable consequence catholic and orthodox—Catholic and Roman—become practically convertible terms.

Moreover, we cannot limit catholicity to dogma, as many vainly suppose. We cannot think ourselves catholic simply because we agree with the Greeks in holding to the definitions of the great ecumenical councils. Catholic, as we have seen, covers not only the faith of the church, but also, indeed primarily, its institutions and its life. If, indeed, we recognize that there has been a sacred deposit transmitted by tradition in the church other than Holy Scripture, it is necessary from the very nature of the case to find that more largely in religious institutions and ethical life than in doctrine. If catholicity is to be extended to the evolution of doctrine, it must also be extended to the evolution of institution, and thus the whole system of mediæval rites and ceremonies, the sacramental system, and papal organization come inevitably into the range of catholicity as necessary to constitute a truly catholic church.

We see all about us men on various steps leading to this goal. Those who insist upon the Nicene Creed as the test may be conceived as on the first step, although many of them are inconsistent enough in that they are not willing to rise to the position of the men of Nicæa as to sacrament and ecclesiastical organization. Many wish to go so far as to comprehend the dogmatic decisions of all the ecumenical councils, although they shrink from the religious life and institutions that developed in parallel lines with these dogmas. Still others there are who under the name of catholic would introduce Augustinianism in whole or in part. Still others would insist upon all the chief dogmas and institutions characteristic of the Western church before the Reformation, and undo all the work of reform except the single item of separation from the jurisdiction of Rome. But it is difficult to see how anyone who has gone so far should not take the final step. For it were mere wantonness to separate from the jurisdiction of Rome and break the geographical unity of the church for no other motive than ecclesiastical independence. The Reformers were compelled to this separation by great differences of dogma and institution, where, they at least thought, they followed the authority of Holy Scripture and conscience in its convictions, at great cost to themselves. It is mere perversity not to return to Rome if the conscience is convinced that Rome is right in all her great controversies with Protestantism.

It is evident from what has been said that there is not only a confusion in men's minds, through the different interpretations that they give to the name "catholic" and the things they comprehend under it; but there is, indeed, real difficulty in fixing the limits of catholicity by historical criticism. The dust of centuries, the cinders of a multitude of controversies, cover it over. It is not such an easy problem as many imagine.

At this point it is necessary to consider the question discussed so thoroughly by Harnack as to the relation of the terms "catholic" and "Roman." There can be no doubt that at the close of the third Christian century "Roman" and "catholic" were so closely allied that they were practically identical. What

was it historically that attached the terms "Roman" and "catholic" so closely together in the second and third centuries? Harnack has given a very able and thorough study of this question, which in all essential particulars must be recognized as historically correct. As he states, all the distinctive elements of catholicity found their first expression in the Roman church.¹⁴

1. The Apostles' Creed is essentially a Roman symbol. Professor McGiffert thinks he has shown that it was constructed as a protection against the errors of Marcion. This is a new theory favored by the fact that such controversies have been the historic origin of most, if not all, creeds and confessions of faith. But other scholars, notably Harnack, Kattenbusch, Schaff, and Sanday, think it was an evolution, due to the need of a baptismal formula, both for the instruction of catechumens, and as a statement of their faith as a prerequisite to baptism. I cannot agree with my colleague in this matter. He recognizes that the creed is based on a trinitarian formula of baptism. Doubtless that is true, but on the basis of that formula creeds were constructed in various parts of the Christian church, due doubtless in part to the controversies with Gnosticism, but also in part to the need of common formulas of instruction—and these gradually were conformed to the Roman symbol.

2. It was in Rome that the canon of Holy Scripture first began to be fixed; and the Roman canon gradually became the norm for the entire church.

3. The list of bishops with the doctrine of apostolic succession appears historically first in the Roman church.

4. The Roman constitution became the norm even for oriental churches.

5. There can be no doubt that to the Roman church of the second century was assigned in some sense the primacy in the Christian church. This was due to the fact that it was in the capital of the Roman empire, that Christians from all parts of the world resorted thither; and it became in this way cosmopolitan, the most truly representative of all churches, the whole

¹⁴*Dogmengeschichte*, Vol. I, pp. 362-71.

church, as it were, in miniature. Rome was the center of the struggle of Christianity against imperial Rome—the chief seat of martyrdom. It had the unique advantage of having the two chief apostles, Peter and Paul, if not as its founders, at least as its chief teachers, sealing their testimony with their blood. It was also in Rome that the chief victories were won over Gnosticism, over Marcion, and later over the Montanists and the Donatists. To Rome all parties appealed for her opinion in matters of controversy. Rome thus became the citadel of genuine Christianity. It was at Rome that the Christian institutions received their richest and strongest development, and the Christian life had the largest scope for its activity in all the various manifestations of holy love, and the severest tests of its reality and power. This primacy, we may say, was universally acknowledged, although, especially in the third century, when the Roman bishops strained their primacy so as to dictate to other sees, their dictation was on several occasions resented and resisted. Before the close of the first century, Clement writes in the name of the Roman church a letter to the church of Corinth and sends representatives to heal its divisions, just as Paul had sent Titus on an earlier occasion. Ignatius in his epistle to Rome recognizes the Roman church as *προκαθήμενη*, having the presidency, especially in love. The aged Polycarp does not shrink from a long journey to Rome in order to perfect communion with its bishop. As Harnack says, Anicetus did not go to Polycarp, but Polycarp to him. Irenæus says :

Since, however, it would be very tedious, in such a volume as this, to reckon up the successions of all the churches, we do put to confusion all those who, in whatever manner, whether by an evil self-pleasing, by vainglory, or by blindness or perverse opinion, assemble in unauthorized meetings ; (we do this, I say) by indicating that tradition derived from the apostles, of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known church founded and organized at Rome by the two most glorious apostles, Peter and Paul ; as also (by pointing out) the faith preached to men, which comes down to our time by means of the successions of the bishops. For it is a matter of necessity that every church should agree with this church, on account of its pre-eminent authority, that is, the faithful everywhere, inasmuch as the apostolical tradition has been preserved continuously by those (faithful men) who exist everywhere.¹⁵

¹⁵ *Adv. Haer.*, III, 3:2.

To go farther would be to needlessly heap up witnesses. As Harnack says :

The proposition, "*ecclesia Romana semper habuit primatum*," and the other, that catholic virtually means Roman Catholic, are gross fictions when devised in honor of the temporary occupant of the Roman see, and detached from the significance of the Eternal City in secular history ; but applied to the church of the imperial capital they contain a truth the denial of which is equivalent to renouncing the attempt to explain the process by which the church was unified and catholicized.¹⁶

There can be no doubt that the Roman Catholic church of our day is the heir by unbroken descent to the Roman catholic church of the second century, and that it is justified in using the name "catholic" as the name of the church, as well as the name "Roman." But this does not by any means imply that all that is Roman, or has been Roman since the third century, may be included under the term "catholic." Nor does it determine whether other Christian churches may in our day rightly claim to be catholic. That depends upon the decision we may give to other questions we must now consider.

We must now return to the church of the second and third centuries—the ante-Nicene church. There can be no doubt that the church at that time was catholic and that it was possessed of all the elements of catholicity. As we have seen these were: (1) A consciousness of geographical unity in one church spread throughout the world. (2) A historical unity by succession with the apostles. This involves that nothing shall be regarded as catholic that cannot be derived as a normal development of the apostolic church. (3) A vital or mystic unity with Christ. This involves that Christian life and worship, as instituted by the historic Christ and maintained by union with the reigning Christ, shall be conserved as making the church truly holy.

We have seen that catholic Christianity expressed its unity in the canon of Holy Scripture and in the old Roman Creed, both of which were regarded as apostolic. If holding these be the test of catholicity all organized Christian churches are catholic—Lutheran and Reformed, Congregational, Methodist, and

¹⁶ Vol. I, p. 371.

Baptist—as well as Anglican, Greek, Oriental, and Roman. But it is evident that these documents give only a partial expression of catholic Christianity. The writers of the second Christian century exhibited a consensus with the apostolic church and also with the church throughout the world in other things no less essential to Catholicity than Holy Scripture and Creed.

The most essential thing in catholic unity is unity in Christ. This, in the consensus of the ante-Nicene church, consists in two things—the ethical unity of love and the religious unity in the holy eucharist. Both of these appear in the letter of Pliny to Trajan at the opening of the first Christian century. Both appear in the Teaching of the Apostles at about the same time. Christian love, in its Christ-like form of self-sacrificing love to the brethren, enemies, and persecutors, is the first thing in the way of Life, of the two ways which begin this document. In the second part, the holy eucharist is the pure sacrifice, the spiritual food and drink of the church to be partaken of only by those baptized into the name of the Lord.

1. Let us look a little more closely at the catholic *ethical principle*. There is nothing in which catholic consensus is so distinct as in this. Justin and the other apologists make it the characteristic thing in the Christian life. Hermas brings out distinctly Christian love as a council of perfection. He puts it in the form of a parable where the servant not only keeps all the commands of his master, but does a good work besides to the vineyard. This is then interpreted as follows :

Keep the commandments of the Lord, and thou shalt be well-pleasing to God, and shalt be enrolled among the number of them that keep his commandments. But if thou do any good thing outside the commandments of God, thou shalt win for thyself more exceeding glory and shalt be more glorious in the sight of God than thou wouldst otherwise have been.¹⁷

Ignatius, in his epistle to the Ephesians, says that :

Love is the way that leadeth up to God. (9.) Let us be zealous to be imitators of the Lord, vying with each other who shall suffer the greater wrong, who shall be defrauded, who shall be set at naught. (10.)

Irenaeus, after referring to the tradition of doctrine and

¹⁷ *Sim.* 5:3.

ancient constitution of the church and the succession of the bishops, mentions in his climax

the pre-eminent gift of love, which is more precious than knowledge, more glorious than prophecy, and which excels all other gifts (iv. 8),

with an evident use of I Cor., chap. 13, and he makes this love characteristic of the Catholic church as distinguished from all heretics (IV, 7, 9).

Indeed, this ethical principle of holy love alone enables us to explain the organic unity of the catholic church and the primacy of Rome. Ignatius sees in the Roman church "the presidency of love." Clement, writing as the head of the Roman church of Corinth, uses no other authority than that of love:

Let him that hath love in Christ fulfil the commandments of Christ. Who can declare the bond of the love of God? Who is sufficient to tell the majesty of its beauty? The height, whereunto love exalteth, is unspeakable. Love joineth us unto God; love covereth a multitude of sins; love endureth all things, is long-suffering in all things. There is nothing coarse, nothing arrogant in love. Love hath no divisions, love maketh no seditions, love doeth all things in concord. In love were all the elect of God made perfect; without love nothing is well-pleasing to God; in love the Master took us unto himself; for the love which he had toward us, Jesus Christ our Lord hath given his blood for us by the will of God, and his flesh for our flesh, and his life for our lives.

Ye see, dearly beloved, how great and marvelous a thing is love, and there is no declaring its perfection. Who is sufficient to be found therein save those to whom God shall vouchsafe it? Let us therefore entreat and ask of his mercy that we may be found blameless in love, standing apart from the factiousness of men (49, 50).

Dionysius of Corinth at a later date, writing to Soter, the bishop of Rome, says:

From the beginning it has been your practice to do good to all the brethren in various ways, and to send contributions to many churches in every city; thus relieving the want of the needy and making provision for the brethren in the mines, by the gifts which you have sent from the beginning. You Romans keep up the hereditary customs of the Romans, which your blessed bishop Soter has not only maintained, but also added to, furnishing an abundance of supplies to the saints and encouraging the brethren from abroad with blessed words as a loving father his children.¹⁸

Hippolytus, bishop of Portus and Roman martyr, compares

¹⁸ EUSEBIUS, *Church History*, IV, 23: 10.

the church to a ship tossed in the great deep of the world, whose skilled pilot is Christ, and the ropes that bind her together are the love of Christ.¹⁹ The unity of the church is in holy love which binds Christians to him and to one another. The primacy of Rome was recognized because she was the champion of Christianity in holy love. The church of Smyrna says :

The martyrs, as disciples and imitators of the Lord, we cherish as they deserve for their matchless affection toward their own King and Teacher. May it be our lot also to be found partakers and fellow-disciples with them. (17.)

Rome was the martyr church above all others. In her the two chief apostles, Peter and Paul, suffered with a great multitude from all lands in the dreadful blood-bath of Nero, which is the undertone of the book of Revelation. In her Ignatius of Antioch, Clement, Hippolytus, Justin, and a host of Christian heroes suffered and died for the faith. In her St. Cecilia, St. Agnes, and a multitude of matrons and virgins offered up themselves in loving sacrifice to Christ. The Roman church has its foundations in martyrs' blood, and this more than anything else makes her pre-eminent and perpetuates her pre-eminence. In Rome one feels close to the martyrs, in touch with original Christianity. If only the Roman church had maintained her pre-eminence in love, no one would ever have denied her primacy. If she had been content to follow the master as the servant of all the churches, she would have easily ruled them all. But when she began to substitute legal constitutions and physical force for the moral influence of love, she erred from the fundamental catholic principle. But what other church can cast the stone at her for this fault? It is a common fault of them all. If only Rome would renew her first love, the reunion of the catholic church would be assured.

2. The holy eucharist was the *religious principle* of union with Christ. There can be no doubt that the consensus of the ante-Nicene church was that it was an eating of the flesh of Christ and the drinking of his blood as a sacrifice. It is most common to regard it, as in the *Teaching of the Apostles*, as a fulfilment of

¹⁹ *Christ and Antichrist*, 59.

the prediction of the pure sacrifice of the prophet Malachi (Mal. 1:11). Thus Ignatius early in the century says :

I desire the bread of God which is the flesh of Christ, who was of the seed of David, and for a draught I desire his blood, which is love incorruptible.³⁰

Be ye careful to observe one eucharist, for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup into union with his blood ; there is one altar, as there is one bishop, together with the presbytery and the deacons, my fellow-servants, that whatsoever ye do, ye may do it after God.³¹

Justin says :

For not as common bread or as common drink do we receive these ; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Savior, having been made flesh by the word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of his word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh.³²

And

So he then [that is, Malachi] speaks of those gentiles, namely us, who in every place offer sacrifice to him ; *i. e.*, the bread of the eucharist and also the cup of the eucharist.³³

Irenæus says :

He [that is, Jesus] has acknowledged the cup (which is a part of the creation) as his own blood, from which he bedews our blood ; and the bread (also a part of the creation) he has established as his own body from which he gives increase to our bodies.³⁴

The consensus of the ante-Nicene church is that the eucharist is a thank-offering, after the teaching of Paul. But about this consensus gathered in the course of time a cloud of theories which has obscured the original meaning of this essential institution of the Christian religion. Having lost sight of the ancient distinction between different kinds of sacrifices, when the Augustinian doctrine of sin became dominant in the church, the conception of the sacrifice as a sin-offering to a great extent took the place of the primitive conception that it was a eucharistic or thank-offering. This later view of it is rejected in the Articles of Religion in the clause :

³⁰ *Romans*, 7.

³¹ *Apol.*, I, 66.

³² *Phil.*, 4.

³³ *Trypho.*, 41.

³⁴ *Adv. Haer.*, V, 2 : 2.

Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead to have remission of pain or guilt, are blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.

But unfortunately they did not substitute therefor the ancient catholic conception of sacrifice. In this respect the liturgy of the holy communion of the Church of England is more catholic, although the language may be interpreted in such a spiritualizing sense as to empty the sacrifice of its catholic meaning. It is to be feared that the English Reformers actually had that intention, and that the Anglican ordinal was not intended by those who framed it to ordain priests to celebrate sacrifice, although the Anglican archbishops in their response to Leo XIII. seem to interpret it as intending real priesthood and real sacrifice. The participation in the holy communion as a sacrificial feast was the consensus of the ante-Nicene church. This has also been overlaid with theories as to the mode of the presence of the flesh and blood of Christ, which do not belong to the catholic faith. It is one of the most important movements of our times that there has been a return to the original catholic conception, not only in the Anglican church, but in the Roman church, and in many Protestant theologians. Here again is a thread which may soon become a rope to bind the church in catholic unity.

I have taken considerable time to unfold these more vital principles of catholic unity, because they are usually ignored in the discussions of the subject, in the interest of the more external marks of dogma and ecclesiastical organization. In fact, as Dr. Allen has shown in his *Christian Institutions*, the development of the historical episcopate was due to the needs of a proper celebration of the holy eucharist, as may be seen in the epistles of Ignatius, as well as to the needs of ecclesiastical government and discipline. It was in the ancient catholic church, as in the church of all ages, that vital principles determine the formal principles, although later the vital principles are too often cramped by the forms of their own creation.

Although the Church of Rome in its dogmatic teaching has overlaid the catholic conception of the holy eucharist with the

dogma of transubstantiation, and pressed the eucharist behind the sin-offering, yet that cannot be said of the ceremony of the mass, which is free in its language and ceremonies from both of these conceptions. No one can deny that the Roman church, the Greek church, and all the oriental churches are catholic in this particular. But what of the Protestant bodies? Is the Church of England catholic in this respect? Do its standards represent the catholic experience in the celebration of the holy eucharist? The "Articles of Religion" cannot be so explained; "The Book of Common Prayer" may be; but it is at least doubtful whether that was the intention of its original authors. It was, however, the intent of the Elizabethan Reformers to make it possible for Catholic and Protestant to use the "Common Prayer" alike. This may be shown from the history of the times. The best that can be said of other Protestant churches is that they are not anti-catholic in this particular, and that there is a tendency among them to return to the primitive catholic conception.

We shall now resume the more formal tests and apply them also. Geographical unity has been lost by the Protestant churches—by the Church of England more than any other; for the Church of England is so strictly a national church that she is confined to the Anglo-Saxon race. She not only has no communion with the Roman Catholic church, but she also has no communion with the sister national churches. In this respect she is farther off from catholicity than the Lutheran church, which is represented in many lands, and which even in the United States is a stronger body numerically than the Protestant Episcopal church. The Church of England is still farther off from catholicity in this respect than the Reformed or Presbyterian family of churches, which is the most widespread and most numerous of all Protestant bodies, and which has always recognized the Anglican and Lutheran bodies as her sisters, and has always been ready to commune with them. The Reformed or Presbyterian churches have always made more of catholicity in its geographical form than the Church of England. One looks in vain in the "Articles of Religion" for any conception of a catholic

church. But in the Westminster Confession it is very prominent.

The catholic or universal church which is invisible, consists of the whole number of the elect that have been, are, or shall be gathered into one, under Christ, the head thereof, and is the spouse, the body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all. The visible church, which is also catholic, or universal under the gospel (not confined to one nation as before under the Law), consists of all those throughout the world that profess the true religion together with their children, and is the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, the house and family of God, out of which there is ordinarily no possibility of salvation.

The Westminster divines conceived of an ecumenical council of Reformed churches. Their chief purpose was to reform the Church of England in accordance with the teachings of Holy Scripture and the example of the best Reformed churches of the continent, and to enter into closer union and fellowship with them. But the Church of England held aloof, content to be simply a national church.

The Church of England asserts her catholicity by maintaining apostolical succession through the threefold ministry. For this she has struggled as if she realized that her very existence depended upon it. But is she in this respect so very much superior to other sister-churches of the Reformation? It may be doubted. For many of them likewise claim apostolical succession for their ministry—they also have the three orders—bishops, elders, and deacons; only their orders are orders of the congregation and not of the diocese; and they claim that, though this succession for many centuries ran through a line of presbyters and not diocesan bishops, these presbyters were the only catholic bishops, the bishops of the first and second centuries being parochial and not diocesan. So far as a reconciliation with Rome is concerned, since the decision of Leo XIII., the Church of England has no advantage whatever over the Reformed churches in this matter of apostolic succession. Any advantage she may have is limited to her own estimation of herself. Newman tells us how he was caught in the Anglican *Via Media*:

The Anglican disputant took his stand upon antiquity or apostolicity, the Roman upon catholicity. The Anglican said to the Roman: "There is but

one faith, the ancient, and you have not kept it." The Roman retorted: "There is but one church, the Catholic, and you are out of it." The Anglican urged: "Your special beliefs, practices, modes of action are nowhere in antiquity." The Roman objected: "You do not communicate with any one church besides your own and its offshoots, and you have discarded principles, doctrines, sacraments, and usages, which are and ever have been received in the East and the West."

Newman continues:

The true church as defined in the creeds was both catholic and apostolic; now, as I viewed the controversy in which I was engaged, England and Rome had divided these notes or prerogatives between them; the cause lay thus, Apostolicity *versus* Catholicity.²⁴

He tells us how it was the words of St. Augustine—*Securus judicat orbis terrarum*—quoted by Wiseman in an article in the *Dublin Review*, August, 1839, that opened his eyes to see that the deliberate judgment, in which the whole church at length rests and acquiesces, is an infallible prescription and final sentence against such portions of it as protest and secede (p. 117).

Wiseman in that article said:

St. Augustine has a golden sentence on that subject, which should be an axiom in theology.

He quotes it in Latin from *Contra Epistolam Parmeniani*, III, 4, and translates it as follows:

Therefore the entire world judges with security that they are not good who separate themselves from the entire world, in whatever part of the world (p. 154).

This sentence made Newman a Roman Catholic. He saw clearly, what multitudes have seen since, that you cannot build catholicity on apostolicity alone; and that, where these are brought into conflict, catholicity in the narrower sense of universality is sure to win.

It has been too often overlooked by Anglicans that "catholic" comprehends much more than apostolicity. It also includes holiness or purity. It was the exaggeration of that attribute that induced the ancient Donatists to separate from the church, and that influenced also the English Separatists, too often confounded with Puritans and Presbyterians. It was the emphasis

²⁴ *Apologia*, chap. iii, new edition, 1892, p. 106.

upon pure doctrine, pure discipline, and pure life, as more important than unity, that really influenced to a great extent the whole Protestant movement, and specially those bodies which have separated from the Protestant national churches.

As we have seen, the attributes *holy*, *apostolic*, and *catholic* are so involved that they ought not to be separated—the three blend in true catholic unity, the three are all involved in the saying of Vincent of Lirens: "*quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est.*" This is often misunderstood by taking it out of its context. Vincent himself defines *ubique* as universality, *semper* as antiquity, and *ab omnibus* as consensus—and the consensus as not the consensus of all Christians, but as sacerdotal and magisterial consensus in the church.²⁵

The three are indeed combined in this sentence :

We must collate and consult and interrogate the opinions of the ancients, of those, namely, who, though living in divers times and places, yet continuing in the communion and faith of the one catholic church, stand forth acknowledged and approved authorities.²⁶

Each one of these terms qualifies the other, and no one can be regarded as sufficient apart by itself. Doubtless the church should be *holy* as united to Christ in all its parts, that is the most essential thing; it should also be *apostolic*, that is next in importance; but it must also be *catholic* in the narrower sense of universality, in order to be catholic in the larger sense of *catholic unity*, blending the three attributes.

It depends altogether on what tests you apply, whether an individual or a church can be considered catholic or not. If we would be catholic we cannot become catholic, by merely calling ourselves by that name. Unless the name corresponds with the thing, it is a sham, and it is a shame. Many earnest Christians, not only Anglicans, but men of every name and denomination of Christians, are under the influence of a catholic reaction and are sincerely desirous of being truly catholic, and especially of regaining the catholic unity of the church. When we have regained the thing, then we may with propriety call ourselves by the name.

²⁵ *Commonitorium*, 2.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 3.

A great step forward in the catholic direction was taken when the Quadrilateral of Unity was adopted jointly by the Protestant Episcopal church and the Church of England. It is not a perfect statement. It is easy to criticise it. It does not in all respects correspond with catholicity. It exceeds it in some respects, it falls short in others. But it is the best platform of catholic unity which has thus far been proposed. The truest catholicity is brotherly love, and if the Quadrilateral could be used with this vital force beneath it, it would accomplish a great work in the reconciliation, recatholization, and the eventual reunification of the Christian church. But, it is to be feared, it is now too late.

When it was first issued, I was senior editor of the *Presbyterian Review*. I accepted it at once and used all my influence to secure its acceptance by the Presbyterian church, at great cost to myself. I have urged it by voice and pen with all my strength. I changed my ecclesiastical position, in order that I might the more effectually testify to it. But after all, I must say that the reason why it has not been more effective is that the bishops have done nothing whatever to make it effective, or even to convince others that they really accepted it themselves. A magnificent opportunity has been thrown away.

Nothing has so much injured the Church of England in the past as her arrogant exclusiveness as a national church. That has brought her into the present crisis of her history, torn by faction and reproached by a multitude of enemies. Her daughter, the Protestant Episcopal church in the United States, has too often exhibited this baneful temper and so repelled multitudes who would otherwise have gladly united with her.

If she permit that evil spirit, which is at the root of all the disasters to British Christianity since the Reformation, again to become dominant, she will forfeit her leadership as the banner-bearer of catholic unity. If she arrogate to herself the name "catholic," which is regarded as the common inheritance of Christianity in some sense by all who use the Apostles' Creed, not one will recognize her right to it but herself, a multitude of her own clergy and people will be ashamed of their church, and

she will become the mock of historical critics, who will not fail to test her by her own history, as well as by the history of the church at large, and by her relative importance in American Christianity.

The greatest movement now going on in the world is the catholic reaction; it is too great a movement to be guided or controlled by any leadership. God's Holy Spirit is breaking the way for the revival, the recatholization and reunion of Christendom, in holy love.

It must be said, however, that most Protestants do not as yet wish to be catholic; they desire simply to be Christians; they would have what they regard as the simple Christianity of Christ and his apostles; they would reform the church after the teachings of the New Testament. A large party would go farther still in an anti-catholic direction, and seek the essence of Christianity underlying the New Testament, and especially the real substance of the teachings of Jesus. It is certainly true that to be catholic is one thing and to be Christian is another thing; the latter is more important than the former. We should not identify them. In these days men will appropriate just so much of Christianity as they can use, and no more. You cannot constrain them by persecution, whether physical, ecclesiastical, or social. You cannot compel them by authority, whether of church or of Bible. And, after all, what is it that the Lord looks at most of all? It is not what we name ourselves, it is not what we profess, it is not what we teach to others; it is what we are and what we do. Far better a minimum of the sacred deposit of Christianity well used than the maximum "laid up in a napkin." (Luke 19:20.) And yet the earnest Christian should not be content with the minimum. Loving, growing Christianity strives for the maximum. Christianity so soon as it began to grow, grew into catholicity. The church was catholic in its early manhood, in its heroic age. A church which is content to be simply Christian remains in its infancy. A Christian who is content with the essence of Christianity remains in his babyhood; as Paul clearly expresses it—"tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men

in craftiness, after the wiles of error" (Eph. 4: 14). That is the exact situation, and always has been, and always will be, the situation of those who wish to have only what they think to be the essentials of Christianity. But those who would attain Christian manhood, either as churches or as individuals, must rise to true catholicity, at least in some measure. As Paul continues to say, that they,

speaking the truth in love, may grow up in all things unto him, which is the head, even Christ; from whom all the body fitly framed and knit together through that which every joint supplieth, according to the working in due measure of each several part, maketh the increase of the body unto the building up of itself in love. (Eph. 4: 15, 16.)

DECADENCE OF LEARNING IN GAUL IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH CENTURIES.

AS VIEWED ESPECIALLY IN THE LIVES OF THE SAINTS.

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It is generally conceded that in the fourth and fifth centuries Gaul was profoundly interested in the sciences. Few would deny that there was a survival of this literary life into the sixth century; but it is the common belief that for various causes there was a progressive decline in letters, so that the seventh century, and the eighth until the time of Charlemagne, were the benighted period of Gallic learning.

Now, evidences are not wanting that there was not the same keenness of interest in the liberal arts in Gaul in these centuries as in the earlier ones.

It is not the purpose of this article—perhaps it is impossible—to prove that there was in the seventh and eighth centuries a large and healthy interest in letters. But we have evidence in the “Lives of the Saints” and in a few places elsewhere (waiving now the question of the value of the evidence) that the study of the liberal arts was pursued with more or less eagerness in different sections of Gaul. But the indications of a widespread decadence of learning seem to be frequent and of a sort that makes it difficult for us to disregard them. It may be that the most that can be made out is whether or not the general impression of the condition of learning at this time is too unfavorable.

It is not difficult to find evidence of intellectual decline in the early Middle Ages. Gregory of Tours in the preface to his history notices the neglect of learning in the sixth century, and this testimony is of some value, as it may fairly be assumed that he had much more than the average culture and probably knew of what he spoke.* The author of the “Life of St. Urban” (bishop

* But it may be borne in mind that two of his contemporaries were Fortunatus and Chilperic, who acquired considerable reputation as learned men.

of Langres, fifth century) declares that

Though the life of this saint was full of all kinds of virtues, yet it has not been recorded by the zeal of any men of the time, because down to the times of Karl the Great, on account of the violence of international strife and internal wars, there were scarcely to be found in the Gauls those who were sufficiently instructed in grammar.²

This utterance may serve as the conception in Carolingian or post-Carolingian times of the centuries before Karl. Then, as now, this monarch was glorified at the expense of the period before him. But there was no lack of learned men in the fifth or sixth century capable of writing the deeds of Urban—indeed, the composition of saints' lives is current through the whole period from the fourth to the ninth century.

The purity of the Latin language suffered in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries. The writings of Gregory of Tours and the edicts of Chlothar II³ show modifications in orthography and syntax. Corruptions creep into the sacred text.⁴ A mania for interpolation and abridgment is apparent in the commentaries of the period.⁵ Ludicrous etymologies are maintained.⁶ But with all this there might exist also a vigorous literary interest.

We are informed that in the latter part of the seventh century there is no longer any mention of the schools of Narbonne and Toulouse.⁷ But other schools, and perhaps better ones, may have taken their place. St. Aigulf, when he tried to reform the monastery of Lérins in the seventh century, was taken to a desert place by his monks, and there they cut his tongue out.⁸ We might be surer that this was a sign of the degeneracy of the

² *Acta Sanctorum*, edited by the Bollandists, Antwerp, 1643-1786, 1866-94; January; II, 492, c. 1, "Vita S. Urbani."

³ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*: "Capitularia Regum Francorum, Legum Sectio II," Vol. I, pp. 18-21.

⁴ "Karoli Epistola Generalis," *ibid.*, p. 80.

⁵ COMPARETTI, *Vergil in the Middle Ages*, p. 128.

⁶ Cf. COMPARETTI, *loc. cit.*, p. 129.

⁷ DAVIC ET VAISSETTE, *Histoire générale de Languedoc* (Toulouse, 1872), Vol. I, p. 770.

⁸ "Vita S. Aigulf," in MABILLON, *Acta Sanctorum* (Venice, 1733), Vol. II, p. 633; c. 9; the author is of the ninth century.

times if we did not know that other saints of this period were uncongenial to their contemporaries.

In the same century we find traces of an obscurantist tendency. St. Ouen, biographer of St. Eloi, inveighs against classical learning—Lysias, Gracchus, Demosthenes, *Tullius*, Horace, Solinus, Democritus, Plato and *Cicero*,⁹ a combination of names which exhibits his unfamiliarity with the ancient authors. He continues: "Quid enim legentibus nobis diversa Grammaticorum argumenta proficiunt, cum videantur potius subvertere, quam aedificare?" An example of the current ignorance occurs in the prologue to the life of St. Bavon: Athens is represented as the mother of all liberal arts and human culture ("humanarum doctrinarum"), "where of old the knowledge of the Latin tongue flourished under the patronage of Pisistratus" ("ubi antiquitus veteris floruit scientia *linguae Latinae sub Piscitrato auctore*"). The author further asserts that he is not conversant with the arguments of Aristotle, Varro, Democritus, Plato, Demosthenes, and the other doctors.¹⁰

The generally unsettled character of the time made study difficult. The clergy often resorted to revelings and the accumulation of temporal goods.¹¹ Prelates hunted and went to war.¹² Monks wandered about to the scandal of their profession.¹³ A council had to decree that abbesses should not leave their cloisters, "nisi hostilitate cogente."¹⁴ Charlemagne in his "Epistola de Litteris Colendis" remarks that the letters written to him from the monasteries show that the authors gave themselves so much to pious devotion that they were not able to write correctly.¹⁵ Leidrade, bishop of Lyons at about the same time, declares that when he became head of the church in that city the church was

⁹ D'ACHÉRY, *Spicilegium* (Paris, 1723), Vol. II, p. 77.

¹⁰ MABILLON, *Acta*, Vol. II, p. 380.

¹¹ "Karoli Magni Capitularia Ecclesiastica," anno 809, c. 2, 4.

¹² Cf. Council of 742 and "Capitularia Regum Francorum, Legum Sectio II," p. 41, c. 16.

¹³ "Concilium Vernense," c. 10; *Monumenta Germ. Hist.*, "Legum Sectio II," p. 35.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, c. 6, p. 34.

¹⁵ "Capitularia Regum Francorum, Legum Sectio II," p. 79.

destitute of buildings and ministries.¹⁶ The author of the life of St. Gummar asserts that that worthy had had no master except God; he had not learned even to read the Scripture. But he says:

Many educated men, many wise men read the writings of the older and later Fathers and learn good from them, but do not incite to the performance of the good. Is not this man's ignorance, then, to be preferred to their knowledge?¹⁷

The author thus affirms that there were educated men in this time (the eighth century), though he does not reprove Gummar for his ignorance.

It would not be difficult to increase the evidences of ignorance and degradation of taste for letters in this period. What can be said for its learning? Our testimony is principally in the lives of saints.

We find that in the seventh century at a time when not many monasteries had been built in England, it was the custom for many to go from there to Gaul and be trained in the monasteries of that country; people sent their daughters thither for education.¹⁸

St. Protadius (died before 624) was so thoroughly versed in the Scriptures that no one was able to deceive him by philosophy or empty fallacy.¹⁹ St. Maximus (died 625) at the age of seven fled to the church at Cahors to be instructed in letters; at ten he was studying grammar.²⁰ Genesius, bishop of Clermont in Auvergne (died *ca.* 662), was descended from parents of the highest rank and from his earliest youth was committed to the pursuit of the liberal disciplines ("liberalibus litterarum studiis traditus").²¹ It is to be noted here that Genesius was taught the secular learning. S. Præiectus (died *ca.* 674), bishop of Auvergne, had been consigned in youth to the archdeacon for instruction

¹⁶ Epistola I; in MIGNE, *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. XCIX, p. 871.

¹⁷ "Vita S. Gummari," c. 1; in SURIUS, *De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis*, October 11; Cologne, 1618.

¹⁸ "Vit. S. Sethridae," c. 2; 10 January; I, 627, Bollandist, *AA. SS.*

¹⁹ "Vit. S. Protadii," Boll., *AA. SS.*; 10 February; I, 413. Does this imply that pagan philosophy still competed in Gaul with Christian doctrine? Or is it an anachronism, applying to Protadius the virtues of saints of an earlier time?

²⁰ Boll., *AA. SS.*; 2 January; I, 91.

²¹ *Ibid.*; 3 June; I, 323, c. 1.

after he had become proficient in letters and in singing at the school in Issoire.²² Apparently, then, provision was made at this time for both elementary and advanced instruction, the latter prosecuted very likely at the cathedral city. Ragnebert, slain in 675 by order of Ebroin, was educated in secular and divine learning at the court of the palace. He was brave of heart, of ready talent, skilled in military combat, and was always adorned with the flowers of secular wisdom ("fortis corde, promptus ingenio, armis doctus, assidue mundanae sapientiae floribus ornabatur undique").²³ The parents of Vincent (or Madelgarius, [died *ca.* 677]) devoted him to God and sent the boy to "men of proved talent to be trained in the liberal arts and sacred learning."²⁴

That learning which boys usually tried to escape, S. Siviard (died 687, perhaps 728) pursued with the greatest zeal.²⁵ Godo (died *ca.* 690), grandson of Wandregisil, was conversant with "all secular disciplines,"²⁶ a phrase which might have meant many other things as well as secular learning. Especially interesting is the case of Chlodulf, bishop of Maastricht (died *ca.* 696):

*As was the custom with the sons of nobles, he was sent to school to be taught in liberal culture, and so this learned boy being well instructed from childhood to youth in human and divine things became proficient in them.*²⁷

It will be remarked from this citation that not only was Chlodulf well educated for a considerable period of time, but it was the custom for other nobles' children to have the same

²² *Ibid.*; 25 January; II, 633, c. 1.

²³ "Vit. S. Rag.," 13 June; II, 695, c. 2; Boll., *AA. SS.*

²⁴ "Vit. S. Vinc.," *ibid.*; 14 July; III, 669, c. 1.

²⁵ "Vit. S. Siv.," 1 March; I, 166, c. 2.

²⁶ "Vit. S. Godonis," 26 May; VI, 444.

²⁷ "Vit. S. Chlod.," 8 June; II, 127, c. 1. Boll., *AA. SS.* That it was the custom of nobles in other parts of Gaul to have sons trained in the liberal arts appears in "Vit. S. Calminii" (duke of Aquitaine, seventh century); 19 August; III, 759, c. 3. I cannot forbear to add the statement of the biographer as to the outcome of sending the boy to school; he decided to renounce the world, but when the father heard of it, he was displeased and said that, while he knew clerks had a better chance of heaven, many laymen of good life, he was sure, had attained heaven and would attain it. (See "Vit. S. Land.," Boll., *AA. SS.*; 17 April; II, 490, c. 2.) But the boy remained in the church and became bishop of Metz.

advantages. Furthermore, we notice from the life of St. Landri (died *ca.* 700) that boys were sent to clerical schools for culture, although there was no intention of devoting them to the ministry ("non tamen ea ipsorum intentione ut fieret Clericus, sed ut nobiles decet, quo post litterarum eruditionem ad militiam transcenderet seculare sapientius deducendam").²⁸

This same seventh century offered educational privileges to girls also. Austrude, sister of B. Baldwin, acquired letters in the days of her early infancy.²⁹ Bova, daughter of King Sigebert, was taught sacred letters from her youth, while her niece Doda was instructed first in sacred learning, then afterward in secular literature—and this by Bova,³⁰ who must herself have acquired this latter culture, although it is not so stated in her biography.

Eustadiola, who became abbess at Bourges, was of noble family and learned sacred letters from infancy.³¹ We should be glad to be informed just what the term "litterae sacrae" included, but I have found this nowhere stated with reference to the education of girls in this century.

For the eighth century down to Charlemagne we have considerable information as to the looseness of the times in the biographers of Boniface and in his correspondence, but this evidence applies mostly to the Rhine lands, and some of it is to be discounted on the ground of the hostility of the Anglo-Roman missionaries to the work of the Irish. Divergence of the latter from Roman ecclesiastical practices was too often interpreted as moral perversion. The learned bishop of Salsburg, Virgil, does not escape the attacks of Boniface.³² Some of the monasteries like Fulda, which later were the educational lights of Gaul and Germany, took their rise in this century. That in this time

²⁸ "Vit. S. Land.;" Boll., *AA.*, SS.; 17 April; II, 490, c. 2.

²⁹ "Vit. B. Baldwini;" Boll.; 8 January; I, 503, c. 1.

³⁰ "Vit. SS. Bovae et Dodae;" Boll., *AA.* SS.; 24 April; III, 284-6. What provision was made at the palace for the education of princesses? Were they admitted with the boys to the palatine school? Or had the girls private instruction?

³¹ "Vit. Eustad.;" *ibid.*; 8 June; II, 133, cc. 1, 2.

³² Cf. "Epp. Bonifatii," published by JAFFÉ, *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum* (Berlin, 1866), Vol. III, pp. 167, 190, 191.

learning did not fall much from the standard of the preceding century is attested by the lives of saints. The biographers of the eighth century do not refer so often to the education of their subjects, but what references we have are quite as explicit as those of the sixth or seventh century.

The ignorance of Gummar and the existence of learned men who were not so good as he have been stated above. The surprising things about the saint—and perhaps damaging to our view that studies were maintained in this century—are that he was raised by Pippin to high office and that he was of “noble lineage.” It cannot be believed, however, that it was the custom for nobles’ sons to go totally uneducated or for kings to promote ignoramuses to influential positions. Hucbert (died *ca.* 712), a monk of Bretigny, “pro consuetudine nobilium, domi litteras didicisset”³³—a proof of the first part of the last statement. The abbot St. Ursmar was instructed in sacred learning and in the divine law, but especially in monastic discipline.³⁴

It has been noted above that the monks of Lérins undertook to deal summarily with one of their abbots; that was in the seventh century, and the fact is used by Ampère³⁵ to prove the decadence of learning and morals. But Porcarius was one of the abbots of the eighth century (martyred 731), and it is recorded of him that he instructed the sacred congregation by word and example so excellently that all the clergy of the Gallic provinces were seeking a bishop and all the monks an abbot from the cloister of Lérins.³⁶ At about the same time a stricter canonical life was restored to the clergy of Reims by St. Rigobert (died *ca.* 749).³⁷ St. Pharsildis applied herself with great energy to the study of letters.³⁸ Two biographies give us plain

³³ “Vit. S. Hucb.,” Boll., *AA. SS.*; 30 May; VII, 273, c. 1.

³⁴ “Vit. S. Ursuari” (died 713); Boll.; *AA. SS.*; 18 April; II, 560, c. 1.

³⁵ *Histoire littéraire de la France* (Paris, 1839), Vol. III, p. 5.

³⁶ “Martyrium S. Porc.,” Boll., *AA. SS.*; 12 August; II, 737, c. 2.

³⁷ “Vit. S. Rig.,” 4 January; I, 174, c. 1.

³⁸ “Vit. S. Magd.,” Boll., *AA. SS.*; 4 October; I, 534, cc. 3, 4. We cannot be as sure of this biography as of most of the others cited, for its author is Hugh, abbot of Flavigny, living in the eleventh century.

testimony of the survival of the old learning : Magdalveus (resident near Verdun, died 762)

made himself understand the precepts of grammar, next mounted the tribunal of rhetoric, and brought his zeal for right reason to divine things, and for honest conduct to human things; he applied himself to syllogisms. Next he entered the quadrivium — arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy.

The life of Adalbert, count of Ostrevand, likewise asserts that children—in this case ten daughters—were instructed in the liberal disciplines.³⁹ Testimony to the same fact for Aquitaine is to be found: "We are very thankful to God," says the prologue to "*Vita S. Pardulphi*" (abbot of Gueret in Limoges diocese; died 737) "because here in Aquitaine you find very many philosophers and rhetors who can narrate the life and acts of Pardulph."⁴⁰

The preface to Marculf's "Form-Book" confirms the testimony already adduced. He confesses to simplicity and rusticity of style, and apologizes in a way for it, since he knew there would be many

both you and other very prudent and eloquent men and rhetors and men experienced in writing (ad dictandum) who would, if they read the matter, consider it of small importance as compared with their wisdom, or would certainly disdain to read it.⁴¹

Though we have fewer notices of educational conditions in the eighth century than in the preceding ones, the references which we do have are fortunately not confined to men or women of one or two sections of Gaul. In the cases above mentioned for this century Verdun, Flanders (Ostrevand), Reims, Brétigny, Bretagne, Aquitaine, and Lérins are seen to have preserved the traditions of learning. We know from other sources that localities in eastern Gaul not enumerated above were stimulated to some degree of literary activity by English and Irish.

And so it would appear that there was considerable learning in the seventh and eighth centuries—if only we may trust the lives of the saints. But some phrases, like "*sacris litteris imbutus*," recur so often that it seems likely that it was the

³⁹ "*Vit. B. Adelberti*;" Boll., *AA. SS.*; 22 April; III, 74.

⁴⁰ Boll., *AA. SS.*; 6 October; III, 433.

⁴¹ *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Formulae* (Hannover, 1882), p. 37.

fashion to attribute some learning to the saints, and the phrase may be hardly more than a set form. Again, the lives are in too good Latin to have existed in their present form in the period in question; one or more reworkings of the life must have occurred, and if this occurred after the Carolingian Renaissance, the learning of the later period might be attributed to the former, though another prejudice would degrade the letters of the Merovingian times to exalt the work of Charlemagne. A striking fact in the *Vitae* is that, while many youths are spoken of as attending school, very few bishops or abbots are declared to be teachers or patrons of schools. This might seem to point to a small degree of interest in learning.

If the authors of the *Vitae* are of varying value and their works generally uncertain, their chief interest was to magnify the virtues and miracles of the saints, rather than to exalt their education. Reference to the latter is usually cursory and introductory; whenever, then, we find statements concerning education made with some originality and an unwonted fulness, we may find such matter rather better evidence than that of the body of the life. An examination of the references used in this paper will show that many of them are of this unusual character.

Making allowance for all considerations, it appears that we must recognize in this dark period of the history of letters a greater literary interest than has usually been conceded. It was certainly all that could be expected—perhaps much more—when we reflect on the untoward circumstances of the times, the uncertainty of life and property, and the influences tending to separate Gaul from the South lands.

THE PAULINE MANUSCRIPTS F AND G.

A TEXT-CRITICAL STUDY.

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I.

THE relationship of the Græco-Latin codices Augiensis and Boernerianus has long been a matter of serious and interesting consideration. Wetstein (1752), who designated them by the letters F and G, and who set little store by them, held G to be a copy of F; "*animadverti autem, istum codicem non esse nisi apographon praece-dentis (F, seu Augiensis).*" However, he has no quarrel with him who would invert the kinship, but would merely say that the collateral order, as in F, seems to be more ancient than the interlinear in G. To this judgment Matthæi (1792) assents ("*verissime, ut arbitror, iudicat Wetstenius*"), but does not investigate the matter. Semler (1769) controverted Wetstein's view in two pages of critical observations. Michaelis (1788) reserved his judgment, but held it undeniable that the Greek of G had been altered to suit the Latin. Kusterus (1710) at first entertained no doubt of this corruption, but toward the last he seemed to waver, as the most striking examples yielded to other explanations. Scrivener (1859) rejected the notion that either codex can be a copy of the other, on the basis of the diversity between F and G in the grouping of letters into words. Tregelles assented to Scrivener's view, and Tischendorf more positively. Hort, following the suggestion of Westcott, came to the conclusion, as the result of an apparently hasty and superficial examination, that F was almost certainly only a bad copy of G. Corssen (1887) in two learned and interesting contributions returned to Scrivener's view and accentuated his reasons, but hardly added any new ones. Zimmer (1887, 1890) took the opposite position and professed to raise to certainty the dictum of Hort. He also criticised Corssen incisively. Riggenbach (1893) and Zahn (1897) accept Zimmer's "proof" with eagerness and dismiss F from the court of criticism, just as E is rejected as only a poor reproduction of D. Nestle, however, still abides by the older theory.

The question is not merely academic. The Græco-Roman trio D F G, representing the Occidental Text of Griesbach, has long been overshadowed by the more venerable Alexandrines; but criticism is

coming to perceive more and more clearly that they do not deserve such step-motherly treatment, that their testimony cannot be dismissed or discounted in such cavalier fashion. Just *because* they have not back of them the learning and critical sagacity of Alexandria, they may often, very often, present an earlier and less sophisticated text. This is particularly true of F and G, and hence it has been thought "worth while" to institute an independent investigation of the supposed kinship of the codices, and to shrink from no painstaking that may define or certify the results.

In the conduct of this investigation, it will be necessary, first, to examine dispassionately but critically the considerations adduced by Zimmer.¹ But even if these be found to have overwhelming weight, it will still be indispensable to inquire whether there is anything to throw into the opposite scale; for the correct theory must explain all the facts in the case, these as well as those. Occasion may arise to distinguish the manuscripts from the scribes themselves; these latter then we shall designate by F* and G*; the correctors may be denoted by F** and G**; the originals of F and G may be denoted by F' and G'; the originals of these by F'', G''; and so on.

The first, and at first sight one of the most plausible, of Zimmer's arguments is based on 1 Thess. 5 : 24. In order to present the whole case with perfect clearness, we shall here and elsewhere give the G text and immediately under it the F text, the supposed copy.

<i>iesu christi</i>	<i>fidelis + deus qui vocat vos qui</i>
ω χρυ. τηρηθει. / H.	πιστοσ. ο. καλων υμασ. οσ
παρουσία. του. κυ. ημων. ω. χρυ.	ventu dni nri ihu xpi
O. πιστοσ. ο κα	servetur. Fidelis ds qui voca

Now, says Zimmer, the F scribe overlooked the hook / by which G sought to correct his mistake in separating H from τηρηθει; he also conceived H as the feminine article; he also perceived it could not go with the masculine πιστοσ; he accordingly corrected it into O; then τηρηθει became unintelligible; and he left a blank to be filled out, perhaps from some other manuscript.

This is certainly most ingenious — Zimmer says there is no other way to explain the facts — and yet on close inspection it turns out to be a tissue of incredibilities. Here are six suppositions; not one is probable, four are almost impossible. If F has really copied G, then he has observed throughout, on every page and in almost every line, the

¹In HILGENFELD'S *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* (1887), pp. 76-91, and in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1890), No. 3, cols. 59-62.

minutest peculiarities of his original ; Zimmer indeed holds that he has produced a photographic likeness. He has noticed the most inconspicuous dots, of which there are scores, and yet we must suppose him to have overlooked the conspicuous hook. Especially does this seem improbable, since on Zimmer's hypothesis he was so puzzled over the passage as to change part of the text and leave the rest unwritten ! This he could not have done without close attention, and close attention could not fail to see the manifest hook. Nor can we say he saw, but did not understand ; for he himself has used it thousands of times — nine times on this very page. True, he might have conceived H as the feminine article, but he might just as well have conceived it as a relative, or conjunction, or subjunctive ; and most likely he would not have conceived it at all ; for his knowledge of Greek was too defective for him to bother over this continually recurring letter. But that he perceived that it could not go with the masculine πιστος is quite incredible, and equally so that he would correct it into the masculine O. For there is no example, in 248 pages, of his taking any such offense or making any such correction, though grammatical impossibilities of every variety swarm in these pages by hundreds. Seven lines farther on he writes πασιν τοις αδελφοις, and again προς θεσσαλονικαιων. That he was not startled by the apparition of H in the most impossible positions is plain from such examples as these : η. μαρτον, Rom. 3 : 23 ; η. υξανεν, 1 Cor. 3 : 6 ; and the like in number. In these cases the G text is clear and correct ; if F copied it, he must have deliberately introduced these absurdities.

Once more, that τηρηθει then "became" unintelligible to him and *therefore* was omitted is doubly unbelievable. To be sure, in all likelihood he could not understand the word, but neither did he understand a large fraction of what he put down with scrupulous fidelity, and there is no example of his omitting anything because he did not understand it. No one could understand hundreds or thousands of his combinations, but they are all written off with consummate care. Such are ολο.παι and .περ.η. ωδεινες, on the preceding page (210), and countless others.

Moreover, that the F scribe should have taken offense at the absence of η from τηρηθει is a sheer impossibility. If he really missed it and was so troubled about it, why did he not see it in the H immediately following and connected by the hook ? But could he have been so troubled ? Certainly not ! For his knowledge of Greek was most elementary, not enough to keep him right in the simplest cases, numbers, or persons ; how then could he have known so well the third

person singular of the first aorist optative passive? The fact is that the terminations ϵ , ι , $\epsilon\iota$, $\alpha\iota$, and the letters η , ϵ were to him almost exactly equivalent; he uses them almost indiscriminately. It is more absurd to suppose he would hesitate at the form $\tau\eta\rho\eta\theta\epsilon\iota$ than to suppose a German, as little versed in English, would hesitate at the word "employe" and refuse to transcribe it because not written properly "employee." Of this conclusion we are made absolutely certain by his treatment of the exactly parallel form $\lambdaογεισθ\epsilon\iota\eta$ (2 Tim. 4: 16). Here G writes

illis imputetur t imputatum sit
 αυτοις λογεισθ\epsilon\iota \eta. and F τοις. λογεισθ\epsilon\ι. \eta'. *lis imputetur.*

Whence it is plain that even G* did not understand this termination $\theta\epsilon\iota\eta$, but thought the η was a distinct word probably meaning *sit*. Still clearer is the ignorance of F*, who carefully sets it off by a dot (.) as a distinct word, although at the end of a paragraph and untranslated in his Latin—a blank half-line follows the η , the next line begins on the extreme left. Even this is not all. The corrector F** did not recognize this ending. For he has inserted a ν above the η , intending to make $\eta\nu$ (or perhaps ν) instead of η , but he has not joined the η to $\theta\epsilon\iota$ by a link, \sim , as is always done on recognizing a false division. So then none of these monks were familiar with the ending in question, and it is thus made certain that F could not have scrupled over $\tau\eta\rho\eta\theta\epsilon\iota$ as unintelligible because of the omitted η .

But the question remains: How shall we explain this strange divergence between F and G? In answer we observe, what Zimmer has forgotten to state, that g has left $\tau\eta\rho\eta\theta\epsilon\iota$ untranslated. Hence we suspect there was a text in which it did not appear. Furthermore, its position, at the end of the sentence and after the phrase "of our Lord Jesus Christ," is awkward and surprising; such a phrase naturally and almost invariably closes its sentence or its clause. The two or three exceptions are themselves suspicious and in our opinion belong to a corrupt text. Moreover, that such a text really lies before us here is strongly hinted by the fact that the form $\tau\eta\rho\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\eta$ is not textually unquestioned. D has THPHΘIHN, the N has been erased, perhaps by D**, and D*** has made it ΘΕΙΗ. Besides, Bas eth 229 codices give $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\epsilon\theta\eta$ and $\epsilon\upsilon\rho\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\eta$.* Lastly, we submit that the general structure as it now stands is unnatural and highly improbable. The change of subject from "God himself" with the active $\alpha\gamma\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota$ to the triple "spirit and soul and body" with the passive $\tau\eta\rho\eta\theta\epsilon\iota\eta$ is to our mind extremely arti-

* We do not raise the question: Could the Paul of 1 Cor., chap. 15, have thus written of "spirit, soul, and body"?

ficial and unlikely. So, too, the following, "Faithful he that calls you, who also will perform," sounds strange and puzzling. We venture to suggest that the passage is strongly interpolated, that an older form read something like this: *αυτος ο θεος της ειρηνης αγασαι υμας (ολοτελεισ), (ο) πιστος ο κλων υμας (ος και ποιησει)*. The omitted clause seems to have been inserted primarily as a marginal observation explaining *υμας ολοτελεισ*, and without the *τηρηθει*; then it crept into the text; then the nominative *ψυχη* seemed to require a verb, and *τηρηθει* or *ευρεθει* was added. Our F text seems to point back to a stage in this process when the verb had not yet established itself.

At any rate, it seems abundantly evident that the text at this point presented very early some uncertainty or fluctuation, and that F is here not derivable in any way from G. It seems unlikely even that F and G have here proceeded from a common origin; far more likely that F' and G' were diverse. We have devoted much space to this combination of Zimmer's, for it is one of the finest specimens of his ingenuity, but with the result that the structure falls in ruin and carries down with it the whole theory of its constructor. The other cases may be treated more briefly.

In Gal. 2:17 we find:

inventi sumus et ipsi peccatores
Ευρεθημεν και αυτοι τοις αμαρτωλοις κ. τ. λ.
μεν. και. αυτοι. τοις. αμαρτωλοις *mus et ipsi peccatores*

Here, says Zimmer, in the delusion that he had written only *av*, G repeated *τοι* in the second line; and F copied thoughtlessly. To be sure, this is a possible explanation, but nothing more; it is not necessary, it is not even probable. For, plainly, the original(s) of both F G may have had the repeated *τοι*. It is just as likely that G' made the mistake as that G made it. Nay, it is far more likely; for we know that G* has copied with the utmost care. His attention must have been called to the repeated *τοι*, at least when he came to translate it. Moreover, he has revised his work with great pains, and wherever his eye has wandered and led him to omissions or repetitions, he has conscientiously inserted or deleted, be it words or phrases or letters. Since he has not deleted the *τοι*, the presumption is that it was in his original.

Zimmer's next appeal is to Gal. 6:10 and 1:6. Here we read:

<i>maxime</i>		<i>miror autem quod</i>
<i>Μαχλιστα κ. τ. λ.</i>	and	<i>Μαζω δε οτι κ. τ. λ.;</i>
<i>Maxime autem ad domesticos</i>		<i>Μαχλιστα. δε. προσ. τουσ. οικισουσ</i>
and		
<i>Miror quod sic tam cito trans</i>		<i>Μαζω. δε. οτι. ταχαιωσ. μετα</i>

Here the two codices present the same monsters, *Μαχλιστα* and *Μαζω*. Zimmer thinks them inexplicable in F, save as a thoughtless copy of G; but how, pray, are they to be explained in G? He assumes that the G scribe wrote *Μαχλιστα* "im Blick auf *Maxime*" which stands above it! Such is Matthäi's absurd suggestion, which Zimmer has adopted without hesitation or acknowledgement. But Matthäi himself assures us—which is every way unmistakable—that the Greek was written *first*, the Latin *afterward*. Such is plainly the case here, for *Μαχλιστα* is written close to the left edge, but *maxime* slightly to the right. So that the scribe could have been influenced by the *x* of *maxime* only in faith, which is the evidence of things not seen.

Similar remarks apply to the second case. Here again Matthäi suggests and Zimmer adopts the conceit that the *m* in *miror* caught G's eye and betrayed him into writing *Μαζω* for *θανυμαζω*! And this before *miror* was itself written! Could anything be more preposterous? Not unless it be that in Gal. 4:6 *υιοι* is written instead of *υιον*, because, forsooth, *fili* was *going* to be written above it! But someone may of course ask: How did such errors originate? We answer: There are many things harder to understand; the spelling *μαλλιστα* prevails in both F and G, hence in their originals. We cannot know, but we may well suppose, it was written in F' and G' somewhat thus: *ΜΑΛΛΙCΤΑ*. If the upper curve of the λ was brought over a little too much, the appearance of the double letter λλ might easily be mistaken for χλ. Many stranger confusions are found in nearly every manuscript. As to *Μαζω*, the case is one of the omission of initials. Now, the omission of a single initial is very frequent in F and not unknown even in G. For instance, G has *Τιμα* (1 Cor. 11:14) for *ατιμα*. That the α had been omitted or at least confused in the original(s) of F and G is evident from F, which has [α] *τιμα*. The [α] is the insertion of a very recent hand. Hence F* left a space for the omitted α, which he *could not* have done if copying from G, where there is nothing to suggest it.

Of the explanation of such omissions we may not always be sure, but of the fact there is no doubt whatever. In the present case, as in many, there seems to be some connection with the shorthand of the originals. That abbreviations were frequent in the older MSS. is well known, and that they were present in the archetype of F is plain from the presence of the symbol κ for *και* in F. It is unlikely that F introduced this abridgment, and we shall produce yet other evidence of similar contractions.

Now, a tachygraphic symbol for $\alpha\nu$ is \sim , placed over the preceding consonant, so that $\theta\alpha\nu$ may be (and actually is) written thus $\tilde{\theta}$.³ The symbol might easily be omitted. Both in F and in G there are many examples of diacritical marks over letters, particularly ι and ν , and still more of their omission, where we can see no reason for diversity. They are often present in the one codex, but not in the other. In the grandparents (F' and G') of F and G these variations may very well have originated. We believe that F* and G*, in their greater ignorance, copied more faithfully if more mechanically. If the mark was omitted from θ , there would be left $\theta\mu\alpha\zeta\omega$. As unpronounceable, or written in the margin, or for some other reason, whether of accident or of design, θ may have been omitted before the μ , both by F' and by G', and the result would be the $\text{Ma}\zeta\omega$ as now seen. We do not put forth this explanation with great confidence; there are many ways in which things may happen. But we do maintain that the falling away of the $\theta\alpha\nu$ is hardly more difficult to understand than the falling away of so many other initials, as (in G) the τ from $\text{To}\lambda\mu\alpha$, 1 Cor. 6: 1; that the explanations of similar cases are most probably similar; that the Matthäi-Zimmer conceit is merely amusing; and that the error of M for $\theta\alpha\nu\mu$ almost certainly marred the originals of F and G.

Just here we must remark that a fatal assumption seems to pervade the reasoning of Hort and Zimmer, namely, that the archetype of F and G was at least nearly correct as they account correctness, was about like B or N. But this is purely gratuitous; it is indeed certainly false. There is no reason why this archetype may not have departed as far even from D as D from N.

Lastly we may note that this form $\text{Ma}\zeta\omega$ is an eloquent testimonial to the ignorance in Greek of both F and G scribes. That they could accept this monster as the equivalent of *mirror* shows plainly that they were copying letter by letter, slavishly, with only the feeblest comprehension of the Greek before them. That they should have undertaken to correct the sacred text which they could only so stumblingly read is extremely improbable. We must observe, however, that G has placed a marginal sign z opposite to the line containing $\text{Ma}\chi\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha$. We do not know what this means, but it surely means something. It must refer to something in the line, and there is nothing in the line at all remarkable, nothing apparently to which it can refer, save only this prodigious χ . If this be the reference, then either G or G' observed this letter, but did not recognize it as an error of his own, and so did

³ LEHMANN, *Die Tachygraphischen Abkürzungen*, § 20, Taf. 3.

not correct it as he did his own errors ; if so, then the error could not have been such as Matthäi and Zimmer imagine, which would have been easy to observe and correct.

The next is a capital one, Gal. 5:9, 10 :

	<i>modicum fermentum totam massam corrumpit et fermentat autem</i>
	Μικρα ζυμη ολον το φυραμα ζυμοι. ^{ego} Εγω δε
h+	<i>quam habet confido in vobis in domino quod nihil aliud sen t sapietis</i>
	πεποιθα εισ υμας εν κω̄ Οτι ουδεν αλλο φρο
	ην εχι ^{tietis d+ qui} νησεται: Ο δε κ. τ. λ.
	veritas ^{christi} η αληθεια του χ̄υ

Εγω. δε. πεποιθα. εισ. υμας. ενκω̄. *Ego autem confido in vobis in dno.*
 οτι. ουδεν. αλλο. φρονησεται. ην. *quod nihil aliud sapietis.+ quam*
 εχι. η. αληθεια. του. χ̄υ. Ο. δε *habet veritas xpi. Qui autem.*

Now, says Zimmer, the marginal gloss (introduced by the sigla h+ meaning *haec* [or *hoc*] *est*) refers to *massam*, since *quam* (ην) is the feminine relative ; F takes this up into the text, but misplaces it where it is *rein unverständlich*; hereby F betrays himself as copying unintelligently from G. Ingenious, very ! but nothing more. Here again Zimmer's whole argument is assumption tempered with error. He assumes that ην (*quam*) is a feminine relative and must refer to *massam*. This is wrong ; Tischendorf is plainly right in taking ην for the conjunction H (the letters H and N are hard to distinguish and continually confused) ; it means not *which* but *than*. It is only the reference to *massam* that is *rein unverständlich*; what does it mean, "the lump which the truth of Christ has" ? "A little leaven leavens the whole lump" is a proverb, and the relative clause tacked on makes nonsense. On the contrary, G has indicated with perfect clearness — which decisive fact is noted by Matthäi, but strangely forgotten by Zimmer — exactly where the marginal note belongs. This he has done by his sign d+, which always means *deest*. On inserting this gloss immediately after φρονησεται we find this sentiment : "But I am persuaded touching you in the Lord that naught else will ye think than has the truth of Christ" — all your thought must be contained in the truth of Christ, must not go beyond it. The expression may be a trifle awkward, but it is perfectly intelligible. To our mind some such addition seems positively required by the context ; the word αλλο (*aliud*, "else")

demands an η (*quam*, "than") as its complement. But in any case such a complement is natural, even if not absolutely necessary; it is perfectly in place in F, and G has indicated unequivocally where he meant it to be inserted; even without this indication the gloss is too far down on the page to refer to *massam*.

We do not raise the question as to the oldest text, whether it did or did not contain such a clause. Granted it did not, the phenomena of the two texts by no means imply that F was taken from G. Nay, it is highly unlikely that F would have taken up such a marginal gloss from G into his text; for marginal glosses abound in G, yet nowhere else have they in the least affected F. On the face of it, F appears to be taken from another prototype than G, an appearance to which color is lent by a variety of circumstances.

At this point the really serious argumentation of Zimmer seems to cease. It is hard to believe that he himself can attach much weight to the considerations he lets follow. At most, the facts he adduces might be said to harmonize with his view, if that view were already made probable, but they themselves add scarcely anything to its probability. Here, for instance is the full text of his next *Erweis*:

ad esse

2 Kor. 5, 8 schreibt G $\epsilon\tau\ \delta\eta\mu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$, davon nimmt F in einer seiner sofort zu besprechenden lateinischen Zwischenschriften nur das *ad* über $\epsilon\tau$ - auf; *au* hat: (presentes) esse.

Four other quite similar examples are added. But what manner of syllogism is this? What is the mood? What the figure? It seems precisely as if one should try to *prove* that Rome is partly on the left bank of the Arno by *asserting* that it is partly on the *right*. How can Zimmer *know* that F took the *ad* from the Latin interlinear *g*? Latin versions numbered hundreds, if not thousands; says Jerome, *Tot exemplaria, quot codices*; there were probably scores from which F might have taken *ad* or any other of the interlineations, *if he had taken them at all*. But even this is not correct; these interlineations in F are not by the F scribe, the copyist of the Greek; they are by his reviser F**, they are *secunda manu*, according to the unimpeachable testimony of Scrivener.⁴

⁴ The only clear case of a first-hand interlineation, according to Scrivener, is in Rom. 12:20, where *potum illum* is written over $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$. In the opposite Latin (f) stands *potum da illi*; G has both: $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$. Whence it would seem that both renderings were familiar, and there is no apparent reason for supposing that F took the second from G. The translation is so obvious that more than one version must have hit on it. Also the [*uualtit*?] over $\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\iota$, 1 Cor. 7:4, seems to be *prima manu*.

At this breath the cardboard castles of Zimmer tumble in a heap. It *may* be that this second hand, F**, turned over the pages of G or some other codex and compared them with F, and drew thence some of his interlineations. We see no compelling reason for this supposition, but it matters not whether it be true or false; we are not now concerned with the Latin interlineations of F**, but solely with the Greek text of F*.

That these interlineations cannot all be taken from G is admitted by Zimmer himself in a footnote: "Indessen stammen nicht alle diese Beischriften aus G." Since, then, it is certain that many (at least nearly one-fifth) came from some other unknown source, it seems probable that all came from that source; for it is less likely that the annotator F** used two sources than only one.

We come now to the Itacisms. It would seem impossible, even in the extremest case, to deduce from agreement in itacism any argument in favor of Zimmer's hypothesis. Even if F and G agreed in every instance of the misplacement of like-sounding vowels and diphthongs, would it prove or render probable that either was a copy of the other? By no means; for both might just as well be copies of a common original. But what are the facts? The twain do *not nearly* agree in these misspellings; in nearly a thousand (968) instances they disagree; that is, about four times to the page. This is certainly a *very large* fact; how shall we explain it? Zimmer makes no attempt at all. But a difference in itacism calls for explanation quite as loudly as any other. True, if F* had been copying, not by eye, but by ear, if someone had been reading off the Greek to him, then such errors would have been natural enough. Only, they would have been altogether too natural. Grossly ignorant as he was of Greek, he could not have taken down from such dictation a single line without multiplied blunders. This hypothesis, that F* copied from sound and not from sight, is not made by Zimmer and is contradicted on every page in countless ways. Still it deserves some little consideration. Very many misspellings both in F and in G seem to be indubitably errors of the ear and not of the eye; as, for instance, the frequent confusion of *ε* and *υ*, of *δ* and *θ*, of *ο* and *ω*. But such mistakes were not made by either F or G scribe; they were made centuries before, by copyists who knew immensely more Greek and who trusted their ears and their own notions of orthography, and often with disastrous results.

Let us consider one example carefully. Of larger words the copyist must have been at least as familiar with *αμαρτια* as with any other; in

Romans it recurs constantly. We should naturally expect his spelling to be uniform, unless controlled by a copy before him. Now on p. 14 of F it is three times spelled *αμαρτια*, three times *αμαρτεια*, and each time agrees with G. On p. 15 it is spelled twice with *ε*, four times without *ε*, always agreeing with G. But in three of these cases it is written most strangely *αμαπτ. ια*, and in all four an *ε* has been written above the *ι*. It is not easy to see what can be the explanation, but it is plain that the interlineator is *not* following G, which does not offer the *ε*. Furthermore, the queer form *αμαπτ. ια* points to some contraction or other obscurity in some ancestor of F. Surely *something* must have misled him to this strange mutilation, and there is nothing in G to mislead any one.

Again, in Rom. 6:17 F has *αμαρτιας*, but G *αμαρτειας*; in 7:23 both F and G have *αμαρτιας*, but F** has inserted *ε* above *ι*—why? In 6:20 F has *αμαρτειας*, but G has *αμαρτειας*. Similar oscillations may be traced out in scores of words. Do they *prove* anything? Possibly not; but they certainly do not suggest that the F scribe had G before him. Looking still more closely we find that of these 968 vowel-differences a great number are interchanges of *ο* and *ω*. These are easy to understand as lapses of the ear, but not of the eye, since the two letters are not at all alike, especially in G. Nearly as frequent is the interchange of *ε* and *η*. Here there is no resemblance at all in G, where the letters are made thus: *ε*, H, very distinctly and uniformly. Where F has a vowel, *ε* or *ι*, and G the diphthong *αι*, one is of course tempted to say that F has carelessly dropped a letter; but how when the case is reversed? Did he carelessly insert a letter? Did he carelessly put *αι* for *ε* and *vice versa*? We cannot believe it. Some of these errors have been corrected by F**, but not in general to accord with G; so that we fail to find good reason for thinking the reviser must have used the Boernerianus. To us it seems that both F* and G* have copied mechanically, but faithfully, and that they have merely presented the irregular spelling of former centuries, which has crept in some measure into every known manuscript. It seems utterly impossible that F* should have made nearly a thousand mistakes in vowels, unless he copied *very* carelessly; but in that case he must have made a thousand mistakes in his consonants, which are as numerous and as alike in appearance. But this he has by no means done. There are only 166 interchanges of consonants. And why are these exchanges almost confined to cases of easy mispronunciation? H is as much like *ο* as like *ε*, yet it is never miswritten for the former, very often for the latter. The

same remarks apply to consonants. Θ resembles Α no more than Φ, yet it is frequently confounded with the one, never with the other. Once more, ω (in G) is not the least like ο, but very like μ and λλ; yet (in F) it is continually confounded with that, but with these never.

View the matter as you will, then, the great mass of variations between F and G seem to be mistakes of sound and not of sight. But it is everywhere assumed, and nowhere disputed, that these copies (or in any case F) were made from sight and not from sound. It follows that such mistakes in these venerable manuscripts are far more venerable still; they point back centuries to a time when Greek was still familiar to the western half of the empire, and the 968 itacisms with the many other letter confusions of this class indicate that the originals F' and G', though very closely related, were yet distinct.

On the other hand, a very respectable number of such letter-confusions seem to point directly to manuscripts themselves as seen and not heard. Such, for example, is the substitution of Α for Δ in the oblique cases of *αγγελ*. Of this there are five cases on page 1 of folio 13, Rom. 7:1-3: *υπαγγελος*, *αγγελος*, *αγγελος*, *αγγελι*, *αγγελι*. None of these errors are in G. Similar blunders occur elsewhere in F, but only sporadically. Here it is plainly the eye that has been deceived. In fact, Α and Δ are very easy to confound, either by lowering the horizontal bar in Α or by raising it in Δ. The initial Α in G is often hard to distinguish from Δ, but not so the medial α and δ. These in G are uniformly made thus: α and δ and can scarcely be mistaken when they catch the eye, even apart from their connection. While then we cannot affirm it was impossible for F* to copy the *αγγελ* of G into *αγγελ*, we do affirm five such blunders in three verses to be extremely improbable; especially, as the Latin *vir* was in every instance written distinctly above the Greek word in G. If then he knew anything about what he was taking down, he could hardly have blundered so repeatedly. But if he was picking out his letters one by one from a manuscript written in uncials continuously, with no Latin translation above, the mistaking of Δ for Α would seem incomparably easier.

From these generalities there may be little to deduce with certainty. This, however, we may say with absolute confidence, and Zimmer himself would hardly dispute it, that there is in all these phenomena nothing to prove or even to render probable the derivation of F from G. Possibly, but only possibly, these facts may all be interpreted in harmony with such derivation, but they are far more readily comprehended otherwise. It is difficult to distinguish always with perfect clearness

between what Zimmer intends as proof, and what as confirmation, and what he is merely seeking to construe as not necessarily discrepant with his theory. He has the unfortunate habit of stating boldly as a *fact* what is at best only one possible interpretation of a fact, as in the passage quoted (p. 460). But if we understand him after repeated readings, and this is the most generous construction, the last nine pages of his memoir attempt no real proof of his thesis; but would merely show that all the phenomena there treated (of itacism and the like) do not necessarily gainsay his contention. With this in the main we need have no quarrel; the issue is too vague to admit of sharp contest; but we close this part of the discussion by recalling the result already reached, that thus far all of Zimmer's ostensible proofs fail outright, and rather oppose than support his contentions.

However, in a very sharp review of Corssen, he has come again to the front with added "proofs" that demand notice. Of these the first is a *pièce de résistance*, decidedly the weightiest he has yet produced. *Voici*. In Rom. 8:35 we read in G and F respectively:

	<i>ratio an angustia</i> <i>σχ</i>	<i>persecutio</i>
	εισ Η στενσχωρια.	Διωγμος. κ. τ. λ.
<i>σχωρια</i>	η. στεν ^χ χωρια. δι. ωγμος	<i>an angustia an persecutio</i>

Now, says Zimmer, the original of F must have appeared "photographically exactly" like G. For he explains the whole situation thus: (1) G found (or read) *σ* in his original, instead of the *ο* in στενσχωρια (2) he was doubtful whether an *α* or a *χ* followed it; (3) he preferred *α*, but wrote *σχ* over it, alas! not exactly over it; (4) the F scribe was uncertain whether the *σχ* referred to *α* or to the preceding *σ* as alternative; (5) therefore he wrote in his text στεν^χχωρια and in the margin *σχωρια*, thus leaving choice between στενχωρια and στενσχωρια. He holds that F is inexplicable save as presupposing G exactly; for "it is decisive for the F text that *σχ* was placed rather over *σ* than over *α*."

Such is by far the most plausible of Zimmer's constructions, and at first blush it may well perplex if not convince us. However, on recovering from our admiration and surprise, we observe instantly that No. 5 in this sorites is a mistake; F* did not write the interlineation *σχ* and the gloss *σχωρια*; they are *secunda manu*. Such is the judgment of Scrivener, from which there is no appeal. With this observation the exact photograph becomes a blur. What F* wrote was simply στενχωρια, whereas G* wrote στενσχωρια. The question then is: Does this text of F presuppose the G text exactly? Manifestly, no! It is not even cer-

tain that the $\iota\chi$ is *prima manu*; but granted that it is, it would have been unnatural for F* to have put the alternative χ instead of the σ of the text proper. This is not all, however. Zimmer holds that the $\iota\chi$ refers to α , but was slightly miswritten, so as to refer more naturally to σ . But how does he know this? We affirm that it is more probably correctly written and refers to the σ . Such alternatives in G point naturally and properly backward, not forward. Once more, Zimmer holds that G has also mistaken an σ for a σ , but how can he be sure thereof? We think it quite as likely G has done nothing of the kind. But if Zimmer's explanation is held to be unnecessary, what other is there to propose?

Well, since it comes to guessing, perhaps we, too, may hazard a guess. It shall be a very modest one, accepting the facts at their face value and striving to interpret them as they are. These facts are that $\iota\chi$ G has $\sigma\alpha$ where F has $\chi\alpha$. We refer the alternative χ to σ , as alone is natural and almost certainly correct. Is there a letter that may be thus doubtfully or doubly read? Certainly, it is χ itself which is often written \mathfrak{C} , as in \aleph and in G itself. If the left side be dim the letter may easily be taken for C. This then seems to be a very natural and nearly lying explanation: The original of F and G was CTEN \mathfrak{C} CAWPIA, and the left line of the \mathfrak{C} was obscure. Such facts are continually presenting themselves in ancient manuscripts. But is not this word corrupt? Certainly, it should be CTENO \mathfrak{C} WPIA. But we have no right to assume that the F and G original was correct at this point, since it is known to have been incorrect at so many others. Precisely how the error in this original itself originated we cannot know; enough that *such* errors abound. Perhaps there was a mere transposition of letters—such as in $\alpha\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ for $\lambda\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$ (G, 1 Cor. 14:5), or in $\chi\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ for $\sigma\chi\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ (Phil. 2:8)—and a confusion of σ and α ; perhaps it was primarily an error of the ear rather than of the eye; $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\chi\omega\rho\iota\alpha$ and $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\chi\alpha\omega\rho\iota\alpha$ are not too unlike in sound to be confounded. Zimmer's hypothesis that the O was taken for the C is plausible in itself, but his reference of the $\iota\chi$ to α is unjustified by G's usage, and the confusion of α and χ , while possible, is not so likely. At the very best, his whole construction is merely a possible explanation; it is certainly not natural, still less necessary. As an argument, then, it is weightless.

The fact that G* has indicated an alternative $\iota\chi$ shows clearly that he has not proceeded hastily, but cautiously, and hence that it was impossible for him to decide between σ (or, as Zimmer will have it, α) and χ . Hence we must conclude, not only that he knew exceeding

little Greek, but that there was some deep obscurity in his original. That this latter was imperfect at this point is made probable by the absence of H before Διωγμος, though essential to the sense. We need not marvel then if the rare word στενοχωρια was miswritten in G's original.

With the interlineation in F we have little concern. It may have been suggested by a later comparison of F with G, or it may not. It is enough for us that it forms no part of F proper.

It is a characteristic defect, fatal to Hort's and Zimmer's reasoning, that they neglect the possibility—nay, the probability—that the errors met with in F and G are old errors faithfully copied from ancient sources. More than this, Zimmer often fails to look beyond the word immediately under consideration. Had he glanced forward to the next vocable, he would have perceived that his explanation, so far from being necessary, was not even probable. For it is very hard to believe that, with the G text ^{persecutio} Διωγμος before him, the F scribe could ever have written Δι.ωγμος. The Greek in G is written plainly as one word, and the Latin translation stamps it unmistakably as one word; why then should, how then could, F split it into two and carefully separate them by a period? The only answer we can think of is that he recognized & as the equivalent of *per* written above it, and so wrote it as for &α. But such an etymological observation, if he really made it, must have guided him aright instead of astray. For since *per* is not a distinct word, but only a part of *persecutio*, why should he think & as distinct and not a part of Διωγμος as written? It seems very hard to doubt that the scribe was picking out the letters from a manuscript *continuo scripta*, that he thought he recognized &, and accordingly wrote it down as a word before he came to the rest.

If the foregoing example excites our admiration of Zimmer's ingenuity, the following must move our wonder at something else. In Rom. 6:9 we have in G and F:

illius non ultra dominabitur quod enim mortuus est
 αυτου. ουκ ετι κυριευει. ο γαρ απεθανεν
 † *datius peccato*
 τη. αμαρτια. κ.τ.λ.

θανατος αυτου ουκ ετι κυ *mors illi non domi*
 νευει Ο γαρ απεθανεν. τη *nabitur. Quod enim mortuum est*

The sign † means *est*, and the reference in G is of course to τη. Now, says Zimmer, F misreferred this *datius* to αυτου above instead of to τη below, and hence wrote *illi* instead of *illius*. But how can Zimmer even

suspect, not to say know, that F did any such thing, so unnatural and unparalleled? We must bear in mind that F* had already written *illi* and its whole line *before* he came to the † *dativus* and its line; can we believe he would look below before writing a line that could give no ground for hesitance? Even in this aspect Zimmer's explanation (!) seems highly unlikely; moreover, it is wholly unnecessary. For why be surprised at the dative *illi*? *Dominor* is used with all the oblique cases, ablative, accusative, dative, genitive. It is with the latter that its use is especially late. Lastly, the greatest Vulgate manuscript, the Codex Amiatinus, has it precisely as F, *mors illi ultra non dominabitur*.⁵ Now F's Latin (F) is in general Vulgate; why then wonder because it is Vulgate here? We have never seen a more venturesome explanation where there was absolutely nothing to be explained. In itself the matter is not worthy of mention even, but we have dwelt on it, because it is invaluable as illustrating vividly the method and the animus of Zimmer, who is dead set on making out a case against F at any cost; with reason, if he can; without reason, if he must.

The rest of this column in Zimmer's review is scarcely better. Thus in Rom. 5: 17, the readings are

si enim in uno delicto
Εἰ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ παραπτώματι

mors
τι. ὁ θάνατος κ.τ.λ.

delicto mors regna παραπτώμα ο θάνατος βασιλευ

Zimmer seems to think the omission of *τι* by F is due to its position at the beginning of a line in G! But why so? Such divisions of words occur by the hundreds in both manuscripts. Besides, the *τι* is more conspicuous at the beginning of a line than elsewhere, and hence not more, but less, likely to be passed over. The fact in question is not so much an argument for as against the derivation of F from G.

Again, in 2 Cor. 12: 7 G has at the close of a line *revelationum* ἀποκαλύψ, and F ἀποκλύψ διο. κ.τ.λ. But is F following G? Why so? The source of G had the word incomplete; at least it may have had it so, so far as we know; why then may not F have taken it from that or a kindred source? Nay, more; the form in F strongly testifies that it is *not* taken from G; for F leaves a blank space after ψ, but there is no such space left in G. The natural supposition is that there *was* a blank in F's original, which then could not have been G. The only way to escape this conclusion is to suppose that F* recognized ἀποκλύψ (not ἀποκαλύψ, as given by Zimmer) as an incomplete word. But his Greek knowledge was very improbably

⁵ Exactly so also the very ancient Codex Fuldensis: *mors illi ultra non dominabitur*.

equal to such a feat. According to Zimmer he was puzzled by the word, perceived its incompleteness, and left a space. If so, he must have observed it carefully. Why then did he omit the α? Why did he put the bar indicating contraction? Why did he leave a space after the contraction, as he has done nowhere else? These phenomena are hard to explain on Zimmer's hypothesis; whether or not it is possible to explain them, it is certain that they do not favor derivation from G. It seems every way more likely that F has reproduced his original F', exactly. The remoter original, F'', most probably had ΑΠΤΟΚΑΛΥΨ, abbreviated at the end of a line. The omission of Α followed perhaps from its confusion with Λ.

Still forgetting that the interlineations in F are from F** and not from F*, Zimmer repeats that they are, in part, intelligible only as taken from G. But what of it, even if true? It would only show that F**, not that F*, had seen G. But it is not true. The interlineations and alterations in G are not original with G*. Many of them far transcend his Greek culture; they were derived from translations then existent; they are most probably in most cases mere copies. And if G got them from some written source, why may not F have gotten them from the same source? But let us examine some specimens of these *Beischriften*. First Cor. 5:11 reads

ebriosus aut rapax cum huiusmodi non nec comedere
μεθυσοσ Η. αρπαξ. τω. τουιουτω μητε συνεσθει

cum
ροσ. η. μεθυσοσ. η. αρπαξ. τω *dicus. aut ebriosus. aut rapax.*

τοιουτω; μητε. συνεσθειεν *cum huiusmodi nec cibum sumere*

Zimmer thinks this *cum* inexplicable except as taken from G! But we think it may be explained most easily. The Latin lines have been measured off word for word as closely as possible, and almost syllable for syllable, to correspond with the opposite Greek. So *dicus* represents *ροσ* and, just above, *tus* balances *τησ*, and *tur* balances *μενοσ*. Here, however, there was a slight displacement. The *huiusmodi*, and not the *cum*, corresponds to *τοιουτω*; strictly, there is nothing for *cum* to match. This was doubtless known to F' (or F'') who first divided into lines thus, whom F* has faithfully copied; but it puzzled F**, who thought that *cum* rendered *τω* and so should have been placed immediately after *rapax*; for the benefit of posterity he notes this precious discovery by writing *cum* over *τω*! The G scribe was quite as ignorant; he too thought that *τω* meant *cum*; so perhaps did many; we need not suppose one copied from the other.

The important point in this passage Zimmer misses altogether; it is the semicolon (;) after *τοιουντω*. G has a period (.); why did F put the meaningless ; unless he was copying closely? The period in G is unmistakable, and if F was copying G, he was copying closely, for he has omitted the *v* which G had expunged by dots; whence then the semicolon?

Once more, in 1 Cor. 11 : 2 we read :

sicut ubique tradidi
Καθως πανταχου παραδωκα. κ.τ.λ.

ω ubique
και. καθως. παντα. χου. παρα et sicut tradidi vobis

Zimmer thinks the *ubique* in F taken from G, but why so? It is not F*, but F**, that is comparing Greek and Latin conscientiously, but ignorantly. He finds nothing translating *παντα*; some other version supplies him *ubique*, which he writes over *παντα*; the *χου* is left untranslated! But that F is not here copied from G is triply plain; because of the *ο* instead of *ω*, which letters are not at all alike in G; because of the false division *παντα. χου*; and because of the dot above the *υ*—neither of which last is in G.

En passant we observe that had Zimmer glanced at the top of this same page in G (9 lines above in F), he might have detected something far more ominous than his *ubique*. For, 1 Cor. 10 : 32, there stands

indaeis
λουδαιοιςτε

et graecis et
Και ελληνειν και. τη. κ.τ.λ.

οις. τεκαι. ελληνειν. κ, τη. εκ

is et gentibus

et eccle

How can this be derived from that? Could F* fail to see that *τε* in G was a part of the word *λουδαιοιςτε*? that *Και*, the all-familiar *και*, was itself a word, was the beginning of a line, was capitalized? Why should he cut off the *τε* and prefix it to *και*? Why abbreviate the second *και*? Why leave a blank after *gentibus*? These questions are not captious, but just and natural. To none of them does G offer any answer. Shall we believe that the ignorant monk was following his original faithfully, or that he was departing from G wilfully and wantonly?

To return to Zimmer's examples, in 1 Tim. 5 : 19 we read :

adversus presbyterum accusationem noli recipere

Κατα πρεσβυτερον Καταγοριαν Μη παραδε

excepto exceptist nisi duobus aut tribus testibus

χου. Εκτος εμη δυο η. τριων Μαρτυρων

Adversus presbiterum accusati Κατα. πρεσβυτερου. κατη_γο
onem noli recipere. Nisi ριαν. μη. παρα_δεχου. εκτος ^{exceptis}
sub duobus aut tribus testi nisi ^ω ειμη. δυο. η. τριον. μαρτυ

Zimmer thinks F must have taken the Latin interlineations from G. But why? Precisely as before, it is F**, not F*, who finds that, contrary to rule, the *nisi* at the end must refer to *ειμη* at the beginning, and he merely makes a note of it. Then *εκτος* remained untranslated. From some source he discovers that it means *exceptis*, and this also he jots down. *Voilà tout*. But here again it is triply evident that G is not the prototype of F; for why should F divide G's closely-written *παράδε* into *παρα δε*? And how could he mistake the large *ω* of G for an *ο*? These errors have been corrected, but why were they made? is the question. Lastly, why should F split the word *μαρτυρων* if copying from G? There is ample room in the short line of eighteen letters for the *ρων*, and how could he fail to write it out so, if the final *μαρτυρων* of G lay full before him? What possible motive does G present for carrying forward the *ρων* to the next line? None whatever; on the contrary.

The rule that Zimmer's witnesses on cross-examination turn coat and testify against him is strikingly exemplified in the following, 1 Cor. 14:4:

qui loquitur
 O. λαλει *τ* λαλων
lingua seipsum aedificet qui vero prophetat ecclesiam
 γλωσση εαυτον οικοδομι O δε προφητευων εκκλησιαν
consolationem. Qui loquitur lingua
 παραμυθειαν. O. λαλει. γλωσση. *Qui autem prophete*
 εαυτον. οικοδμ. Oδε προ φη *semetipsum aedificat. Qui autem prophete*

Here, thinks our critic, the G scribe, "knowing extremely little Greek," transformed his Greek text *ολαλων* into *ολαλει*, to correspond with his Latin *qui loquitur*! But, not being quite sure of his transformation, he inserted the proper text *λαλων* with a *τ* (for *aut*) before it! The miserable F*, knowing still less Greek, had (?) to take his choice, and of course chose the wrong one. It is hard to believe one's own eyes in reading this argument (!), or to repress the exclamation: "Zimmer, Zimmer, thou art beside thyself! Much learning hath made thee mad!" The whole context in Corinthians is literally made up of such participial constructions, *δ* with some word ending in *ων*, invariably rendered by *qui* with a finite verb; two verses above we have *ο γαρ λαλων*, ^{*qui enim loquitur*} and again one verse below *ο λαλων*, ^{*qui loquitur*} All of these participles G has faithfully and unscrupulously retained, but now we are asked to believe

he suddenly changes his mind and tampers with his text, changing λαλων into λαλει! This too is the G that knows so extremely little about Greek. He would seem to know still less about his duty and common sense. And then, his courage failing him at the last moment, he inserts his timid ι λαλων! We submit that this whole construction is a slander on a faithful transcriber. If we turn it the other way, it becomes far less incredible. If the text before G read ο λαλει, he might have paused, even though knowing little Greek, for he had just written ο γαρ λαλων, and have been tempted to insert his ι λαλων. We do not think even this very likely, but more likely that this text contained the λαλων as a correction, interlinear or marginal. The archetype before F had simply αλαλει, or, if there was any alternative, F did not see fit to preserve it.⁶ It seems to us he would certainly have copied G as he found it. That he did not have it before him is further indicated in the omission of ο (οικοδομι), in the false division προ φη, and in the false union Οδε. In the second line below there is evidence still clearer; for G has wrongly αλλειν, while F has rightly λαλειν. We cannot believe that our F*, *im Griechisch noch unwissender*, would thus have changed the text before him.

Highly important is the example that follows, Phil. 3 : 7 :

ge est factus t conservatus sine querela quae quaedam fuerunt t erant mihi
 μω. γενομενος. αμεμπτος. Α τινα ην μοι
conservatus sine querela. Sed γενομενος. αμεμπτος. αλλι. τι
quae mihi fuerunt lucra haec arbi να. ην. μοι. Κερδη. ταυτα. ηγη

Now, says Zimmer, F did not understand the α standing alone, but deduced from his Latin that it must correspond to *sed* (in spite of the translation above it!); hence he conjectured αλλι (meaning of course αλλα) (!), hence his text given above. At this point it seems impossible not to admire the courage of our critic, whatever we may think of his judgment; how boldly he would pluck the fig of safety from the thistle of danger! A passage that plainly contradicts his theory he would dare to wrest into support of that theory. But is he successful? We shall soon see.

Zimmer tells us with perfect confidence just what F did and thought; but how does he know all this? The tacit assumption is that there is no other explanation of the phenomena. Can this be true? Far from it. From reading Zimmer one would hardly suppose that the F text

⁶ We suspect that λαλει originated in a misunderstanding of a contracted form, as λαλ, at the end of a line.

is much more strongly attested than that of G. Yet, such is the case. For omitting $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$, stand \aleph AG, 17 dg, Euthal, Cyr, Lcif, Amb, Victorin; for retaining $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$, BD* (and as $\alpha\lambda\lambda$) \aleph^c D^c FKL, *al pler.*, Did., Bas., Chrysost., Thdrt., Dam., fvg go syr^{scr} cp arm, Aug; so, too, the great editors Westcott and Hort, Weiss, Baljon, Lipsius, Nestle; Tischendorf naturally goes with \aleph . In fact, it is plain that $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ is positively required by the sense, whatever the authorities might say. The thing to explain, then, would seem to be not why F has $\alpha\lambda\lambda(\iota)$, but why G does not have it? Yet Zimmer insists that F, faithless to G, has adapted his Greek to his Latin, has translated *sed* back into $\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota$ which he then substituted for α ! This is an utterly empty conceit of Zimmer's, who should have remembered his own important words: *Auch durch seinen lateinischen Text lässt der Schreiber sich in der Herstellung des Griechischen nicht beeinflussen*. We hold it highly unlikely that so ignorant a copyist would have tried his hand at improving the Greek before him, by translating his Latin into Greek, especially when his Greek was written down before his Latin. Neither would he have translated *sed* by $\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota$, for which he could find no precedent. It avails not to say he *meant* $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ —a mere assertion.

How, then, shall we explain this $\alpha\lambda\lambda\iota$? We answer that in the archetype of F, as in most codices, the second α was probably omitted, and also perhaps the first α of $\alpha\tau\iota\nu\alpha$, the omission being probably indicated by a comma or the like, so that the text may have stood thus: $\alpha\lambda\lambda$, $\tau\iota\nu\alpha$. Such commas occur both in F and still oftener in G. This comma might easily have been mistaken for an ι , whether by F or by F'. Of course, we cannot be sure in such a matter, but the ι need give us no great concern; the miswriting of a single letter is frequent enough.

Herewith is not meant that we regard the now accepted text, with $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$, as primitive; for while we may readily understand the insertion of $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ (to smooth the construction), we cannot understand its omission. On the other hand, neither can we comprehend how the writer of Philippians could have left it out in the first place. Still again, no more can we comprehend how he could use a second $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ in vs. 8, since the opposition is already expressed by the first. What then is the solution? We answer that the whole vs. 7 is an interpolation. Originally a marginal note, *summarizing what follows* (vss. 8-11), it was written without $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$. Then it was taken up into the text, beginning $\alpha\tau\iota\nu\alpha$. . . ; then the harshness was keenly felt, and the $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ was inserted to soften it. But this first $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$ then jarred on the second already present in vs. 8, and

hence the wavering between the two forms, neither of which was felt as quite satisfactory. Similar cases abound in the New Testament, "thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks in Vallombrosa."

We are now come to the last of Zimmer's proof-texts, 1 Cor. 9:20:

			<i>et factus sum t fui</i>
			Και εγενομην τοις
<i>quasi iudaeis iudaeis</i>		<i>ut</i>	
ωσ ιουδαιοις ιουδαιοις		ἵνα κ.τ.λ.	
<i>rem. et factus sum judae</i>		δησω. κ, εγενομην. τοις. ἱουδ.	
		a.	
<i>is tam quam judaeus. ut judaeos</i>	δαιος. ἱουδαιοις.	Ἰν	ἱουδαιουσ

Here, says our text-critic, the G scribe *repeated* by dittography the *ιουδαιοις*, *iudaeis* (Zimmer means *ιουδαιοις*, and should have written it so), *instead* of proceeding with *ωσ ιουδαιος*, *quasi iudaeus* (*ωσ ιουδαιος*); then he observed his mistake and sought to correct it by putting *ωσ* in the margin and deleting an *ε* in *ιουδαιοις*; but alas! he deleted it in the first instead of the second of the dittographs, and F copied down blindly, of course! It will be observed that F is highly complaisant; he can be careless and ignorant of Greek, or sharp-sighted and a stickler for syntax and orthography—anything to please Herr Zimmer.

This is certainly one of the sturdiest "seeming pillars" that our critic has raised. Let us look at it closely. Like the rest, it is built up of a series of assumptions. How can we be sure of the least of them? That G should repeat *ιουδαιοις* seems improbable, but not impossible; that he should repeat both *ιουδαιοις* and *iudaeis* before noticing his dittography is still less likely, though possible still. On perceiving it, the natural thing would have been to delete the repetition by dots, as he generally does, and then continue with *ωσ*; yet he might have done as Zimmer conjectures. That he should mistake the word to be corrected is, of course, possible, but nothing more; for he is evidently thoughtful at this stage of his work. The unlikelihood seems to increase on observing that he has apparently at least started to correct the first *iudaeis* into *iudaeus* (*prius iudaeis ita scriptum et, ut videtur, ita correctum est, ut dubius sit lector inter iudaeis et iudaeus*—Matthäi).

Strangest of all it is that F should not have noticed the *ωσ* ^{*quasi*} which is plain to see, nor yet the solecism in *τοις ιουδαιοις*, nor have corrected it according to his Latin text—F who is so prone, according to Zimmer, to do just such things at the wrong time. Now, we ask, are all of these violent hypotheses really necessary to explain the facts? They

must be, if we are to accept Zimmer's view. But we think the case far more easily comprehended thus: F has copied correctly. His original was incorrect. The confusion of the two cases was easy enough; greater confusions meet us at every turn. The marginal note in G was most probably present in G's archetype; it seems highly unlikely that G would put any of his text proper in the margin, and also unlikely, though not so unlikely, that he could invent such an explanatory gloss. The misplaced ϵ which he deletes is only one of many such corrected errors. If F' was the same as G', then the F scribe simply omitted the marginal gloss (if it was present). Certainly, all this was possible, and to us it seems far more probable than Zimmer's explanation.

This is not all, however, for the passages transcribed contain positive evidence that the one was not copied from the other. Why is the Κα of G turned into κ ? Why is the ν inserted in the second ιουδαιος ? Why are the four ν 's dotted and not as in G? Why is the α omitted in Ιν ? Clearly not from carelessness, for a space is left blank. These are four phenomena that singly and collectively militate against derivation from G. Looking back only two verses, to verse 18, we find still further evidence. Here we read:

potestate mea in euangelio nam cum liber
θαλ. την. εξουσειαν. μου εν. το. ευαγγελιω. Ελευ
potestate mea in euange εξουσειαν. μοι. . Εν. το. ευαγγε

Has F taken this from G? How then shall we explain the dotting of the ν 's, which is not usual, though frequent in F? How explain the $\mu\alpha$ for $\mu\omicron\nu$, when *mea* was in both f and g for guidance? How explain the σ for ω , when the two are so unlike in G? Why did F not take offense at such a solecism as $\epsilon\nu\ \tau\omicron$, especially with G's $\tau\omega$ before him and his own $\epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omega$? Why did he capitalize the ϵ in Εν ? and the immediately following ν in Υπο ? Why does he decapitalize the μ in Μη and the ν in Ινα ? These questions may not be unanswerable, but we know of no plausible answer. We cannot believe that this *noch unwissender* monk is playing thus fast and loose with the G text before him, now corrupting, now purifying, alternately displaying the grossest carelessness and the very refinement of care. We hold that he is throughout one and the same, reproducing his original with much fidelity, though with little intelligence. Let him be as careless or as careful as you will, but not both at the same time.

We have now examined all of Zimmer's proof-texts minutely, and with this result: that they fail, one and all, to warrant his conclusions.

Not one of his interpretations is necessary, not one is even probable, though several are very ingenious; the most, the best, that can be said of any is that it is possible. Even then, on the evidence he himself adduces, the decision must go against him.

II.

But has all the relevant testimony been produced? One might suppose so, for our critic assures us in wide-spaced print and repeatedly that he has examined every single passage and knows that there is nothing counter to be brought forward; and it would surely be very unscientific in him not to hear the other side, to parade all that makes for, and withhold all that makes against, his thesis.

Be this as it may, we too have examined every single passage. We have compared F and G in every detail, noting every difference in word-division or coalescence, every end of a line, every difference in letter or in spacing; and all of these we have marked in F in red ink,⁷ thus practically superimposing the one text upon the other. The total impression produced by this immediate comparison is that the resemblance between the two, while often very striking, has yet been greatly exaggerated; the diversities are still more striking and dispel from our mind every shadow of doubt that F is *not* a copy of G. Nay, we hold it unlikely even that both are derived immediately from a common parent; they seem to be more probably second cousins than brothers.

Well, then, to the testimony. In Tit. 1 : 6 we read :

sicut ego tibi disposui si quis
 ρουσ Ωσ εγω σοι διαταξαμην. Ει τις
est sine crimine unius uxoris vir
 εστιν ανεγκλητος Μιας γυναικος ανηρ
 ρουσ. ωσ. εγω. σοι. διαταξαμην *vos sicut ego tibi disposui*

η
 Επισ. εστιν. ανεκκλητος. Μιδς. *Siquis sine crimine est unius*

We hold that no genius of perversity could derive the latter from the former. It appears simply impossible that the F-scribe, with *si quis* written plainly before him could take it down as Επισ. On the other hand, the origin of this monster lies naked to see. Indubitably the copy was made from an uncial *continuo scripta*, thus: EITIC. The I and T written close together very naturally fused into Π, from which they are often hardly distinguishable. Similarly in Rom. 7 : 19 and Eph. 6 : 9 G has correctly παρακειται and ποιεται, but F παρακεται and ποιεπαι.

⁷ That is, of course, in Scrivener's transcript.

Whether it was F* that made this mistake or F', the proximate ancestor of F, cannot be determined; but it is clear that F's text at this point was *not* taken from G. To clinch this proof with hooks of steel, we have procured through the kindness of Dr. Schnorr von Carolsfeld, director of the Royal Library in Dresden, a facsimile of the passage, which shows the $\epsilon\iota\tau\omega$ spaced as given above. "It is unmistakable that the copyist has intended to leave an interval free between $\epsilon\iota$ and $\tau\omega$."

On this single instance we are willing to rest our case, but even this is not all in these very lines. It is hard to believe that F would make two mistakes in the one word *ανεγκλητος*, putting κ and ϵ for γ and η , letters little alike in G: and whence comes the ' over α in *Μιδσ*? This latter is not a trifle. F would not have placed it there without some suggestion, and no suggestion can be found in G. But F very often circumflexes ι before α ; so then did his original. We may, indeed we must, suppose then that in the original the ι had a circumflex. But it was slightly misplaced and somewhat obscure; hence F has reproduced it mechanically as we now see it.

This page in fact abounds in proofs of F's independence of G. *secundum praeceptum*
Thus, in vs. 3 we have in G *κατεπιταγην*, but in F *κατεπι ϵ ταγην*—three variations in one word, none easy to explain. In the next line we have *saluatoris*
in G *σωτηρος*, but in F *σωτη ρ ρος*. Correction has here been made, but how was the mistake made at first?

The fifth verse begins, after a blank space in G, with *Τουτου*; but F has, at the beginning of a line, no space being left, *ουτου huius rei* This is an example of an oft-recurring phenomenon. Why is the T omitted, if F be copied from G? Can anyone suggest?

In the next line G has

qua deerant ι minus sunt corriges
τα λειποντα δευρθωσησ;

but F

. . . . τα. λειπον. . . . ea quae desunt
τα. δευρθωσησ corrigas

Here F* has conceived *λειπον* as a word meaning "desunt" and the following *τα* as the article; also *δει* as a word, though this notion has been corrected. But how was it possible for him to fall into such conceits with the unequivocal G before him?

In vs. 7 G has again *ανεγκλητον*, but F *αν η γκλητον*; the itacism has been corrected, but why was it committed? In the same verse G has

λυθαδην, but F λυδαδην. Here both have mistaken Α for Λ naturally enough, but G's Θ does not resemble his Α. F's second (corrected) mistake is one of ear, committed long before.

The next line G ends with ^{sed} Αλλα, and begins another with ^{hospitatem} φιλοξενον; but F has

μη. αισχροκερδην. Αλλα. φι \bar{n} *turbis lucri cupidum sed hospita.*

Why does F tack on the syllable φι to a line already of ordinary length, if copying from G, in which φι begins a new line, especially since the corresponding Latin line, even after contraction, remains of extraordinary length?. This is a very mild example of a procedure, as it seems, almost psychologically impossible, yet repeated scores of times.

At the close of the same verse G has ^{amplectentem eum t id} αντεχομενον, but F αντεχομην. Is it at all likely that the copyist would both mistake ε for Η and overlook ON entirely? We cannot believe it. But how did the mistake arise? We answer, far back among F's progenitors. There the ΧΟΜΕ-ΝΟΝ was first mistaken for ΧΟΜΕΝΕΝ, as was easy; then the second ΕΝ was dropped by accident or design, as might very readily happen; then the ΕΝ was changed to ΗΝ, whether by mispronunciation, or by design, or otherwise. There is no reason to suppose F has not copied accurately. In this same vs. 8 G has *σωφρονα*, but F *σωφρονα*, the ο at the end of a line, where it is especially unlikely one would make a blunder, since a pause there would be natural, even necessary. Just here we may observe that the Latin in F is exquisitely written, and that the Greek uncials, though by an unpracticed hand, are traced with neatness and with apparently infinite care. The time, patience, and devotion required to make so many letters, one by one, with such delicacy and uniformity must have been exceeding great. It is well to remember these facts in estimating the charges of gross carelessness so often brought against the copyist.

On the preceding page, vs. 2, we find a series of notable divergencies: in G ζωση, in F ξωση, in G ^{quam} ΗΝ, in F αν, though G's Η has no likeness to his Α or Α; in G αψευστοσ, in F αψευτος; lastly, in G the whole space under ελπιει (nearly an inch) and before ο αψευστοσ is left blank, but there is no corresponding blank in F. Above, in 2 Tim. 4:18 we have in G ^{caeleste cui} επουρανιον Ω, but in F ηπουρανιον. Ο; in G ΑΜΗΝ, but in F αμην.

This epistle closes in G and F thus :

explicit ad timotheum secunda
Ετελεσ Προσ Τιμοθεον. . B. II.

EXPLICIT AD TIMOTHEUM. II. Ετελεσθη. προσ. τιμοθεον. B.

Here the small π and τ seem strange as taken from G; and did F know enough Greek to add θη? True, he might have turned back and found it in other subscriptions, but that would indicate great thoughtfulness and care, whereas the other variants would indicate the grossest unheed. This same minute attention would seem displayed in Tit.

1:11, where G has ^{domus} οἶκουσ, but F οικουσ. If copying from G, F* has noted the dot and the minute ι, the former of which has escaped the lynx-eyed Scrivener. How, then, could such a careful copyist blunder thus in vs. 9?

et contra dicentes revinceret contradic
εννουση. Και τουσ αντιλεγοντασ ελεγ
sana et eos qui contra τη. υγει εννουση. και τουσαν

How could he possibly have torn away the σ from τουσ? How could he have prefixed it to αν?

In still further evidence of F's thoughtfulness, consider his ^{temporibus} και ρουσ in Tit. 1:3. G has καιροιουσ, but F* understands the και as the familiar conjunction. Afterward he or F** corrects this, but was not such a mistake absolutely impossible to a copyist of G? It is plain that F* *thought* in making the false division; thought wrongly, but still thought; for he did not feel sure about the division, and accordingly omitted the dot (.). We dwell on this, because someone might say that by this time F's brain is become as weary as his hand and fatigue of attention has set in. By no means, he is as careful as ever.

We have now considered one critical passage, Tit. 1:6, and we have furthermore seen that it is not to be regarded as some unaccountable exception, that it is by no means isolated, but is only one among many in its own immediate neighborhood, pre-eminent, but differing from the others in degree rather than in kind. We pass now to a second capital proof, itself the center of similars. In Tit. 2:3 we have:

similiter in habitu sancto
σχημα βυτειδασ ωσαντωσ εν Κατα στημα τι ιερο
R στημα αντωσ. εν. κατα. σχηματι. ιερο *ter in habitu sancto*

Here it seems manifest that either G' or G'' presented the reading σχηματι, and that either G or G' made the marginal note of correction. (We take R to mean *Recte*—the glossist will say that σχημα in his text

should rightly be *σθημα*, but our argument does not depend upon this view.) If F copied from G, he must have mistaken the τ for χ , which is very improbable, since these letters are not at all alike in G; also he must have overlooked or misunderstood the marginal gloss, which is also extremely unlikely. Hence, at this point, G is not F's original. The only escape from this conclusion seems to lie in saying that F *did* misunderstand the gloss, that he thought G intended that *σχημα* should be put for *σθημα*, and accordingly did so. But such an evasion seems to be such a patent *pis aller* as to call for no consideration.

The environment of this passage furnishes the strongest corroboration of our position. Thus, in vs. 6 we read:

Τουσ νεωτερονσ κ.τ.λ.

Ουσ. νεωτερονσ *Juvenes*

Here the conspicuous capital initial T has been dropped, and the second letter o capitalized instead. Is any natural explanation possible on the Hort-Zimmer hypothesis? Certainly not. It seems clear as the sun that F* is copying from a MS., F', in which the verse actually begins with O. But how did such a form originate? It was copied from another, F'', in which the verse begins with an uncial O, and the large T was carelessly omitted. How? The copyist had intended to put it before the normal line, as is regularly done in D, at the beginning of a paragraph, thus:

ΗΟΡΓΗΤΟΥΘΥΕΙCΤΕΛΟC

ΗΜΙCΔΕΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ

ΑΤΤΟΡ

IRA*d*iusqueAdF*i*NEM

NOSA*u*TEMFRATRES

DESO

and in \aleph , thus:

CΤΙΑΛΥΜΙΝ

ΓΕΙΝΩCΚΕΤΕΤΟΝ

ΑΔΕΛΦΟΝΗΜΩΝ

On the next page (3:1) we find a similar case:

admone et illos

Υπομεινησ και αυτουσ κ.τ.λ.

d mone illos principibus πομεινησ. και. αυτουσ. αρ.

Here the capital Y has been omitted, and also the initial A in the Latin. But with this difference, that a space has been left for the A, but *none* for the Y. Could there be a plainer case of scrupulous fidelity? The text before the scribe contained neither the one capital nor the other; he felt the absence of the Latin initial, knowing of course *admone*, and left a space for it; but *not of the Greek*. And no

wonder; for the Greek *υπομεινῆσαι* is a mystery to him (as also to G). Both think the final syllable *και(κε)* is the too familiar conjunction.

In the next line G uses a small letter *ν*, but F a capital *Υ* in *υποτασσεσθαι*. Why this latter, if F was copying G? In vs. 4 G has *Η φιαανθρωπία*, but F *ηφιαανθρωπία*. Here both mistake *Λ* for *Α*, and both place the circumflex over *ι*, this latter showing great care, if F be copying G; but F unaccountably decapitalizes the *Η* and unites it with the following. In vs. 7 is the remarkable *του.σ.τηροσ*. The interlinear *ω* is *secunda manu*, but even if it were *prima*, how could this be a copy of the *σωτηροσ* of G?

Chap. 2 begins in G, plainly, with

tu autem loquere quae decet
CV δε λαλει Α πρεπει τη υγειεν

How then could F* write

υδε; λαλει. απρεπει. τη. υ Tu autem loquere quae decet sa?

Why the capital *C* omitted and no space left? Why the *δε* united with *υ*? Why the *α* with *πρεπει*? Why the letter *υ* at the end? Whence the semi-colon (;)? Is it not transparent that F is following his original closely, and that the original is *not* G?

At the close of 3:19 a small space is left in G, occupied by the two marks >>; but in F there is no space and no capital following. In vs. 6 G has *κεκρικα*, but F *κεκριτα*, though there is no resemblance in G between the letters interchanged. In vs. 13 G has quite unmistakably

apollo t apollinem sollicite praemitte
απολλωνα ταχαιωσ προπεμψον
ut nihil illis desit discant
ινα μηδεν αυτοις λειπη Μανθανετωσαν

But F

legis peritum et Apollo τον νομικον. και. απολλω. να
sollicite praemitte. Ut ni ταχαιωσ. προπεμψον. ινα
hil illis desit. dis δεν. αυτοις. λειπη. μαν_θανε

Here the misunderstanding is really intense; for *on revision* the corrector has thought that *να* should go with *ταχαιωσ*! And this in the presence of G? The next line is even worse still; for not only have the capitals been neglected, but *μη* has been omitted inexplicably;⁸ also *μανθανετωσαν* has been misconceived as two words in spite of the *discant*.

⁸ We suspect that in F' or F' *ινα μη* was written at the end of a line thus: *INĀ*.

salutant

In vs. 15 G has *Ἀσπαζονται*, but F *σπαζονται*. It is quite unaccountable how F could have overlooked the large A and have fancied a division before ζ. This error has been corrected, which shows careful inspection, but the omission is left unsupplied. At the close G has AMHN., but F *αμ*. True, this line is *overfull* by *υμων αμ*; but this circumstance only strengthens our suspicion that F is following his copy *exactly*; for there is no reason in F for this overcrowding; there is left a blank line at the foot of the page. We must seek the reason then in F'; there for lack of space, perhaps, the scribe was unwilling to give *υμων αμην* a distinct line, but forced it into a line before, by abbreviating *αμην* into *αμ*. F', then, could not have been G.

In Philem., vs. 1, we find in G and F:

<i>motheus</i>		<i>frater</i>	<i>philemoni</i>
<i>μοθειος</i>	ο	<i>Ἀδελφος</i>	<i>φιλημονει</i>
<i>ιν. και. τεμοθει.</i>		<i>ihu et timotheus</i>	
<i>αδελφος. φιλημονει.</i>		<i>frater philemoni</i>	

Here the F-text bears witness to an original that could not have been G. For who could mistake the *ος* of G for *ι*? or have overlooked the wide-spaced *ο*? This letter in G is written slightly above the line *aliquantulum post, sed ab eodem scriba, ut videtur, insertum* — (Matthai). Scrivener is inexact in saying *at forsan s. m.* The large space left blank, and the insertion a little later, show that there was some uncertainty or obscurity in the original of G. This fact is reflected in F very curiously and instructively. The *ο* is omitted, and the impossible genitive allowed to stand, in spite of the correct Latin nominative. Here, then, in the most obvious case, F* will not vary a hair's breadth from his original (as he reads it) to adapt his Greek to his Latin. In our judgment the explanation must be sought in tachygraphy, which in some way confused in the F scribe's mind the article *ο* and the ending *ος*.

In vs. 2 F omits *τω*, perfectly evident in G, but retains *τη*, which in G is deleted by dots. This is very noteworthy, for the *τη* should be retained. If then F is copying from G, he is doing his work not only very cautiously, but with high intelligence. Nevertheless, in the next line F writes *εκκλησεια. χαρειω* instead of G's *εκκλησια χαρισ*, changing both spellings and omitting the dots, and in the next line *κν. ιν. χρν. υχαριστω* instead of G's *κν.ιν. χρν. >>Ευχαριστω*. Here the wide spacing in F points back to some primitive peculiarity not found in G; also the disregard of the >>'s shows that F' is not G; and

still more the omission of Ε. This letter must have begun a line in F' (as in F), as already explained, and have lost its place in the margin.

In vs. 5 F has *ηρεχεισ* in lieu of G's *Ην εχεισ* and in vs. 6 *ηκοινομα* in lieu of G's *η. κοινονια*. But in the same verse F has *ινα. πως* for G's

^{ut} *ΙΝα πως*. Twice F has *σπανχνα* where G has *σπλανχνα*, but they both have *σπανχνα* once, vs. 20, which would show this latter to be a real manuscriptural form, and not a mere blunder of F's. In vs. 14 F omits *σησ* from before *γνωμησ*, though the word, being at the end of a line in G, could hardly have escaped his eye.

Si igitur

In vs. 17 G has *Ει ουν* near the middle of the line; but F has *ι. ουν* (in the Latin *Si ergo*) at the beginning. Here once more the omission of the Ε implies that F is not copying G. In the next line G's >> are

disregarded. Lastly, in vs. 20 G has *μου. τα*, but F has *.μουτα*. How can all these things be, if F has G before him?

If anyone repeats that the hand and sense and nerve of the scribe are now exhausted, and that he is capable of anything, we refer such a one to vs. 16,

jam non ut servum — sed pro servo ουκεται . ωσ . δουλων

in evidence that his eye is not dim nor his natural force abated. There is nothing in G to suggest such spacing, nevertheless there is plainly something wrong; the ordinary text inserts *αλλα υπερ δουλων*, the Latin *sed pro servo*. F inserts nothing, and yet shows clearly that his text is

here disturbed. Notice again that in vs. 20 G has *αδελφε*, but F *αδελφαι*. Why this preference if F be copying G? Is it either heedless or natural?

However, we gladly consent to a change of venue. Let us appeal to the earlier parts of the codex. The case is not less clear. The first part preserved of F is fol. 7, p. 1, Rom. 3: 18-26. It seems impossibly taken from G, for at vs. 20 we read:

peccati nunc autem sine lege iustitia
αμαρτιασ. Νυν ιδε χωρισ νομου. Δικαιοσυ

= :: per fidem iesu christi in omnes et
νη θυ δια πιστεωσ ιην χρυ εισ παντας και
=
επι παντασ. πεφανερωται. μαρτυρουμενη υπο

But in F,

αμαρτιασ.	peccati. ~~~~
Νυν. ιδε. χωρισ. νομου.	Nunc autem sine lege.
δι. και. οσυνη. του. <u>θυ</u>	⁺ sine lege
π'ε'φανερωται. μαρτυρον.	iustitia <u>di</u>

Here we note first the omission of a whole line; but someone will say that the critical marks suggested this omission, as well as the Latin. We deny this. The marks nowhere in G denote deletion or omission, which is always denoted by underscoring or under-dotting. The marks certainly indicate something peculiar, perhaps an intrusion from the margin in some ancestor of G, but there is no reason to believe they could have led F to leave out a whole line. Neither could his Latin text have done so, for, once again, he nowhere adapts his Greek to his Latin. This latter was disturbed at this point, as witness the repetition of *sine lege*, with the marks, but the appearance is that F has copied faithfully, even servilely.

Aside from this, however, what in G suggested the blank after αμαρτιασ? Nothing. And did F* insert του of his own accord? Incredible. For in G there is an erasure between νη and θυ, though not space for a του. This hints distinctly some obscurity in the original; perhaps the του was indistinctly present. Again, it is plain throughout the page that F is puzzled by the word δικαιοσυνη. He thinks the και is the well-known conjunction. In vs. 22 he again divides it at και, and again in vs. 26, and the cognate in vs. 24 thus: δι. και. ου. μαινοι. The continual recurrence of δικαιο finally convinces him and in 4:3 he writes διαδικαιοσυνην! Moreover, F* or F** has then corrected these misdivisions by the hook υ, and has proclaimed to posterity his grand discovery of the meaning of the word by putting the mark *f* over δικαιοσυνη and also over iustitia in vs. 22! Now we ask any unbiased mind: Was all or any of this confusion and long-enduring uncertainty and final illumination possible even to a casual reader of G, where the word is uniformly written as a unit with the Latin translation above it? Unquestionably, no!

On the next page, vs. 30, we find in G:

quoniam quidem t siquidem

Επει περ, εως, κ.τ.λ.; but in F, επε. ιπερ.

Was such a perversion possible to a rational copyist? At the end of vs. 30, in G:

statuimus quid ergo

στανομεν. Τι ουν. κ.τ.λ.; but in F

statuimus;

στανομεν.

Qui ergo dicemus invenisse

Τι. συν. ερουμεν. ευρηκεναι

Will anyone explain the blank space in this "photograph"? In G, on the other hand, there are four lacunæ, indicated by the marks >>, >>, >>, >> (vss. 10, 27, 31), no trace of which has been preserved in F.

At 4: 3 we read:

sed non apud deum quid enim

scriptura dicit

Αλλου προς θν. Τι γαρ η.

γραφη λεγει

gloriam. sed non apud dm

καυχημα. αλλα ου προς θν.

. H.

Quid enim scriptura dicit. credi

Τι. γαρ. γραφη. λεγει. επιστευ

Is it the least likely, is it even possible, for F to have copied Αλλου as αλλα ου, having scarcely any knowledge of Greek, when even the corrector still conceives the two as one word? Again, even if he may have overlooked the η, would anyone correcting by G have inserted it as H?

In G there are lacunæ at vss. 6 and 12, occupied by >>>> and >>. Naught of the kind in F. At vs. 8 we have:

beatus vir cui
Μακαριος ανηρ ου

imputabit dominus peccatum

beatitudo

ου μη λογεισθαι κοσ αμαρτιαν >> Ο. μακαρις

ω. ου μη. λογεισθαι κοσ. α

cui non imputabit dñs pec

μαρτιαν

catum

Ο μακαρισμος. συν. αυτους. επι.

catitudo ergo haec in

Can anyone doubt that F is here following the pattern before him? Something more than the >> of G must have determined the paragraph, for elsewhere such signs, even in larger numbers, have no effect on F. Who believes that F was strong enough in Greek to correct G's ου into ω? Certainly not we. And why the letter α detached from its word, and at the end of a line? Again, the omission of B from the last line shows plainly that F was copying from a Latin codex in which the division into paragraphs had already been made and signaled by large marginal letters; one of these, B, had been inadvertently dropped.

^{ubi}
In vs. 15 G has Που, but F που. G's original must have had the Π, for he would not arbitrarily change Ου into Που; but for some reason the Π was afterward deleted. One may say that F* did not observe the dots; however, they are very plain to see, and it is unlikely he would fail to note them here on a capital, if everywhere else he noted them on small letters.

Vs. 18 is remarkable :

dictum est sic erit semen tuum
ειρημενον. >> Ουτως εσται το. σπερμα σου
d+

ως αι αστερες του ουνου

και :

sicut stellae caeli και : το αμμον της θαλασσης *et non infirmatus*
και μη ασθενησας

But in F,

ειρημενον. ουτως. εσται.	<i>dictum est ei. sic erit</i>
το. σπερμα. σου. ως. αι.	<i>semen tuum sicut</i>
αστερες. του. ουνου. και. το.	<i>stellae caeli et</i>
αμμον της θαλασσης	<i>arena maris.</i>
και. μη. ασθενησας. εν. τη	<i>Et non infirmatus in</i>
πιστι. ουκ. ατεν. ησεν. το	<i>fide non consideravit</i>

This passage seems to prove nothing either one way or another, but it is too interesting to omit. In G there seems to have been an influx from the margin; the *αι* may indicate that the Greek is a translation of the Latin; the d+ of course means "wanting," but we are not certain what or where; altogether, the confusion is almost inextricable. But there is no trace of it in F. On the other hand, notice how improbable his word-division in the last line is, if he be transcribing from G. True, he might have guessed at *ουκ* as the equivalent of *non*; but why omit the *ο*? Why put the dot in its place? Is this photograph exact?

[To be concluded.]

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.¹

OUR age has been called an age of theological reconstruction. Perhaps that designation is a little premature. There has been an age of criticism, suggested and supported by the new philosophy which, since the publication of the *Origin of Species* has gradually but surely modified all our thinking, theological no less than scientific. A multitude of old and time-honored theological positions have been invalidated, and theological systems have been shaken. But now an era of reconstruction seems to be dawning. Men like President Hyde have been declaring that destruction has gone quite far enough. President King has devoted two books to discussing the principles on which reconstruction must proceed. Other programs of reconstruction have appeared, to which this new volume of the professors in the Union Theological Seminary may be added. But no new dogmatics, no work undertaking the labor actually of constructing a new system of Christian doctrine, has appeared in this country. Kaftan has produced such a one, and a very good one, in Germany. But the hour of positive advance seems for us not yet to have struck.

The little volume before us is sure of a warm welcome. It is a positive word from a quarter where criticism has heretofore seemed to occupy the chief attention. It has a genuine and a hearty ring. It presents Jesus Christ as the great center of doctrinal, as he is of religious, interest. Any effort to magnify Christ is welcome to Christians in this doubting age. The book is the more welcome, we may add, because it proceeds from men whose special studies do not lie in dogmatic theology. Dogmatics needs the fructifying influence of the thought of other men. Not itself primarily a productive, but the systematizing, department of theology, its materials and many of its fruitful principles must always come from workers beyond its own circle. Suggestions from these quarters are to be received hospitably. It is as much the function of dogmatics to pay them proper attention as it

¹ *The Christian Point of View*. Three Addresses by GEORGE WILLIAM KNOX, ARTHUR CUSHMAN MCGIFFERT, FRANCIS BROWN. New York: Scribner's, 1902. viii + 90 pages. \$1.

is the privilege and duty of exegesis, history, etc., to offer them. But, of course, when offered, they have to be considered from the dogmatic point of view, and with reference to their dogmatic worth. Criticism must be sharp, even when most friendly. Only by accurate estimation and thorough criticism can any scientific labor be carried through a course of real progress to abiding results.

Scholars who are discussing the reconstruction of our traditional theology may be divided into three general classes. First, there are those who are in general satisfied with the doctrinal heritage of the church. The historic sense is strong in them. They prize the past, and believe it to have understood the great main features of the Christian revelation, and to have succeeded in giving these a good formulation in the language, and according to the modes of thought, of their own times. But they recognize that new elements of thought have come into possession of the new age in which we live, and that the objective methods of modern science have many a suggestion for the theologian. The results of scientific study in every department of human learning need to be considered in their bearings on theology. It is as much the problem of the theologian of this day to incorporate all relative new knowledge in his system as it was that of Origen, Augustine, Calvin, or Edwards. The outcome of such labor will be the enrichment of our thought, the adjustment of doctrines to new proportions and emphases, the elimination of many a detail, the introduction of many another. But on the whole the Christian system, in its great features, its motive forces, and its general conclusions, will appear unchanged, except as they shall be re-established and fortified with new defenses; for, after all, theology is the more or less perfect reflection of the Christian life, and that life is a divine gift, the same from age to age.

The second class is composed of men who have much less in sympathy with the past. They think that theology has started from the wrong point, that its results are very largely—they are uncertain how largely—affected by false methods and premises, and are in need of a thorough overhauling. They are much impressed by the splendid conquests of modern learning in many a direction, but they are not so much concerned with the task of incorporating its assured results, one by one, in systems of theology. Often that seems to them a piece of painful and prosaic drudgery. They would have theology perform its task in its own way and independently of any other science, however imposing and grand. If the right main idea can be struck, the secret

will be gained. The whole preliminary discussion will be completed when this principle is found, and the whole work of reconstruction, when that principle is followed out to its remotest consequences.

The third class is far more radical. Its distrust of the systems handed down from the past is entire. It questions the most fundamental presuppositions of historical Christianity. It deems the work of destruction far from complete, and expects to see many a doctrine demolished that has as yet seemed to survive every attack. It looks forward to reconstruction, but it deems any present attempt quite premature. It has little prevision of the ultimate result of the overturnings of these days. All it knows is that just now we know little or nothing.

The writers of the present volume belong to the second of these classes. They delivered in the course of the academic year 1901-2, without pre-arrangement, three discourses, which are gathered in this volume because they were found to approach the problem of theological reconstruction in the same way, and to offer the same principle as the true solution of this problem as conceived by their class of thinkers—the obtaining of the right *terminus a quo*. But they present their common theme with such variations as render each discourse a distinct and interesting object of study.

Dr. Knox discusses "The Problem for the Church," which he defines as the question, "What think we of God?" (p. 6), or, more exactly, How does the *Christian* come to a knowledge of God? (pp. 12, 16). The answer to this question gives the true principle of theology, *God as known in Christ*. We cannot know God by studying all the religions of the world and segregating their common element, for "we cannot find that all alike worship, under varying names, the same Supreme Being, or that all alike seek the same great end" (p. 10). We are then remanded to the study of Christianity; and here we have to ask the question, How, as a matter of fact, does the Christian learn of God? The answer is, Through Christ.

Professor McGiffert takes "Theological Reconstruction" for his theme. He marches directly to the announcement of his "principle" (p. 33), which he defines as "the historic figure Jesus Christ, and the revelation which he has brought" (p. 35). If we ask how this principle is conceived, we are immediately informed. It is Ritschl's principle, as Dr. McGiffert understands him, that is here propounded, for Ritschl is the only one who in our day has made "a really thoroughgoing attempt to reconstruct theology upon the Christian basis" (p. 38). For all who

are acquainted with Albrecht Ritschl, this will be a sufficient statement of Dr. McGiffert's position, for he makes no profession of adding anything of his own. His more accurate phrasing of the principle as "the life-purpose of Jesus Christ" (p. 42), reproduces a technical term of Ritschlianism, and the explanation of this purpose (p. 43), a number of other characteristic expressions of Ritschl and his school.

Dr. Brown's theme is "The Religious Value of the Old Testament." He says that "the teachings, life, and spirit of Jesus Christ are the only touchstone by which we can recognize the religious value of the Old Testament" (p. 62); and it is "the spirit of Jesus Christ, revealed in the New Testament and regnant in our souls" (p. 68), that qualifies us to recognize it. He sums up the religious value of the Old Testament accordingly as follows: "Christianity presupposes the Old Testament. Jesus found spiritual life in it. He led his followers from the outset into a richer use of it. . . . There is true religion there with the value of originality, of large setting in the history of men, of abundant detail, of mighty experiences, of divine knowledge embodied in literature, of strong imperatives, of the penitent's confession, of the seer's vision" (p. 83).

At first sight it would seem as if no objection could be made to the proposal of Jesus Christ as the source of our knowledge of God, or of his great purpose as illuminating his nature, acts, and teaching, and thus powerfully contributing to the formation of our theology. As *one* starting-point of Christian theology, the principle advocated by these thinkers can have little against it. But, as before remarked, only careful and discriminating—yes, even severe—criticism can help in the work of estimating such a proposal as that made here. As a proposal of a dogmatic principle, of the main and determining dogmatic principle, how are we to treat the effort to further the common cause which the Union professors have here made? And this precise question does not seem to admit of an altogether favorable answer. We must object to their proposal for the following three reasons:

The treatment of the theme is, first, narrow. Theology is a sphere of truth, and like a sphere, it may rest on any point of its surface. Dr. Knox objects particularly to the method whereby theologians have sought to go from "nature to nature's God" (p. 14). "Our view of nature changes with every change in science and philosophy, and with this change of view must our notions of the God of nature change" (p. 14). As a mere academic proposition, that is unassailable; but as a practical proposition, it carries very little weight. Theology has, for

the most part, sought from nature simply to prove that God exists. She might, no doubt, lay more stress on the contribution of nature to the question of his character and attributes, and evolution is forcing us to do this. But is it illegitimate to argue from nature to nature's God or to make this the starting-point of a theology? Not if the argument is valid. It may have seemed to some invalid, as it may to Professor Knox; but men have steadily returned to the acknowledgment of its validity when philosophers like Kant, or leaders of the scientific school, like Spencer, have temporarily beclouded their minds and driven them off from it. The change in our view of nature may be greatly exaggerated. To our mind, Dr. Knox exaggerates it. "With a new reason and a new soul, man looks out upon a new heaven and a new earth," he says (p. 15). No one of those things is new. "Our fathers two generations back were nearer to the men of Greece and Rome than to ourselves. Their discussions are as unreal to us, like the strife of puppets beating the air" (p. 15). That is true only when we deal with superficial things, with aspects, modes, phrases. There is a deep likeness even between things apparently so different as the "laws" of Spencer and the "decrees" of Calvin. Now, if we can pass at all through nature to God, why can we not pass "through the *new* nature" (p. 17), so far as it is new, to God, gaining a better idea of him by the way?

Dr. McGiffert is even more sure that there is no other way of coming in contact with the sphere of truth than at his own favorite point. The Alexandrians began with "the eternal Logos," and not the historic figure of Jesus Christ (p. 35). But why may not one begin so, if Christ is in truth the Logos? Augustine began with God as "the alone source of good and as absolute will." But with better knowledge of *will*, is it illegitimate to begin theology at God as "the alone source of good"? Calvin's "sovereign decree," the church as the perpetual incarnation of God, the divine immanence, evolution, the "principle of personality," and the Bible, are all mentioned (p. 36) to be all condemned. But why can they not all, when properly understood, be made starting-points of theology, though none may have all of theology involved in them? The discussion of these addresses would have gained much in catholicity and breadth by a more scientific hospitality of temper.

But, second, these papers fail to indicate any way by which the starting-point they propose may be reached. If we know God through Christ, how are we to know Christ? Dr. Knox treats the point by implication, and would leave the ordinary reader with the impression

that we were to go to the Bible, and find Christ in the narrative of its pages. But the other two writers leave us in doubt.

There are not lacking indications in both Dr. Brown's and Dr. McGiffert's papers of such critical views of the biblical text that a true view—one sufficiently reliable to afford a basis of reasoning for the establishment of a theology—would be very hard to gain, in fact impossible. Dr. Brown's positions need not specially concern us, for the Old Testament has nothing to say directly of the historic person of Jesus. But Dr. McGiffert says that "of the genuineness of many of [Jesus'] utterances recorded in one or another of our gospels, we cannot be altogether sure" (p. 43). He feels the objection we are now urging, and explicitly recognizes its force. But it may be met, he thinks, by making "the *controlling purpose* of his life the controlling principle of our theology; and that purpose we know with all-sufficient clearness" (p. 43). He defines this purpose as being "to impart to others, or to induce in others, the life which he was living—the life of freedom from fear and sin, the life of complete victory over the world through faith in God his Father and through devotion to his will" (p. 44). But suppose Matt. 26:28, *i. e.*, to be genuine ("poured out for many unto remission of sins"), as it is the fashion now to deny; and Matt. 10:28 to be received at its face value ("the Son of man came . . . to give his life a ransom for many"); and John 10:18 to be written by John and ever uttered by Jesus ("I have power to lay it down. . . . This commandment received I from the Father"); then the "life-purpose" will include the propitiatory death, and receive quite a different aspect from that generally given by critics of the school to which Dr. McGiffert belongs.

In other words, any theology founded on a view of Jesus derived from subjective criticism of the New Testament will be subjective only in value, and will be unqualified to become the objective theology of a church. The person of Jesus *divorced from* the Bible is therefore unfit to be the starting-point of a theology.

But, third, the principle propounded in these lectures fails to justify itself, particularly because our authors fail to give us any foundation for the acceptance of Jesus as the suitable source of a theology. Why should a man make the life-purpose of Jesus his own life-purpose? Only because it commends itself to him as high and right. And why should he pursue it for long periods? Only because it verifies itself in his experience as possessing a life-giving power. To use the argument of Ritschl (though in a fuller and in another sense from Ritschl's), we

know Christ to be God because he produces in us divine effects. We must ourselves judge what divine effects are. Thus ultimately the natural endowment of the human soul, and its experience when following in the way of Jesus, are the proofs of the place and claims of Jesus, and *must be reckoned with* in formulating the "principle" of theology. Dr. Knox in a measure sees this, for in the very act of denying that experience can be a good starting-point for theology, he says: "Linked indissolubly to its object, [experience] points not to itself but to him" (p. 18). It *does* point to Jesus; and *in getting Jesus, why not start with that which is innerly and immediately certain to the soul which has it*, and which "points to" One not thus *immediately* certain, but needing some sort of certification to the mind?

In the theological reconstruction which is to come, we do not, therefore, expect much from the proposal of the authors before us. We think that neither they, nor their class, have any very great suggestion to make. We prefer the first of the three classes of scholars described at the beginning of this article. Theologies may start at any point in the sphere of truth, provided only they be sure that they begin with truth; and cannot get far before they will need the help of every other department of truth with which they can obtain a sufficient acquaintance. They may begin with nature and argue to nature's God; but they will find, if they are careful about their argument, that they are involved in partial and unsatisfying views till they learn of Christ, and get no true idea of God till they view him as Father. They may begin with the Scriptures; but they will find critical questions immediately facing them, which they cannot solve in a way to give them a holy Book, guide of the soul and source of knowledge of God, till they consult Christian experience and listen to the "testimony of the Holy Spirit." Christian experience itself cannot be formulated till the Bible, the greatest collection of documents of experience, be consulted. And Jesus cannot be taken as the starting-point unless this be the Jesus of the gospels and not that of "criticism."

It has always seemed to the writer that, in conformity to what is well recognized as a fundamental maxim of inductive logic, theology should begin in the *known*, in the *nearest* known thing, in the experience of the renewed soul and its knowledge of itself. Frank, of Erlangen, has laid down the great lines on which such a theology should proceed, and Stearns, of Bangor, gave them their best exemplification in our own country. But that experience embraces the Bible and points the inquirer from the beginning to Christ. Christ is the center,

both of experience and of the Bible. He therefore soon becomes the center of such a theology; and the demand of the Union professors, made in their little work now under our review, is met. But whether the theologian begins here or somewhere else, let him not disdain drudgery. Let him examine all truth. Let him not follow Ritschl in evading miracles. Either they did, or they did not, occur. If they did *not*, the New Testament is hopelessly discredited. If they *did*, it is necessary to say so boldly. Let him examine evolution. Biology, embryology, and all that, has much to teach him. Let him ask also what his Bible actually is and teaches, facing every question of criticism. Out of this all will come a new and fresh theology; but it will be the old, aged with the strength of the ages, immortal with the youth of God from whom it comes.

FRANK HUGH FOSTER.

OBERLIN, O.

THE MAKING OF OUR ENGLISH BIBLE.¹

STUDENTS of the history of the English Bible have long known that the revisers of 1611 so far transgressed their directions as to use the New Testament produced by the Roman Catholic scholars of the seminary of Douai, though that work was not included in those which they were instructed to consult. The preface to the Revised New Testament says on the subject:

Their work shows evident traces of the influence of a version not specified in their rules, the Rhemish, made from the Latin Vulgate, but by scholars conversant with the Greek original.

And Westcott, in his *General View of the History of the English Bible*, the standard work on the subject, says of this same work that it is of considerable importance in the internal history of the authorized text, for it furnishes a large proportion of the Latin words which King James's revisers adopted; and it is to this rather than to Coverdale's Testaments that we owe the final and most powerful action of the Vulgate upon our present version.

Starting with such general knowledge, Dr. Carleton states his purpose in these words:

The magnitude of the debt which the translators [King James's revisers] owe to the Rhemish New Testament—not mentioned in the instructions—it is the aim of these pages to exhibit and assess.

¹ *The Part of Rheims in the Making of the English Bible.* By JAMES G. CARLETON. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1902. vii+259 pages.

His conclusion, p. 31, is as follows :

If one were to assess the degree of obligation due from the former [the Authorized] to the latter [the Rhemish], it might, I think, fairly be said that, while the translation of 1611 in its general framework and language is essentially the daughter of the Bishops' Bible, which in its turn had inherited the nature and lineaments of the noble line of English versions issuing from the parent stock of Tyndale's, yet with respect to the distinctive touches which the Authorized New Testament has derived from the earlier translations, her debt to Roman Catholic Rheims is hardly inferior to her debt to Puritan Geneva.

When one remembers that Westcott reckons the Genevan version "the most important revision which the Bible underwent before the final settlement of the received text," one sees that, if Dr. Carleton justifies his estimate, he has made an important contribution to our knowledge of the growth of our Authorized Version.

We may say, to begin with, that the book does justify this estimate. Dr. Carleton has collated the Authorized Version with the Bishops' word by word and line by line throughout the New Testament ; wherever he found divergence he collated the Rhemish version ; and if he found agreement between the Authorized and the Rhemish, then he looked to the earlier versions, the Genevan, Whittingham's, Matthew's, Cranmer's, Coverdale's, and Tyndale's. If none of these had the same reading which he had found to be common to the Authorized and the Rhemish, he assumed that the former had borrowed from the latter. This painstaking collation he has performed, not only for the text, but for the marginal readings. Taken together, the number of cases in which the phrasing of the two versions under examination coincides is so great that there is no escape from Dr. Carleton's conclusion that the influence of the Rhemish translators on the makers of our Authorized Version is indisputably proved, and also that it was much greater than it has heretofore been reckoned. Henceforth the Rhemish version, instead of being thought of as a monument of perverted scholarship, which by an unforeseen chance contributed a number of Latinate words to the vocabulary of our Authorized Version, must be taken seriously into account in estimating not only the range of vocabulary, but also the admirable arrangement of phrases and the deeply expressive rhythm of the great standard of English prose.

The scope of the work is not extended, for Dr. Carleton has contented himself with the collation and with the classification of some of the results yielded by an analysis of the collation. The results of the

collation are displayed in full in three tables. The first, which exhibits readings which are common to the Rhemish and the Authorized versions, but which are not found in earlier versions, occupies one hundred and forty pages; the second, which exhibits readings of the Rhemish version which were adopted in the margin of the Authorized, occupies eight pages; and the third, which exhibits readings common to the Genevan, Rhemish, and Authorized versions, occupies twenty pages. Prefacing these tables is a brief chapter summing up the history of all the versions, and a longer chapter which summarizes the main points of similarity between the Rhemish and the Authorized versions. It will be seen, then, that the book represents patient labor with minute details, guided and illuminated by a carefully, but rather narrowly, defined purpose.

The tables, which are clearly arranged, are of high importance. From five chapters of the New Testament, for example, taken at random, the first table has sixty-three readings which are common to the Rhemish and the Authorized versions, but are not found earlier; and it is probable that this would represent the average of the whole table. For the specialist these tables are invaluable. They give him probably in definitive form his material for estimating the force of this Roman Catholic version on the Authorized; and for him they will henceforth be indispensable.

The less special reader will turn rather to the chapter in which results are analyzed and summarized. These are various and interesting, not only to the student of the English Bible, but also to the student of the English language. Dr. Carleton begins with the cases in which words have come into the Authorized Version from the Latin of the Vulgate, through the medium of the Rhemish. He notes, without attempting a complete list, twenty-seven words which have come into the text of the New Testament for the first time, besides three which have come into the margin, all cases in which a Latin word has taken the place of an Anglo-Saxon or a French-Latin. Again, still noting only the more remarkable instances, he cites one hundred and ninety-five cases in which the Latin word which was found in the Vulgate was substituted in both Rhemish and Authorized. Examples are "fragments" (*fragmenta*) in Mark 8:19, 20; Luke 9:17; John 6:12, 13, for "broken meat;" "malefactor" in John 18:30 and Luke 23:32, for "evildoer;" "signify" (*significare*) for "shew" in Acts 25:27; Rev. 1:1; "remission" (*remissionem*) for "forgiveness" in Rom. 3:25; "glory" (*gloria*) for "royalty" or "praise" in Luke 12:27; 1 Cor. 11:15; 2 Tim. 4:18;

1 Pet. 2:20; "sanctification" (*sanctificatio*) for "holiness" in 1 Thess. 4:4. One can easily see how much the general tone and effect of the style were altered by this fresh infusion of the stately richness of the Vulgate. In other instances the Vulgate-Latin word has displaced another Latin or a Latin-French word; and in others both Rhemish and Authorized have followed the Vulgate in reproducing the Greek word, as "hymn" (*hymno*) for "psalm" or "song" in Matt. 26:30; Mark 14:26; "mysteries" (*mysteriorum*) for "secrets" in 1 Cor. 4:1; 13:2; and "schism" (*schisma*) for "strife" or "division" in 1 Cor. 12:25. In some of these cases one is tempted to ascribe the introduction of the more learned word to the familiarity with theological terms bred by three quarters of a century of fierce theological discussion between the old church, the reformed church, and the various bodies of more extreme reformers. In a few cases, it should be noted that the Rhemish translators substituted a less learned word and were followed by King James's revisers.

A proof of the skill in translation which characterized these Roman Catholic scholars appears in the considerable number of instances in which they seem to have led the way in superseding words or phrases which had become archaic in the fifty years since Tyndale's time. In spite of the influence of the vernacular Bible in keeping its vocabulary alive in the language, that language was changing so fast in the great outburst of intellectual activity in the Renaissance of the sixteenth century that of necessity many terms became archaic; and the keen instinct for style of the Rhemish translators contributed to bring the language of our version into accord with the habits of expression of the time.

Besides these cases, which show the influence of the Vulgate on the vocabulary of our version, Dr. Carleton devotes a considerable number of pages to examples where in one way or another the change which can be ascribed to the influence of the Rhemish version is an improvement on the reading or readings of the earlier versions. In the first place, he devotes nearly a page to examples of improvements in the rendering of the Greek work, such as "punishment" (*κόλασις*) for "pain," Matt. 25:46; "reprove" (*ἐλεγχοι*) for "improve," 2 Tim. 4:2. Then come examples of improvements in the tenses of verbs, in the number of nouns, and in the translation of *δέ*; then two pages and a half of such miscellaneous improvements as "the whole" for "all the" in various forms of *ὅλος δ*; cf. Luke 8:39; Matt. 6:23; "in the midst" (*ἐν τῷ μέσῳ*) for "before them," Acts. 4:7; "our bodies washed"

(*λελουμένοι τὸ σῶμα*) for "washed in our bodies," Heb. 10:22; "but thou, when" (*σὺ δὲ ὅταν*) for "but when," Matt. 6:6. Besides these are examples of improvement by substituting a participial construction for a conjunction and finite verb, and many cases where a more literal rendering is a better rendering. Of the latter we may quote "pleasures of this life" (*ἡδονῶν τοῦ βίου*) for "voluptuous living" or "voluptuousness of this life," Luke 8:14; "living water" (*ὕδωρ ζῶν*) for "water of life," John 4:10, 11; and "bridleth not" (*μὴ χαλιναγωγῶν*) for "and refraineth not," James 1:26.

Besides these changes in the vocabulary, there are others which affect the phrasing and the rhythm. Thus, the Rhemish translators, working with all the earlier versions before them and borrowing freely from them, in many cases hit on a more concise rendering; as "by the wayside" for "that are by the wayside" of Tyndale, or "that received seed by the wayside" of the Bishops' Bible, in Mark 4:15; and "we indeed justly" (*juste*) for "we truly are righteously punished" in Luke 23:41. And in other cases, by following the order of the Greek and placing the emphatic word first, the Rhemists bring out more distinctly the force of the original; as, for example, "the rich he hath sent empty away," for "sent away the rich empty," in Luke 1:53; and "on earth peace" for "peace on earth" in Luke 2:14.

Finally Dr. Carleton ends his analysis by citing nearly ten pages of examples of familiar phrases either taken over whole from the Rhemish version into the Authorized, or pretty surely suggested to the makers of the latter by the reading of the former. Of these we quote a few: "throng thee and press thee," in Luke 8:45, for "thrust thee and vex thee;" "striveth for the mastery," 1 Cor. 9:25, for "proveth masteries;" "to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain," Phil. 1:21, for "Christ is to me life, and death is to me advantage;" "questioned (*conquirerent*) among themselves," Mark 1:27, for "demanded one of another among themselves;" "distress of nations," Luke 21:25, for "trouble among the nations;" "they were cut to the heart" (Rhemish "it cut them to the heart"), Acts. 5:33, for "they clave asunder," "they brast for anger," or "it went through the hearts of them," of the earlier versions.

The tables are too detailed for quotation here. Suffice it to repeat that they are indispensable for a close knowledge of the growth of the text of our Authorized Version.

The work seems accurately done. We have tested the citations in some two hundred cases scattered through the New Testament and have found but one error. In the historical account of all the versions

Dr. Carleton has set Tyndale's birth too early according to Lovett's preface to the second edition of Demaus's biography; and there is an unfortunately vague reference (p. 22) to Cartwright's polemical edition of the Rhemish New Testament as "another work of a similar character."

One minor discovery of some interest is to be credited to Dr. Carleton which had escaped the eye of even so careful a scholar as Bishop Westcott. Coverdale's Latin-English New Testament of 1538, in which the Vulgate text was printed in parallel columns with a revision of Coverdale's first New Testament by the Vulgate, has been passed by as merely an example of Coverdale's liberal and tolerant spirit, which was ready to find good everywhere. Dr. Carleton shows pretty conclusively that this little-known edition made a contribution of some importance to the established text. He finds that about one-fourth of the readings which the Authorized has probably drawn from the Rhemish are found in this edition of Coverdale's. In discussing the way in which this influence would have been exerted, he points out the improbability that the revisers of 1611 would have had before them an edition which was secondary in character and which had been out of print for seventy years. On the other hand, he shows the probability that Gregory Martin, who was the chief worker in the Rhemish version and who had an extensive acquaintance with the English versions, should have turned to this edition as being also a translation of the Vulgate. Thus Coverdale's well-known felicity of phrasing came into bearing on our text of the new Testament by a second, though indirect, path.

We have noted that Dr. Carleton's purpose is pretty narrowly limited to the research connected with the text. It may seem ungracious to accept the fruits of so great and accurate labor with a qualification; but we cannot help regretting that the author did not enlarge his purpose to include a concise and accurate statement of the bibliographical facts connected with the Rhemish version, and still more that he was not interested in its historical aspects. It would have been interesting and illuminating to know how far Cardinal Allen looked on this version as an active aid in his plan for the reconversion of England, and how far as merely an incident in the polemical warfare between theologians. When a scholar so competent and so painstaking has gone so far with a subject, it is only natural to wish that he should have covered the whole field.

The results accomplished by this Rhemish version are, indeed, a

pretty bit of the irony of history. Gregory Martin, who made the translation, had given himself, in singleness of mind, in exile, and in hardships comparable to those suffered by Tyndale, to this work of making a translation which should help to recover his fellow-countrymen to what he conceived to be the true faith; and, like Tyndale, he practically gave his life for the work, for he died of consumption at Paris in October of the year in which the version was published. Yet the only permanent results of his toil were the improvement of the version which rendered all his efforts futile; for all that was valuable of his labors was taken over by the Authorized Version. Except through its influence on the latter, we may count the Rhemish version without fruit; for, though the Roman Catholic versions have been based on it, yet they have never been of appreciable weight in the world. Practically, then, the fruits of Gregory Martin's toil and self-sacrifice were the furtherance of the cause which he abhorred.

Historically, this version is exceedingly significant. Perhaps no one fact throws more light on the inevitable failure of the Roman Catholics to recover their power in England than this monstrous barbarizing of the Scriptures. That men could put forth such passages as those that follow with the hope that Englishmen would take them to their hearts seems incomprehensible:

In Matt. 6:11, "Give us today our super-substantial bread."

In Luke 2:10, "For behold, I evangelize to you great joy that shall be to all the people."

In Heb. 13:16, "Beneficence and communication do not forget, for with such hosts God is promerited."

Yet the men who put forth this version were not only sincere in their faith and ready to die for it, but they were considered at Rome, where worldly wisdom is keenly understood, competent to take part in the reconversion of England. Their eyes seem to have been totally blinded. Though born and bred in England, in going over to the Church of Rome they had denationalized themselves in thought as well as in allegiance. It is well known that they accepted the teachings of the Roman church about the deposition of Elizabeth, and it is also certain that some of them were privy, in some degree, to the plots against her life. There is no more striking instance in history of the power of a partisan theology to displace all the most deep-seated instincts and principles.

Almost immediately the publication of this version seems to have recoiled on its authors. There were only four editions of it up to

1633, but there were four also of Fulke's volume, in which he printed this version in parallel columns with the New Testament of the Bishops' Bible, with refutations of the arguments. We may suppose, then, that the circulation of this Rhemish version was larger among the Protestants than among the Catholics. They seized it as a patent demonstration of the purpose of the Roman church to obscure and obstruct the reading of the Scriptures, and, if we may judge from the number of these editions, no stronger weapon for the Protestants could have been devised. Here was a truth which could be understood by the simplest, that the Church of Rome was not willing to put the simple Scripture before the people; and, in those days of the increasing strength of the Puritans, the number of middle-class readers to whom such a proof would have appealed must have been large. This version, then, is another striking example of the blindness with which the Roman Catholics of England were afflicted at this crucial time in the history of English religion.

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'THE CONFESSIONS OF ST. AUGUSTINE.'

THE significance of the volumes before us lies not so much in what they are as in the mere fact that they are. They contain the *Confessions* of Augustine, printed in good, well-led type, the original Latin on the odd pages, while the even pages are occupied by a French translation. This text is accompanied by a copious series of notes, printed in smaller type on the lower portion of the pages. These notes are of two kinds: the mass of them are designed to expound the text in a popular style; but at the close of each chapter a number of "practical considerations" are added. A somewhat rambling preface occupies the first forty-five pages of the first volume; an analytical index, something more than the last hundred pages of the fourth volume; and just before the index a few pages are given to a "résumé of the life and works of St. Augustine in chronological order."

No hint is given of the source of the Latin text here printed, and we have not thought it worth while to trace its origin by means of comparisons. As we have cursorily read it, however, we have

¹ *Œuvres choisies de Saint Augustin: Les Confessions.* Traduction française et commentaires, d'après MGR. PÉRONNE, évêque de Beauvais, par M. PIHAN. Avec texte latin. Quatre tomes. Paris: Maison de la bonne Presse. xlviii + 296, 327, 383, 375 pages.

noted a number of bad readings which advise us that it can make no claim to critical excellence. Thus, for instance, near the end of I, i, we have *es enim nobis*; at III, iv, 7, we have the obviously conflated reading *in librum quemdam cujusdam Ciceronis*; at the beginning of II, 3, we have *moderaretur* for *modularetur*.

The French translation is spoken of (Vol. I, p. xlvii) as new. Though not ignorant of the Italian proverb *traduttore traditori*, and having no illusions as to the difficulty of rendering into French "the concrete language of Augustine—this Latin so expressive, with its subtle antitheses, so savory, so eloquent," M. Pihan tells us he has nevertheless tried to "make a version serious rather than original." He tells us nothing, however, after this hint, of the utilization of former versions, except that he has "used and reproduced the chapters so excellently translated" by M. Clair in his *La jeunesse de Saint Augustin, d'après ses Confessions* (Paris, 1883). As the suggestion of the work was taken from an unfulfilled plan of the late Bishop Péronne (who died in 1892), and as it is intended as a monument to his memory, it may be conjectured that M. Péronne's version of the *Confessions*, incorporated in the great French edition of Augustine's works published from 1870 on, by the house of Vivés,* has not been neglected in the preparation of this translation. But no hint is given that such is the fact.

With respect to the "notes" the case is different. The idea and plan of these have been taken, under Mgr. Péronne's leading, from Wagnereck's seventeenth-century work (Vol. I, p. xi), with the utilization also (Vol. I, p. v) of "the notes which Mgr. Péronne made in translating the works of Augustine." M. Pihan says: "Seeking to edify the soul as much as to instruct it, we have freely translated both the *notae* and the *usus* of Wagnereck, at the same time modifying and augmenting them according to our own critical researches." The reference is to Wagnereck's completed edition of 1846 (repeated in 1847), in which to the "notes" of his earlier edition (1830 and again 1832) he added the *usus*, or practical considerations. As Wagnereck commented on the first ten books only, M. Pihan has been left to his own resources in compiling notes to the last three books. A glance at the notes will show, however, that throughout the whole treatise they are much more M. Pihan's than Wagnereck's. The practical and

* *Œuvres complètes de Saint Augustin, évêque d'Hippone*. Traduites en français et annotées par MM. PÉRONNE, ÉCALLE, VINCENT, CHARPENTIER, H. BARREAU, renfermant le texte latin et les notes de l'édition des bénédictines. (30 vols.)

polemical interests dominate them throughout, and the distinction drawn between the "notes" and "practical considerations" is not very strict.

We have to turn over only one page to meet this note:

Bearing with him everywhere his mortality as witness of his sin, that is to say, concupiscence or the law of the members, which holds us captive under the law of sin (Rom. 8:23). This law attests that we are the children of Adam, born in original sin, the effects of which are rebellion of the flesh and the senses against the spirit.

St. Augustine calls concupiscence the witness of sin, because it is the consequence of original sin, and just as a scar recalls the wound which produced it, and the emaciated face a disease of long standing, so concupiscence recalls the ancient fault of our first parents. This idea of the holy doctor destroys from top to bottom the erroneous system of the Protestants; for, if concupiscence is the witness of sin, it is certainly not sin's self. This is what has been taught by all the Fathers and what has been defined in the council of Trent (Sess. V, *Decret. de peccato origin.*). If we may use this comparison, original sin is hidden in concupiscence as in a nest, as in an envelope. Baptism makes sin disappear, but the nest, the envelope, remains; that is to say, concupiscence or the hearth of sin.

Needless to say, Augustine makes no allusion in this passage to concupiscence at all; and is far from teaching anywhere that concupiscence is not of the nature of sin.

On VIII, ii, the whole body of notes consists of the following: First, on the mention of Victorinus, Jerome's account of him is quoted, to the effect that his Christian works lacked force and clearness, because of his absorption in profane studies, and the sage remark is added: "Now, nobody, no matter what his eloquence, can reason well on things he is ignorant of." Then there is a short note on the crowd of deities adored at Rome *à propos* of their mention in the second section. On the fourth section, at the mention of Victorinus's baptism, we have this note: "*To be regenerated*, to be born again in the holy water of baptism, whence one emerges like an infant newly born, so as to become a new man." Then follows only the "practical consideration," which is confined to the single remark: "Victorinus teaches us, by this memorable example, not to be ashamed to confess the faith publicly, and to fear *God rather than man*." Surely this is the very exemplification of perfunctory annotation.

The extent to which the polemic interest dominates these notes may be observed in, say, the "practical considerations" adjoined to I, xi. The "notes" proper on this chapter are just three. One of

these explains very properly that by being marked with the sign of the cross Augustine means initiated into the number of the catechumens. Another usefully brings together a number of notices of Augustine's frequent sicknesses, illustrating the fact that he had a very delicate constitution. The third, which is misplaced after the end of the "practical considerations," is a perfectly blind note on the closing words of the chapter which tell us that Augustine's mother postponed his baptism because she preferred to commit to the floods of coming temptation rather the clay out of which he was afterward to be formed than the already formed image. This means simply, of course, that Monnica fancied, in accordance with a prevalent opinion of the time, that post-baptismal sinning was of far more consequence than pre-baptismal; that, to follow the figure, pre-baptismal sins only temporarily deformed the soft clay and were all obliterated when the image was molded by the subsequent baptism, but post-baptismal sins shattered the hardened image itself—for the repairing of which there was no adequate remedy. Our commentator would have us think that the more probable meaning is: "My mother preferred to abandon to divine providence those waves of temptation of which she foresaw that I should be the toy, and which would serve to form in me the new man and afterward to instruct me in the principles of the true faith and virtue, rather than to deliver to them that divine form which would be given me by the profession of the Catholic faith." And he suggests that Monnica was not after all free to do anything else in the presence of the will of her husband. These three "notes" occupy altogether, now, little more than half a page. The "practical considerations" interjected among them fill the greater part of some eight pages. These begin with a brief reminder of the antiquity of the use of the sign of the cross and of salt in the initiation of a catechumen, but proceed at once to remark on the "touching example given here by St. Monnica to Christian mothers of the care with which they ought to bring up their children in the Catholic religion, when their husbands neglect this sacred duty." Thence they wander off into nearly six pages of polemic against "the anarchists and socialists," on the sole excuse that these are such probably only because they were not as carefully nurtured as Augustine was by Monnica! This is "going off at a word" with a vengeance; and at this rate one does not see why a "commentary" on Augustine might not readily be swelled to the bulk, say, of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* and made also about as comprehensive in its contents.

We have felt bound to enter so far into details in order to justify the verdict with which we started out—that the volumes now before us are without significance to the student of the *Confessions*. They give us a commonplace text of the *Confessions*, along, no doubt, with a sufficiently clear and flowing French translation, accompanied by a mass of “notes” which have for their end less to explain Augustine than to provide a vehicle for confirming the modern French Catholic in his faith. We are not saying that the volumes have no reason for existence and no sphere of usefulness. We are only saying that their reason for existence and sphere of usefulness lie outside the limits of the study of Augustine; and it is but just to remind ourselves at this point that M. Pihan himself represents his purpose to have been above all “to edify” the soul—of course from his own point of view as a good Catholic. It is nothing but matter of congratulation that the means by which he seeks to attain this end of edification are primarily to put the *Confessions* of Augustine into the hands of the Catholics of France in an attractive form—in Latin and French—and with a body of “notes” which, amid much else no doubt, yet do smooth many hard places, provide much necessary information for the ready understanding of the text, and apply many of its lofty teachings with point and insistence to the ordering of the practical life. When we so conceive it, we are conceiving M. Pihan’s enterprise in the light in which he would have us conceive it; and when we so conceive it, it is very far from having no significance.

And thus we come around to the second member of the remark with which we started out—that the significance of these volumes lies not so much in what they are as in the simple fact that they are. Consider what meaning is involved in this simple fact, that after a millennium and a half it is still worth while to publish and republish the *Confessions* of Augustine in *usum populi*—not as a text-book for the study of ingenuous youth, mind you, perhaps under the compulsion of the rod; not merely as the cherished treasure of a narrow guild of scholars; not even as the delight of the hours of ease that come to the refined and cultured classes; but distinctly as a handbook on pious living and a guide to holy thinking and conduct for the people of God scattered through the nations. Mr. Glover has recently told us, in the essay on the *Confessions* which he has incorporated in the delightful series of studies that he has published under the title of *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century*, that “among all books written in Latin” this book “stands next to the *Æneid* for the width of its popularity and the hold it has upon mankind.” Possibly even this exception need not be

insisted upon. Possibly, among all books written in Latin, the *Confessions* is the book that is absolutely the most widely read for its own sake and that exercises in its own right the widest influence upon mankind. From the moment of its first publication down until today, men have read it, and continue yet to read it, simply because they have found and still find in it a voice which expresses their deepest religious emotions and calls them to higher stretches of religious endeavor.

At first this motive was mixed, no doubt, with a literary one; and throughout the Middle Ages, when Latin was still the language of literature, the book appealed to men as literature; and, as Mr. Glover says, stood second in its popularity as such only to Vergil. But this motive has long since become practically inoperative. Our classical scholars in their engrossment with classical forms have permitted this post-classical treatise to fall into neglect; it is not read in our schools; it is read scarcely at all by our scholars; it has lost all the adventitious aid that might be given its popular circulation by the familiarizing of our youth with its modes of speech and forms of thought in the process of their education, or by the zealous study of it by our professed exponents of Latin letters. Nor has it been put into our modern languages in a manner which has really given it a place in our vernacular literatures. Harnack has recently pointed this out as regards German literature, and it is equally true of our other modern literatures. The *Confessions* may be included in our "Universal Libraries," "Libraries of Theological Classics," "Libraries of Devotion," "Best Hundred Books" (recommended, *e. g.*, by Sir John Lubbock); but it has not really entered into our "literatures" and is not read from the purely literary motive. Despite all this, it is published and republished, is translated and retranslated, and remains one of the most widely circulated and one of the most widely read of books. The popularity of the *Confessions*, in other words, is independent alike of extraneous recommendation and inherent form; it is due to its contents alone.

It may repay us to remind ourselves in some detail of the facts indicatory of its perennial popularity. This began, as we have said, from the moment of its first publication. Augustine himself tells us that he had been made aware that this book was particularly pleasing to many of the brethren, and, indeed, that among all his *opuscula* it was both most widely and most gladly read (*Retract.*, II, 6; *De dono persever.*, 20 (53)). From that beginning on, throughout the whole period of the reign of Latin letters, it stood next to Vergil in the extent of its circulation and the depth of its influence. Naturally,

therefore, when the art of printing began to be utilized for popular purposes, it was early put through the press, and frequently reprinted.

The fullest list of the early editions seems still to be that given by Schönemann in the second volume of his *Biblioth. historico-literaria Patrum Latinorum* (Lips., 1794), reprinted in Vol. XLVII (XII) of Migne's *Patrologia Latina* (coll. 134-41). The earliest edition he records is a Milan quarto of 1475, which has been attributed to John Wurster de Campidonia; and to this he adds three others—one of 1482 and the other two undated—which appeared before the end of the fifteenth century. From the sixteenth century he gives nine editions: Cologne, 1531, 1569; Louvain, 1563, 1575; Antwerp, 1567, 1568; Basle, 1578; Würzburg, 1581; Tours, 1588.

From the seventeenth century he is able to enumerate no less than twenty-eight editions, scattered pretty evenly through the century. These begin with a 12mo edition published in 1604 in Cologne, *opera et studia theologorum Lovaniensium*; followed by another 12mo, published in 1606 at Lyons, *juxta Lovaniensium correctionem*. This text was afterward more than once reprinted, but the popular text of the seventeenth century was that prepared by Henry Sommalius, a learned and pious Jesuit who published editions of many books of devotion, including not only the *Confessions*, but also the *Soliloquies* of Augustine and the *Imitatio Christi*. Sommalius's first edition seems to have appeared in 1607 at Douay. It would be rash to say how frequently it was reprinted during the seventeenth century. Schönemann explicitly notes the following issues: 1619, 1628, 1629, 1631, 1637, 1645, 1649, 1650, 1652, 1679, 1685; and it would not be difficult to add more. In 1630 there appeared at Dillingen the first issue of Wagnereck's edition of the first ten books, accompanied with a commentary. This was reprinted in 1632 (Cologne), and in an enlarged form in 1646 and again in 1647 (both Cologne). Henry Wagnereck was a German Jesuit of wide learning, who served as professor of philosophy and theology at Dillingen, and died in 1664, leaving behind him many works, metaphysical, polemical, and devotional—among them a curious redaction of the *Imitatio Christi* "in locos communes," and this extended commentary on the *Confessions*. Toward the end of the century (1687) there appeared from the Paris press of Jo. Bapt. Coignard a 12mo edition, "emendatissima et notis illustrata, cum novis in singula capita argumentis," edited by the academician Philippe Goibaud, sieur du Bois, which became the basis of many of the best nineteenth-century editions, such as those by

Pusey and von Raumer. It was admirably annotated with illustrative notes drawn from the other writings of Augustine — notes which are still perpetuated to our profit in later editions.

Only three editions are brought together by Schönemann from the eighteenth century — a Sommalius in 8vo, published at Antwerp in 1740; an annotated edition published at Florence in 1757 by "Fr. Archangeli a Praesentatione;" and a pretentious edition published at Paris in 1776 by L. St. Rondet. We have noted also a Vienna edition of 1770.

The nineteenth century has again, however, been rich in editions. We have noted at least sixteen, without making any particular search for them. These begin with an excellent edition published in 1823 at Berlin, with a preface by Neander. A manual edition appeared at Ingolstadt in 1824. The beautiful little stereotyped edition of Tauchnitz, edited by Bruder, appeared at Leipzig first in 1837, and has been frequently reissued since — most lately in 1894. Dr. Pusey's edition, based in part on the Paris edition of Du Bois (1687), appeared first at Oxford in 1838 and again in 1848. On Dr. Pusey's foundation was built in turn the admirable edition of Karl von Raumer, which first appeared at Stuttgart in 1856 and again at Gütersloh in 1876. Von Raumer was accustomed to read the *Confessions* yearly with his students at Erlangen and poured his mind out in his notes and a preface in which he draws a comparison between the *Confessions* and Rousseau's *Confessions* and Hamann's *Gedanken über meinen Lebenslauf*. Meanwhile at least three good Paris editions had been issued: in 1844, with the French version of Saporta; in 1863, and 1889. There had also appeared the admirable edition of Martin at Regensburg in 1863, repeated in 1894. In 1891 an edition appeared at Turin repeating Wagnereck's notes. But the great novelty of the century was reserved to its end: the appearance in 1896 of the new critical text framed by Pius Knöll for the Vienna *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. This new text has been placed within the reach of all by its incorporation into the well-known Teubner series of Latin texts (Leipzig, 1898). By it, it is to be hoped, the textual presentation of the *Confessions* has been lifted to a new plane. The French edition which now lies before us is the first issue of the *Confessions* in Latin which has reached us from the newly opening century; it is innocent of any relation to Knöll's new text. But it is probable that few editions will subsequently be published which do not take their start from Knöll.

The *Confessions* of Augustine belongs to that small class of books which have been circulated as much in translation as in their original form. A German translation of it was made as early as the fourteenth century, fragments of which have been recovered and published by C. Hofmann ("Bruchstücke einer mittelhochdeutschen Uebersetzung der Confess. d. Aug.," printed in the *Sitzungsberichte der bayr. Akademie*, 1861, I, pp. 314 ff.). But the history of the translation of the *Confessions* does not really begin until the middle of the sixteenth century. The Latin races were first in the field, and by the end of the first decade of the seventeenth century there were versions in circulation alike in Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, and French. We hear of a translation into English only in 1624, and into German not until 1673. The earliest version listed by Schönmann is a Portuguese one, the work of Sebast. Toscano or Tuscanus, an Augustinian monk; two editions of it were printed, at Antwerp and Cologne respectively, in 1555 and 1556. Next in time come the Italian versions. The earliest of these was published in 1564 at Venice, the translator being "l'eccellente medico M. Vincenzo Buondi." A new annotated translation, "per il S. Giulio Mazzini, nobile Bresciano," appeared at Rome in 1595, and was reprinted at Milan in 1620. Finally, the Carmelite P. Giangiuseppe da S. Anna issued a new translation at Venice in 1760, accompanied (says Schönmann) with "an immense mass of notes," for which all preceding annotators had been put under contribution, especially Wagnereck. A Spanish version by Petrus Ribadeneira of several of Augustine's treatises, including the *Confessions*, appeared at Madrid in 1598 and again in 1604. These are all that Schönmann is able to cite from the sixteenth century.

The earliest French translation of the *Confessions* seems to have appeared at Paris in 1609, with notes by Hernequinius. A new version by René de Ceriziers (Renatus Ceriserius)—the well-known Jesuit translator of Boetius's *Consolations of Philosophy* (to which he added a *Consolation of Theology*), and author of that odd spiritual romance which he called *L'Innocence Recon nue, ou Vie de Sainte Geneviève de Brabant*—appeared at Lyons in 1649 and again in 1650, and was reprinted at Paris as late as 1709. But the two versions which really divided the suffrages of the French public down to our own century were those of Robert Arnauld d'Andilly and of Philippe Goibaud du Bois. The former of these scholars, the eldest brother of the great Antoine, after an honorable public career, retired at the age of fifty-two to the convent at Port Royal, where he gave himself to literary

labors. His works, in eight folio volumes, were published posthumously in 1675. His version of the *Confessions* seems to have appeared first, at Paris, in 1649, in 12mo. It was reprinted in 1651, 1653, 1656, 1659 (the seventh edition, with the Latin text of Antoine Arnauld), 1660, 1665, 1671, 1675, 1675 (at Brussels), 1676, 1691 (at Brussels), 1695, 1717, and so on, even as late as 1861, with an introduction by M. Charpentier. It is this version that is elegantly reprinted also in M. J. A.-C. Buchon's *Choix d'œuvres mystiques* (Paris, 1852) "as reproducing most faithfully the ideas and the flow of the style of the author." "Arnauld," M. Buchon adds, "had too pious a respect for the book and its author not to strive conscientiously to reproduce it in its true forms; and the French language, which had not yet been affected by the concise genius of Pascal, conserved in the march of its prose something of the slight heaviness and obscurity which recall the Latin forms." We are bound to confess that we have found Arnauld's version anything but attractive reading, and are inclined, prior to any examination of Du Bois's, to acquiesce in Brunet's preference for the latter. Du Bois was an academicien and served as Latin tutor to Louis Joseph de Lorraine, Duc de Guise. He translated, says his biographer in Migne's *Dict. de biog. chrét.*, somewhat grimly, "many of Augustine's and Cicero's works, two very different geniuses to whom he gave the same style." His translations are enriched with many learned notes; those that accompanied the *Letters* of Augustine were supplied by Tillemont; those that accompanied his Latin edition of the *Confessions* (though not his translation) formed the mine out of which Dr. Pusey drew his admirable annotations. The first edition of Du Bois's translation seems to have appeared at Paris in 1686; it was repeated in 1688, 1700, 1715, 1716, 1722, 1743, 1758, 1776, and so on, down at least as late as 1820. Meanwhile certain parts of the *Confessions* had also been printed separately in French; e. g., Books VIII and IX were issued in Brussels in 1690 under the title, *La Conversion de S. Augustin décrite par lui même*; and in 1703 there appeared an abridged translation of the *Confessions* by Simon Michel Treuvé; to these may be added the *Confessions de Saint Augustin en forme de prières*, published in 1697 and 1701, and the appropriation to the exercises of the sacraments of penance and the eucharist of parts of the work (1750). Brunet mentions also as appearing at Paris, 1741, in two volumes, "*Les Confessions de S. Augustin*, trad. en franç. avec le lat. (par D. Jac. Martin)."

During the nineteenth century, in the case of this version too, naturally, a new activity began to manifest itself. We have noted about

a dozen new issues of the *Confessions* in French during that century. In 1822 and again in 1844 (Paris) there appeared a new translation by M. de Saint-Victor, with a preface by M. l'abbé de La Mennais and a historical note on the Manichees. In 1844 (Paris) was published, along with the Latin text, a translation by Léonce de Saporta. In 1845 (Tours) an edition cared for by l'abbé T. Boulangé appeared. A new translation, by L. Moreau, appeared first in 1854 (Paris) and was republished in 1858 and 1865. In 1854 a new translation "by G. A." is listed. In 1857 was published yet another new translation, by Paul Janet—which, by the way, is the only one thought worth mentioning in Lichtenberger's *Encyclopédie*. A new issue of the translation by Arnauld d'Andilly "very carefully reviewed and adapted for the first time to the Latin text, with an introduction by M. Charpentier," was published in 1861. Yet another new translation, by "l'abbé Gabriel A.—," appeared at Lyons in 1862. The version of Monseigneur Péronne, included in the *Œuvres complètes* cared for by MM. Péronne, Écalle, Vincent, Charpentier, and H. Barreau, appeared in 1870. A luxurious edition, illustrated by eight etchings by A. Laluze, the translation being by Edouard Saint-Raymond, appeared in 1883. Still another new translation was published by the abbé Barral in 1884. Last of all we have the new translation by M. Pihan which lies before us.

Although, as we have seen, a German version of the *Confessions* existed in the fourteenth century, Germany was late in providing itself with the printed *Confessions* in its own tongue. Only a single issue was known to Schönemann—a 12mo, published at Cologne in 1673 with a title so verbose that Schönemann prints it only in contracted form. The next issue known to us is an 8vo, published at Frankfurt in 1760. A new issue, *aus d. Latein. von Friederici a Jesu* was published in 8vo at Augsburg in 1783. The translation of Adolf Gröninger, which is still in use, seems first to have appeared at Münster in 8vo in 1798; second edition, 12mo, 1841; third edition, 1853; fourth edition, 1859. Another (anonymous) translation, which is still in use, *mit einem Anhang seiner fernern Lebensgeschichte*, seems first to have appeared at Munich, in 8vo, in 1815; fourth edition, improved, in 18mo, at Passow, 1849; fifth edition, 1853; sixth edition, 1856; seventh edition, 1866. Georg Rapp's translation, which has remained until today, probably, the most widely circulated Protestant version, seems first to have appeared at Stuttgart, in 8vo, in 1838; subsequent issues appeared in 1846, 1847, 1856, 1863; fifth edition, 1868; sixth edition, 1871; seventh edition, 1878; eighth edition, Bremen, 1889.

The rival Romanist translation by H. Kautz appeared at Arnsberg, in 12mo, in 1840-41. Another version, professing to be *nach der besten Ausgabe aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt, mit einem kurzen Ueberblick des Lebens und Wirkens dieses Heiligen*, seems to have appeared first at Regensburg in 1853; it was repeated in 1890; third edition, 1898. Still another, *für Leser jeden Standes neubearbeitet auf Grund der von Raumer'schen Ausgabe*, appeared at Reutlingen in 1858; and again in 1859 and 1883. The fifth edition of a translation by J. P. Silbert, *aus dem Latein. der Mauriner-Ausgabe*, appeared at Vienna in 1860 or 1861; we have not traced its earlier or later issues. The version of M. M. Wilden appeared at Schaffhausen in 1865; and that of Merschmann at Frankfurt in 1866.

All of these earlier versions, however, have recently been antiquated by the appearance of two new German translations of high character, provided with a modern apparatus of notes and introductions for the better understanding of the text. The best of these is probably *Augustins Bekenntnisse, in neuer Uebersetzung und mit einer Einleitung dargeboten*, by W. Bornemann, which constitutes Vol. XII of the Gotha "Sammlung theologischer Klassiker" and was published in 1888; the introduction extends to thirty-eight pages and is a valuable document. Its companion is *Des heiligen Augustins Bekenntnisse, übersetzt, eingeleitet und mit Anmerkungen versehen*, by Otto F. Lachmann, which constitutes two volumes of the "Universalbibliothek" published by Ph. Reclam at Leipzig; it appeared in 1891. Still more recently there has appeared an abridged translation in German from the skilful pen of Fräulein E. Pfeiderer (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902; 8vo, pp. viii + 160), which Harnack greets (*Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1903, No. 1, col. 12) as really the first German translation which is truly German literature. There were, of course, earlier essays at the translation of portions of the *Confessions*—as, e.g., the *Jugendgeschichte d. heil. Aug., aus seinen Bekenntnissen gezogen*, by F. P. Sticke, Munich, 1800; but we shall not pause to collect them. It is quite clear that latter-day Germany has not neglected to put this incomparable volume within the easy reach of her people.

What has been done toward the circulation of the *Confessions* in the other languages of continental Europe we have not had occasion to observe. We have incidentally noted only a Dutch version of the first ten books, published at Amsterdam in 1829: *De belijdenis v. d. H. Aug. in tien boeken*. There is also a Dutch abridgment published at Amsterdam in 1857, and again in 1865: *De biecht van God van een*

groot man, op de bekentenissen van Aurelius Augustinus. Naar het oorspronk. bekort; met een levensschets van Augustinus en ophelderingen, voorzien door W. Francken Azn.

We regret that we are without the materials for tracing the circulation of the *Confessions* in English. It appears to have been four times turned into English, in whole or in part, during the seventeenth century. The first of these versions was published in 1624, with the title, *The Confession of the Incomparable Doctor, S. Augustine, translated into English: Together with a Large Preface, which it will much import to be read over first; that so the book itself may both profit and please the reader more.* It was the work of the notorious Sir Toby Matthew (son of the well-known archbishop of that name), whose defection to Romanism was, it was said, "begun by an imposture and perfected by wit and humour." The story of his checkered life can now be read comfortably by all at sufficient length in the article by Thomas Seccombe in Sidney Lee's *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, Vol. XXXVII (1894), pp. 63-8. Pusey (*The Conf. of St. Aug.*, preface, p. xxx) says this translation was both Romanizing and full of inaccuracies; and refers us to the *Biogr. Brit.* for "a saying of the time indicative of its badness." This reference is probably to a remark of John Gee's, who said, *à propos* of the price of the book, which was 16 shillings, that "Sir Toby's translation might have been afforded for half a crown" (*Biographia Britannica*, VI, i (1763), p. 4049, side note 91 in second column). "It was very sharply answered," Mr. Seccombe tells us, "by Matthew Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, in his vituperative *Unmasking of a Masse Monger*, London 1626, in which formal allusion is made to the alleged libertinism of Tobias's youth." The best answer to a bad translation, however, is a good translation; and that soon came in a new version by "Dr. William Watts, Rector of St. Alban's, Wood Street," 1631, and again 1650, published with the title: *Saint Augustines confessions translated and with some marginal notes illustrated*, by William Wats. Mr. Pilkington (*Post-Nicene Fathers*, New York, 1886; Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 32) speaks of Watts's version as "one of the most nervous translations of the seventeenth century;" and Dr. Pusey (*loc. cit.*) as energetic, but containing "a good many vulgarisms." It at all events laid the foundation for the English *Confessions*, and most subsequent editions to a greater or less extent base on it. A biographical sketch of Watts may be found in Sidney Lee's *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, Vol. LX, p. 75. Mr. Pilkington (*op. cit.*, p. 140, note) gives us a notice of another English version of the first ten books of the *Confessions*, described on the title-page as "Printed by J.

C., for John Cook, and are to be sold at the sign of the 'Ship,' in St. Paul's Churchyard. 1660." And in 1679 a new translation of the biographical portions of the *Confessions* was issued, the work of another distinguished Romanist pervert, Abraham Woodhead (see for him *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Vol. LXII, pp. 398-400). Dr. Pusey says of it: "The former translation [presumably Watts's] was used as its basis, but it is more diffuse." The only one of these versions that had life in it was Watts's, and when the nineteenth century opened it was found holding the field.

The earliest nineteenth-century issue we have noted was an abridgment by Bickersteth, published in 32mo form at London by Seeley, in 1836. Two years later Dr. Pusey's version first appeared (Oxford: Parker; London: Rivington, 1838; in 8vo). Watts's translation was adopted as its basis, but "the work," says Dr. Pusey (preface, p. xxx), "has in fact been retranslated." New issues of Dr. Pusey's version were put forth both in the original 8vo form and in an 18mo form in 1848; a fourth edition in 1853; and often subsequently, as, *e. g.*, 1883. The unrevised Watts was meanwhile also being reprinted. American editions, for example, are noted at Boston, 1843; New York, 1844, and especially Andover, 1860, "preceded by a thoughtful introduction" (pp. v-xxxvi) by Rev. Dr. W. G. T. Shedd. Dr. Shedd's edition has been several times reprinted, as, *e. g.*, 1871 (Andover) and 1876 (both Andover and Boston). A new translation was made by Rev. J. G. Pilkington for the series of select works of Augustine edited by Dr. Marcus Dods, and published at Edinburgh by T. & T. Clark. This was published first in 1876, and republished in the American *Post-Nicene Fathers*, Series I, Vol. I, in 1886. An edition is credited to the printing house of James Pott & Co., of New York, in 1876. The Rivingtons in 1883, and again in 1889, issued what they call a new edition, under the care of W. H. Hutchings. An edition described as a "new translation" was issued by Sutlaby in 1883, and again in 1887. A London edition of 1885 has fallen into our hands. A "revised translation" of the first ten books was issued by the London house of Griffith in 1887, and again in 1894, and again in 1898, as one volume of its "Ancient and Modern Library of Theological Literature." Similarly a "revised translation" of the first ten books was issued in 1895 by Routledge, as one volume of the collection of "One Hundred Best Books" recommended by Sir John Lubbock. An issue of 1897, by Melrose, appears as a volume in a series called "Books for the Heart." The character of these issues we do not know. Apparently something better begins

with the issue in 1898 of an edition described as "newly translated with notes and introduction by C. Bigg," as one volume of the "Library of Devotion" published by Methuen. In the same year an edition appeared in the "Scott Library" published by Walter Scott, "edited with an introduction by Walter Symonds." And in 1900 the Messrs. Richards published an edition "edited by Temple Scott, with an introduction by Alice Meynell." Finally, in the same year, an edition of the first ten books was published by Paul, of London, with four illustrations by Paul Woodroffe. The *United States Catalog of Books in Print in 1899* names editions published by Messrs. Longmans, Draper (Shedd's), Stokes (Bigg's), Whittaker, Kennedy, Dutton, and Routledge, to which may be added one published by Sadlier.

The confusion of the foregoing account will not prevent it suggesting the wideness of the demand for the book and the popular character of its circulation among English-speaking readers. And it must not be imagined that we have enumerated in these hasty lists anything like all the editions in which the *Confessions* has been published throughout the world. Enough have been enumerated, however, to give some conception of the continuous use of the book as a manual of piety throughout the whole period of its existence, and to give point to our remark that the new French edition now before us is not without its significance, even though it is of no importance from the scholarly point of view. It indicates the continued usefulness of a book of religion which has already measured its usefulness by centuries and millenniums. It might well have been a better book. It is nevertheless a good enough book to serve its professed purpose. It will carry these lofty religious meditations—the story of this noble life of struggle and of this final conversion of a great soul to God—into the minds and hearts of, let us hope, hundreds of French-speaking people. May it prosper in this mission! And may its tribe continue to increase!

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THE SEPTUAGINT AND TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

PROFESSOR JAHN and Wellhausen have fallen out and use not the gentlest terms about each other and their respective writings. To begin with, Professor Jahn published an edition of Esther.¹ Well-

¹ *Das Buch Esther, nach der Septuaginta hergestellt, übersetzt und kurz erklärt.* Leiden: Brill, 1901. xv + 67 pages. M. 3, net.

hausen criticised his views about the text very severely;² whereupon Jahn retorts in the essay under review.³ The actual treatment of the book of Esther is, however, only made the text for rival treatments of a much wider subject. What is the relative value of the massoretic text (= M.T.) of the Old Testament, and of the text behind the LXX? This is really the matter discussed. Jahn is an out-and-out pro-Septuagint scholar. He professes to follow in the footsteps of Thenius. Wellhausen opposes him and ridicules some of his restorations of the Hebrew text according to the LXX, as being, we may almost say, beneath contempt. Jahn, in this review, defends his own position, and tells us we are to look for a still more systematic treatment of the subject in the edition of Ezekiel which he is preparing.

Perhaps the best way of discussing the subject thus put before us will be to take some of the points which Jahn tries to make.

1. He first of all lays down the principle that every expositor, if he is to do his work properly, must work out the differences in detail. This is certainly necessary, and it is a field of work in which much remains to be done. Even some of those who have come nearest to doing so, *e. g.*, Toy in his edition of *Proverbs*—and we may say he has gone farther than most in the right direction—seem to weary of pointing out the differences between the M.T. and the Hebrew behind the LXX, and pass many by without any note or comment. What is really wanted is, if we may say so, an interleaved, unpointed text of the Hebrew as it stands, with, on the opposite page, the various readings of the LXX so far as they can be ascertained, and also with various pointings of the Hebrew where the M.T. and the various older versions differ. If this were systematically done, we feel sure that an amount of illumination hardly to be realized at present would be thrown upon textual difficulties, and the inferior character of the M.T., in a considerable number of cases, though almost certainly not in the majority, would become obvious.

2. We consider that there is much truth in the statement that all the translators of most of the prophetical and historical books worked on the same method. It could not very well be otherwise, considering the times in which the translations were made. The most that could be expected was that a literal translation should be made, and the greater part of the differences in the excellence of the work done

² In a review published in *Gött. gelehrte. Anzeigen*, 1902, No. 2.

³ *Beiträge zur Beurteilung der Septuaginta*. Eine Würdigung Wellhausenscher Textkritik. Von G. JAHN. Leiden: Brill, 1902. 52 pages. M. 1, net.

depended upon the translator's wider or narrower acquaintance with the two languages he was dealing with, and also upon the difficulty, that was sometimes found to be very pressing, in dealing with some of the terms, whose meaning had been forgotten, in the more ancient part of the Hebrew texts.

3. We think that Jahn presses the points he tries to make about the *Söftrim* much too far. He attributes to them alterations from all sorts of motives of a wide and sweeping character. He sees in them the working of the priestly element, as well as the influences of Hellenism and heathenism, and goes so far as to say that in Ezekiel they have corrected unfulfilled prophecies, while occasionally whole passages were substituted by them for what they found in their texts. A great deal of this seems to be absolutely unprovable. Rather we would say that two of these motives show themselves in the LXX—Hellenism and heathenism. That there was a Hellenistic spirit very widely prevalent among the Jews of Jerusalem as well as elsewhere in the second century B. C. the books of the Maccabees are sufficient to prove. But that the Jewish mind was also influenced by the heathenism among which it dwelt is evident from some of the mythological terms, *e. g.*, Τετάνες, Ἀμαλθαίας κέρας, used in the LXX. Apparently Jahn would find the scribal altering of the text in the Elohist or Jahwistic texts of the Pentateuch, and also goes so far as to say that certain books were almost rewritten by the scribes. Some of the constructions in the M.T. which Jahn calls "monstrous" he attributes to the scribes. In fact, we think we sum up Jahn's position with reference to the M.T. as being, to use his own words, that the scribes' great desire was to issue a popular edition of the Old Testament.

4. As to the use to be made of the LXX, Jahn, we think, is more nearly right than Wellhausen. If you are to use the LXX at all, you must not use it arbitrarily. Wellhausen, Jahn would say, treats the LXX in a half-hearted way. What you really must do is to work through it word by word. He is doubtful, indeed, whether he has gone far enough, and has not sometimes adhered to the M.T. in Esther, when he ought to have followed the LXX. You must not treat the LXX, as Wellhausen often does, as if it were mere guesswork. It is nothing of the kind. There may, indeed, be a few cases in which "tendency" has caused alterations to be made in the text by the translators, but these are not many. Nothing, however, will be gained by exaggerating differences—that is the opinion of the present writer; rather we must minimize them so far as is possible.

To turn to the particular book, which is in the present treatise the bone of contention between Jahn and Wellhausen—the book of Esther, we cannot do more here than summarize the position which Professor Jahn takes up. Many of the conclusions which he draws are very attractive to LXX scholars, but we fear that at present our verdict about some of them, at any rate, must be “Not proven.”

He claims a high position for the LXX version of the book, and considers that the Hebrew form is more legendary than the Greek. He considers that in the M.T. certain proper names have been introduced to give a more thorough Persian atmosphere to the whole book, and that in reality the Greek forms of the names that are common to both versions approach more nearly to the original Persian than the Hebrew. As to the apocryphal parts of the book, it is clear from their contents that they do not form part of either the original Hebrew or the original Greek. In fact, they may be attributed to a Hellenistic Jew. He contends that the LXX never arbitrarily adds or erases matter, while the M.T. does both. Sometimes, moreover, the LXX has foolish expressions which the M.T. has altered to tone them down. He will not allow that the Ahasuerus of the Greek and the Artahshast of the Hebrew are corresponding names.

Finally, he makes fun of Wellhausen's restoration of the Hebrew, just as Wellhausen had reviled his.

We have not space to enter into a detailed examination of the separate passages about which Jahn writes at some length. We do not think that some of them advance his case very far. It is interesting to note that he falls back on Lagarde's theory that *Φουρδια* exhibits the original form of the name for the Feast of Purim and is connected with the Persian *furdigan*, the name for their New Year's feast.

The book of Esther is, when all is said and done, not the best book for a critic upon which to exhibit his theories on the relation of the M.T. and LXX. We shall look with considerably more interest to Jahn's edition of Ezekiel. Meanwhile he has our sympathy, as we feel sure his aims are set in the right direction.

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LIBERALISM IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CANON HENSON's book¹ is interesting throughout, fixing the attention of the reader from the opening pages to the final word. It is

¹ *Cross Bench Views of Current Church Questions*. By H. HENLEY HENSON. New York : Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. viii + 355 pages. \$4.

written by a man who has not the least touch of egoism, who is far too engrossed in his subject to think about himself; yet the book is an unconscious self-revelation, showing us in vivid colors and lines the mind and character of the man. And it is a mind which compels admiration even when we most dissent from its conclusions, though it is only fair to say that we are more often in accord with them than in disagreement.

The author is unquestionably one of the ablest men in the Anglican church. There are few clergymen who can compare with him for eloquence of utterance, and none who surpass him in command of lucid and forceful English. As a preacher he is intense, persuasive, and intellectually convincing. As a writer his pen runs smoothly and easily, but always with a powerful touch, sometimes with flashes of fierce scorn, and occasionally sparks of prophetic fire.

This book shows on every page the fearlessness of the man. It is an original voice with the unmistakable ring of honesty. Canon Henson is singularly free from shibboleths. He has never learned to speak the language of a class or caste; the clerical tone is conspicuous by its absence. The ordinary ideas and assumptions of clericalism have no place here. Indeed, the writer flings them aside with many a gesture of impatience, as if they were not worth discussing by a reasonable man. He certainly does not hold a brief for his clerical brethren, but deals out sharp and straight strokes under which many of them will wince and writhe.

It follows from all this that he is very much more feared than loved in Anglican circles. His ability cannot be questioned, and he is everywhere recognized as a voice that will compel a hearing and an increasing power that must be reckoned with; but his views on church questions are so utterly opposed to the prevalent orthodoxy, and he expresses them with so unsparing frankness, that his utterances on public occasions such as church congresses are awaited with anxious dread and are more frequently interrupted by angry dissent than punctuated with applause. But with the broad-church men among the clergy, whose number is decidedly limited, and with a large section of the Anglican laity, he is held in profound respect and readily accepted as a leading and authoritative voice.

In many respects he resembles the late Dean Stanley, to whose position and influence he has to a large extent succeeded. He is perhaps inferior to the dean in breadth of erudition, and certainly has not attained that *suaviter in modo* for which Stanley was distinguished;

but he has almost more courage, more spiritual intensity, and quite as much intellectual strength. Like the late dean he is most pronounced in his Erastianism, in his cordial recognition of Christians outside the establishment, in the catholicity of his sympathies, and in the rationalistic element which is woven into his earnest religious convictions, and which would win for some of his views, from the orthodox school at least, the name of latitudinarian. He has no sympathy with the extremists of any party. No one would call him a Laodicean in his beliefs. What he believes he holds tenaciously and asserts with fervor and passion, but his convictions move around the central and essential truths, and have little interest in those questions which divide parties and make sects. He regards with almost equal impatience what he would call the narrowness of the evangelical school, the fierce suspiciousness of the ultra-Protestant, and the extravagant assumptions and lawlessness of the advanced ritualist. In this book, however, it is the self-called Catholic party which comes in for his severest castigation. In an open letter addressed to Lord Halifax called *Cui Bono* he pours ridicule upon the sacerdotal pretensions of that party, lashes its follies and excesses with a terrible whip of scorn, and charges it with bringing the question of disestablishment into the region of practical politics, and making it inevitable at no distant date. The high-church theory of the historical episcopate and apostolical succession is dealt with in this article, and elsewhere, in a way half drastic and half humorous which is very satisfying to a nonconformist reader, but is likely to bring upon the writer sundry vials of wrath from the gentlemen to whom that theory is the pivot on which all truth turns.

And yet with all his scorn of sacerdotalism, Canon Henson is true to the platform of moderation and perhaps opportunism which every broad-church man advocates. He inclines to a limited acceptance of the confessional, with certain safeguards as to the kind of clergyman who shall be intrusted with the office; and he indorses the deliverance of the late archbishop of Canterbury on the doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament. He is a broad-church man with a distinct flavor of high church, but above all things he pleads for comprehensiveness, and demands on every page that there shall be room in the national church for all the diversities of thought which can be gathered round an honest recognition of Jesus as Lord. He would make the full, frank acceptance of the masterhood of Christ the one and sufficient condition of membership and communion, and either dispense with other creeds and articles or treat them as non-obligatory.

Perhaps the most remarkable part of this book, as coming from a clergyman, is its formidable indictment of the Anglican church as to its claim to be the church of the nation. Canon Henson is certainly a candid friend and unsparing critic of his own people. No nonconformist would either wish or dare to say severer things of the defects, corruptions, and failures of the established church than are found in these pages. His denunciation of the patronage system, of the scandalous way in which livings are given and sold, of the unrighteous inequality in the distribution and use of national endowments, and of the incompetence and indolence of a section of the clergy, is equal in fierceness and indignation to anything that would be heard upon a *Liberation** platform. He confesses with undisguised shame these and other weaknesses of the church which is very dear to him, and thinks that the truest loyalty to the church is shown, not by hiding and denying the defects, but by laboring for their removal. Three of the articles in the book treat on the question of church reform, and here he speaks as a thoroughgoing Erastian and joins issue with the Catholic party in demanding that the needed reforms shall be secured by the action of the British Parliament. The high-church man is ambitious to shake himself loose from the bonds of secular authority. He clamors for a church which shall be free to legislate for itself and yet retain all its peculiar privileges and national endowments. In fact, he aspires to enjoy the liberty of the nonconformist without suffering any of his disadvantages. He proposes therefore that the church convocation, enlarged and made more representative, shall take upon itself the legislative functions which have hitherto been discharged by Parliament. Canon Henson meets this proposal with the most strenuous opposition. He declares in the most unqualified terms that he would not trust a convocation composed exclusively of clergymen. He thinks that their legislative action would be that of a prejudiced class or caste, and that they would in no sense represent the nation, seeing that the clergy are for the most part Catholic and the laity of the church as unmistakably Protestant. Moreover, it would be impossible by any elective method to enlarge convocation in such a way as to make it the voice of the nation. He acknowledges that the adherents of the established church, to whom the power of election would have to be intrusted, do not much exceed one-half of the Christian people in the country; and that the *bona fide* members or communicants of adult age are less than one-thirteenth of the total number of parliamentary voters. With these

*The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Control.

facts before him he ridicules the notion that Parliament will transfer the management of a national church, with all its possessions, to any body of men chosen by so small a proportion of the electors, and he insists that Parliament alone must be depended upon for all the required church amendments and reforms.

What will be the outcome of the position of things thus indicated it is impossible to conjecture, though the position itself has to a free-church man features that border on the humorous. The clergy are urgently demanding a freedom which the nation will never grant without the accompanying condition or penalty of disestablishment; and at the same time Parliament is becoming more and more impatient of those religious functions which it is called upon to discharge, and which it dare not hand over to a less representative body. It feels, reasonably enough, its unfitness to deal with the grave questions of Christian creed and ritual, and the nation is equally alive to the inconsistencies of the situation. Parliament, from a religious point of view, is a sort of Noah's ark including all manner of creatures. Its composition is as heterogeneous as could well be devised. Not half of its members are, even nominally, connected with the established church. It is an assembly made up of Jews, Roman Catholics, agnostics, Parsees, and various sections of Protestants; and to require from such a body legislation for a Christian church may seem to Canon Henson appropriate and wise, but to a cynic, and even to the average man of the street, it has certainly an element of the ludicrous, and it is slowly creating a conviction that disestablishment is the only possible solution of the difficulty.

We turn from this to regard with far greater satisfaction Canon Henson's attitude toward nonconformists, as he insists on calling them, though we wish he did not begrudge them that new name by which they prefer to call themselves, "Free-Church men." Nearly all that he says of these outside Christian brethren is liberal and brotherly, though he certainly underrates both their culture and their contributions to religious literature. But he recognizes to the full the high Christian character and earnestness of the nonconformist bodies. He confesses that in moral and spiritual elevation they are at least equal to their Anglican brethren, and that they are doing half the religious work of the nation. He sees clearly enough that every attempt to bring them into the establishment must and will result in hopeless failure, and he pleads for the only union which is possible, a union of mutual recognition and sympathetic brotherhood. He has nothing

but scornful words for the airs of superiority which the majority of the clergy assume; and the attitude of stand-alooftness which it pleases them to take. He regards as an exhibition of blind arrogance and folly the claim which his church makes to be *the* church of the English-speaking people, and its habit of totally ignoring the non-episcopal bodies which outnumber it in membership by at least six to one! And he demands that the Anglican community shall bring itself into closer touch with English-speaking Christians in every land, and especially with the nonconformists at home. He urges the frank acceptance of non-episcopal ordination, the frequent exchange of pulpits between clergymen and free-church ministers, and the assiduous cultivation of friendly and brotherly relations in place of the alienation and even hostility which have heretofore separated the two bodies and caused scandal to the whole church. If Canon Henson represented, as unfortunately he does not, the great majority of his clerical brethren, such sentiments as these would speedily insure happier times for the religious life of England. But that he himself holds these views and stoutly advocates them, and that they are gradually taking hold in Anglican circles, are facts which all nonconformists rejoice in, and for which they regard him with feelings of profound respect.

It need only be added that one very able paper in the book deals with the question of Bible criticism. Canon Henson accepts generally the conclusions of Dr. Driver, and, in his treatment of the Old Testament particularly, sets himself most distinctly against the views commonly held by the high-church clergy and the orthodox party. He predicts that the authority of the Old Testament will continually lose ground among English Christians, and that even the use of it in church and school will slowly disappear. But he thinks that the traditional view of the New Testament as a whole has gained the victory over the higher criticism, and he contends that even the extreme conclusions which that criticism has reached in no way affect the fundamental facts and evidences of our religion. This, however, is a question far too large to be entered upon here. Canon Henson expresses himself on it with his customary lucidity and force, though his opinions would be challenged by a large number of those who on other matters stand with him.

We regard the whole book as a wise and serviceable contribution to the study of current religious thoughts and conflicts, and are thankful to be brought into contact with a mind that thinks and speaks with equal cogency and Christian charity.

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MODERN APOLOGETICS.¹

THERE are plain signs of the revival of an interest in apologetic writing on the part of the Christian public, and of serious and intelligent attempts to satisfy this interest on the part of Christian scholars. But neither the demand for this class of writings, nor the attempts at the satisfaction of the demand, are confined to Christianity. The condition of all the great world-religions is in this respect essentially the same. They are all being severely tested by the rapid changes which are everywhere going on in science, philosophy, and social organization. In India Hinduism, in Japan Buddhism, and even in Mohomedan countries Islam, are making more or less strenuous efforts to show themselves adapted for surviving the tests which the modern developments of race-culture have brought to bear upon man's religious faiths, sentiments, and cult. Even China is in the throes of resistance to these changes. In this unsettled condition of man's religious consciousness, both cause and effect are patent facts. Extremely rapid changes in the sciences, philosophy, and social conditions have characterized the last half-century; and characteristically, on account of the swift and complete communication of ideas which belongs to modern life, similar trials have been brought to bear upon the religious beliefs and sentiments of the age. What is true to a certain notable extent of the other great religions is, of course, pre-eminently true of the Christian religion. For it is among the so-called Christian nations that changes in the sciences, philosophy, and social conditions have been most rapid and revolutionary.

Now, that Christian apologists should alter their methods, and even many of their claims, in order the better to defend their religion amidst altered circumstances, is no new thing in the history of apologetics. On the contrary, changes in the points attacked and in the methods of attack call peremptorily for changes in the points where the defense is concentrated and in the methods of defense. The vitality of Christianity has always shown itself in its adaptability to meet the new requirements with a reconstructed apologetics. In the time before the political triumph of the church under Constantine, the history of Christian apologetics shows it to have been constantly engaged in a vigorous and almost life-and-death struggle with a series of determined and powerful hostile forces. But both the form of these forces and the

¹ *Grundriss der christlichen Apologetik, zum Gebrauche bei akademischen Vorlesungen*, Von HERMANN SCHULTZ. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. 225 pages. M. 4.

form of repelling them have long since passed away and are never to return. To defend the Christian faith against the modern scientific, philosophical, and sociological objections by recurring to the arguments of the church fathers would be as unskilful and ineffectual as would be the use of the weapons of war belonging to the same centuries in a contest with the modern rifle and modern artillery. Mediæval apologetics was, from the intellectual point of view, a comparatively tame affair—a dialectical contest over the comparative merits of the different religions, which, however, became realistic and bloody enough when it was waged in the political field against rival heathen, Jews, and Moslems. Even the apologetics which introduced the modern era, and which consisted in a defense of the older orthodoxy against the modifications attempted by the older deism and rationalism, is thoroughly unfitted for present use. Both the attack and the defense of a hundred years ago are now largely antiquated.

The really interesting thing about this little book of Schultz is the fact that its points of view and its method are so thoroughly modern. It is, therefore, well fitted to serve as a sort of type, or object-lesson, illustrating the excellences and the defects of certain of the most recent attempts at a reconstructed Christian apologetics. For this reason we shall give more attention to the review and criticism of this work than its size or importance would otherwise warrant.

The conception of the problem which apologetics attempts to solve, as stated by Schultz, is commendably comprehensive and stimulating. "Apologetics as a theological science," says he (p. 1), "seeks the scientific understanding of the essence of Christianity and of its rights within the spiritual development of humanity." This effort involves (1) the justification of the religious view of the world as distinguished from the merely scientific; and (2) the special appreciation of what Christianity, as distinguished from any one of its numerous sects or church communions, has done and is doing for our world. As to the present and more pressing call for renewing the attempt at a solution of this problem, which shall be satisfactory to the religious consciousness of today, we are told that "*we* have become like the church before Augustine, and have from the dogmatic entered upon an apologetic *stadium* in theology." Christianity is no longer what it became after western European heathenism succumbed to it as the prevailing religion, viz., "the self-intelligible presupposition" of European culture. The reasons for this change are chiefly these two: we now know much more about other religions; and we also know much more thoroughly the

origins of Christianity itself, and its varied developments and defective factors as estimated from the modern scientific, philosophical, and sociological points of view. Hence the threefold task of modern Christian apologetics is (see p. 4): (1) to understand the essence and the rights of religion; (2) to comprehend the historical phenomena of religion; and (3) to evince the essence and perfection of Christianity.

The sincerity with which this conception of the task before the modern apologist for Christianity is held by Schultz appears, on one of its several sides, in the relative amount of attention given to the other religions and to the superiority of Christianity, when brought into comparison with them, as respects its power to meet and satisfy the needs of the developing religious consciousness of humanity. The first part of the book deals with the "apology" for, or defense of, the religious view of the world; the second part treats of the philosophy of religion in general, or of the different religions as historical phenomena; and only in the third part do we reach the special "apology" for Christianity. In this way 144 of the 225 pages which make the entire book are occupied with preliminary topics. Important for the modern inquirer as are the defense of the religious view of the world and the genial apprehension of the other religious developments of humanity, we cannot but think the space covered by the consideration of these topics somewhat disproportionate for a work on Christian apologetics. But even this disproportion, if such it must be called, is significant of the modern points of view; and these points of view, and the problems which must be surveyed from them, are well within the field of a legitimate and satisfactory apologetics. Unless that way of looking at the world—its origin, significance, and more ultimate values—which is distinctive of man's religious consciousness and religious development can be justified against the *merely* scientific, neither Christianity nor any other religion can defend its most essential faiths and sentiments against the hostile forces of modern scientific culture. Unless, also, Christianity, after acknowledging all the illumining and helpful influences of the other greater religions, can show both to reason and in practice its superior claims to the preferred place in the trust and hope of humanity, it cannot properly remain a successful missionary religion. But over and above all this are the claims which our religion has hitherto been assumed to make, as an essential and integral part of its very existence, to perfection, to absoluteness, to finality. It is not strange, then, if the test of the relative success of any work on Christian apologetics must be found in the way that *these*

claims are presented and defended against those modern scientific, philosophical, and sociological tenets which are most obviously opposed to them. And here, where the work of the apologist should be most elaborate and strong, the work of Schultz seems weakest.

It should be said, by the way, that the most important of all these "preliminary topics" is scarcely mentioned, not to say adequately treated, by the author of this book. In this respect he is conspicuously guilty of the fault which characterizes the apologetics of the day—especially of the school with which he is most nearly allied. I refer to a lack of well settled and intelligent opinions regarding the nature, limits, and guarantee of human knowledge. Until our theologians and apologists can find some firm ground of standing in a theory of knowledge, their entire superstructure must remain insecure.

The sources of the weakness and of the strength of this work on apologetics are the same as those which characterize all the thinking and writing of the theological school now most vital and prolific, if not altogether dominant, in Germany. This school is, of course, that known by the name of Ritschl; although its adherents comprise not a few who have gone (as is customary in such cases) far beyond the positions assumed—not to say, carefully thought out—by its founder. In their struggle to recover the freedom of faith, and to throw or strip off the unessential and even foreign accretions of theological dogma and philosophical speculations, this school is entitled to the sympathy of all those who have the true spirit of the Christian believer. In their fidelity to the witness of history, their estimate of the value of experience for the individual believer, their grasp upon the essential truths embodied in the personality and proclaimed by the teachings of Jesus, they win the admiring approbation of the lovers of Christian truth. But in their effort to keep Christianity—or, indeed, for that matter, man's religious development in general—separate and free from profound modifications due to the growth of science, philosophy, and social conditions, in a word, to race-culture, they are doomed to inevitable failure. In an unscientific way they are counseling the retreat of religion before the reasonable demand to make its view of the world, and of God's relations to the world, accord with the proved truths of science, while contesting and confuting the unscientific irreligion of much of the current so-called science. They have too frequently, in the avowed interests of faith, depreciated philosophy; while at the same time espousing philosophical tenets that lead logically and directly to the bottomless depths of religious agnosticism. They

have decried metaphysics—failing to see that religion is essentially metaphysical, and always implies a naïve or a reasoned theory of reality. I fear, also, it must be confessed that this form of apologetics has the rather tended to increase than to decrease the present lamentable schism between the ethical and spiritual life demanded by the application of the teachings and spirit of Jesus to modern society and the actual performances of the Christian church under modern conditions of ethical and æsthetical culture. Surely a successful Christian apologetics cannot end by alienating the cultivated classes and failing to improve the moral and social condition of the multitude.

I hasten to say, however, that the excellent qualities of the modern movement in apologetics are, on the whole, more prominent in the work of Schultz than are the deficiencies to which reference has just been made. None the less, the net result of his discussions will doubtless fail to satisfy either those who are looking for a scientific and rational defense of Christian truth and Christian life against the hostile forces of the modern sciences, philosophy, and social conditions, or those who are expecting to see their existing confidence in the creeds of modern Christendom supported by new and more trustworthy arguments.

In treating of the essence of religion Schultz starts out with the mistake of rejecting what the late Professor Tiele considered the only true, namely, the psychological method (pp. 13 f.). And yet in his own account of the origin of religion he resorts to psychology and truly says: "Only in the life of the soul of man can the process of religion become understood as it actually exists" (p. 15). It is in violation of the psychological facts when he fails to see that religion, of necessity, like every other important development, involves the entire soul of man; and, therefore, man's religious development can in no wise and never be separated from all his other essential developments. Thus he goes too far when, in distinguishing between the moral and the religious development, he declares: "Even Christianity will bring, not morality but blessedness to men." Blessedness through righteousness is, however, an essential tenet of Christianity. And one of the first and most fundamental notes of Jesus' doctrine is the exhortation to moral perfection: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect." And again Schultz is thoroughly unscientific in the way in which he divides up the interests and activities of the human soul and considers man's mental representation (*Vorstellung*) of the world, his objective consciousness, as differing only in degree

from that of the lower animals. This objective consciousness can, therefore, in no respect be considered as a source of religion. But history shows and present experience confirms the showing—that intellectual curiosity, or man's need of a satisfying explanation of the world as given to him in his objective consciousness, is one of the more primal sources of religion. His religion is one way of interpreting the world, or one part of his world. This desire to interpret, to understand, is the same source from which science flows. In curious contrast with this position of Schultz lies, in the extreme opposite direction, the position afterward (pp. 20 f.) maintained—viz., that the animal life of man affords the only means of spiritual communication with him. But this would seem to be the *a priori* extreme of scientific naturalism!

This same divisive view (it is characteristic of the entire school of Ritschl) of man's faculties and of the various connected forms of his development subsequently (pp. 24 f.) leads the author into a series of difficult and dubious attempts to fix the relations of science and religion so as to corral, as it were, the former outside of the territorial limits of the latter. Thus religion becomes a purely *personal* conviction, based on the experience of the divine significance of things *for us*. Whereas, science bases its convictions on man's universal experience of the actuality and connections of things. Here emphasis is again laid on the sharp distinction—which, indeed, amounts to an opposition—between so-called "faith" and so-called "knowledge." Indeed, Schultz goes so far as to affirm (p. 27) that "what one can know, that one need not believe;" and "what one needs to believe, that one cannot know." It follows, then, that "as long as one supposes that he can know about matters of science through faith or investigate the domains of faith itself through science," a harmonious mental picture of the world is impossible. Indeed, the metaphysical interests of religion are in the opinion of the author, as well conserved by the pantheistic conceptions as by those of Christian theism. And, finally, the attitude of faith is represented as either hostile or indifferent to the scientific defense of the greater part of biblical history and doctrine, and even to much which orthodoxy has hitherto regarded as essential to the divine revelation in the person and work of Jesus. For Schultz is led on not only to separate most of the commonly so-called supernatural elements from the content of revelation and in an *a priori* manner to deny the possibility of revelation by means of trance, theophany, angelic messengers, etc., but also theoretically to abandon nearly the

whole field of controverted subjects in the supposed interests of that kernel of Christian faith which is his own peculiar experience (and yet is somehow common to all) with the individual believer in the historical Jesus.

Now, if there is anything which is proved by the very nature of both science and religion, and by their normal and necessary relations to each other, and, as well, by the whole history of human experience with these two allied lines of development, it is the truth that the two cannot be separated or kept apart in respect of their reciprocal reactions, in any such easy-going fashion. For faith and knowledge are not distinctly different attitudes of the human mind toward the reality of its own experiences. The conviction of knowledge, in both scientific and religious matters, is a thing of degrees. The faith of the man of science and of the religious devotee has the same psychological roots. Religion, too, although it undoubtedly involves an inner conviction with reference to an unseen and spiritual reality, is also a way of "explaining the actuality and connection of things." Moreover, as historical and anthropological investigations have conclusively shown, religion is a universal experience. It has given birth to science and philosophy. It might almost be said that science and philosophy are the children of religion. But religion has never existed, and never can exist, in independence of the influences of science and philosophy. It, too, must reflect upon its own nature, must try to understand itself. For science, philosophy, and religion are interdependent developments of humanity. And while they are not the same developments, and are not to be confused or identified, they are all developments of the same unitary being—of the soul of man, in history. For my part, I believe there is no heresy current which is so dangerous as that which grows out of the present attempt by theology to revive the Kantian skepticism and "make room" for faith by removing knowledge from the spheres of metaphysics, ethics, and religion.

It would do injustice to this work of Schultz, however, not to acknowledge how much superior to his own conception of apologetics is no small part of the apologetical treatment he gives to particular topics in Christian theology. For example, while properly affirming (p. 48) that "it cannot be the problem of apologetics to defend the miracle *contra naturam* as the presupposition of revelation in general, or of the Christian revelation in particular," Schultz has an excellent brief defense of the truly biblical and Christian conception of the miracle. Again, although he has formerly separated too abruptly the

ethical truths from the essential content of Christian faith, he now takes with refreshing clearness and vigor the only scientifically tenable ground, and holds that the current hedonistic and utilitarian ethics (which, by the way, is essentially the ethics of the comfortably situated and well-to-do Englishman or American) is essentially un-Christian and irreligious; it can never be accepted as a basis for a logical apologetics. On the one hand, he assumes the extreme positions of the school of Ritschl, when he says (p. 73) that skepticism as to the fundamental tenet of all religion is irrefutable. On the other hand, his own brief treatment of the arguments for the Being of God is, on the whole, admirable.

The treatment given to the different religions in Part II of Schultz's book is in no respect especially worthy of note. Like all other attempts to divide the religions of the world according to some one acceptable principle, and then to discuss their content as logically coming under the heads of the division adopted, this attempt is a hindrance rather than a help to the understanding of the subject. The truth is that all the different main kinds of religion thus logically classified, are likely to be found developing out of the same soil at different stages of the religious growths; they are, often enough, even found coexisting in the same soil at the same period in history. Schultz's division is into (*a*) nature-religions, (*b*) culture-religions, and (*c*) prophetic religions. Under the second head we find classified religions as different as Hinduism and the Teutonic and later Greek religious developments; and under the third head Zoroastrianism and Buddhism are separated from Judaism and Islam only by the distinction between what is Aryan and what is Semitic in origin. But it is only for purposes of any author's convenience that classifications of the religions have much value or illumining significance.

Judaism is, of all these religions, most satisfactorily characterized in few words; while the treatment of Buddhism seems least sympathetic and satisfactory. This is, perhaps, scarcely to be wondered at, since the latter religion is so essentially diversified, and, in fact, in its existing conditions at the present time is a result of syncretism.

It is, of course, in the last part of Schultz's work that our interest culminates; for it is here that the positive and definite "apology" for, or defense of, essential Christianity is undertaken. This part has two divisions; in the first of which the attempt is made to describe and commend the "essence of Christianity;" and in the second, to prove "the perfectness of Christianity." After a brief presentation of Jesus

as he appears in history, the essence of Christianity is declared to be "faith in Christ." The perfectness of Christianity appears in this, that it brings to man the perfect good, which is the "kingdom of God;" and that it is also the perfect and final revelation of God. From this Christian idea of the highest good flow certain important consequences for the religious faith and religious life of the believer; and from the perfection and finality of the Christian revelation Schultz deduces the consequence that Christianity affords the solution of the world's need of a form of religious faith and worship which will remain untouched by the changes of modern science, philosophy, and race-culture.

Much, and indeed most, of all the discussions of this positive apologetic for Christianity is penetrated with the true spirit of the Founder of our religion, and is truly helpful to both faith and practice. Especially quickening are the views of Schultz regarding the essential content of Christian experience for the individual believer, considered as faith in Jesus, the Christ. It is the profoundest characteristic of this religion that its founder must be accepted as its religious center and even as its essential content. The center and the essential content of Christianity is a person who appeared among men in history. He appears with the claim to be, in a unique way, the Son of God, the revealer of the redeeming love of the heavenly Father; and, finally, the founder of the spiritual kingdom which God will establish among men. The faith of his followers is the certain conviction, wrought as an inner experience, that these claims are true. Christianity, succinctly described as it is experienced by the believer in Jesus, as the Christ, may then be thus defined: It is "the religion of God, who is revealed in his Son Jesus as our Father, and who attests himself in his Spirit as the power that overcomes the world" (p. 161).

But almost immediately, even in the explanation, amplification, and defense of this *minimum* content for the original Christian faith, we are made to feel the effects of the author's erroneous conception of religion in general, and so of the Christian religion in particular. For the question at once arises: How shall the Christian believer defend, or the scholarly and thoughtful apologist defend for him, the positions involved in even so reduced a measure of faith as is contained in the sentence quoted above? The Christian church, as the history of apologetics most conclusively shows, was forced at once to consider both theoretical and practical answers to this question as proposed by the world of unbelievers. Without these answers, both theoretical and practical, the church never could have survived to propagate in any

form the faith in Jesus as the Christ. It could not from the beginning maintain an attitude of either complete indifference or of thorough hostility to the science, philosophy, and culture of its day. Nor has the church ever been able, and from the very nature of religion as one of several connected developments of humanity—all coming from the same God, who is over all and in all—the church never will be able, to set up and permanently maintain such an attitude. Indeed, within the century covered by the formation of the New Testament canon, not a few important influences from the philosophy and culture of the age had become incorporated into that content of faith which has ever since been called by the Christian name. This is, of course, emphatically true of the gospel of John, whatever view be adopted respecting its authorship, or respecting the question whether its *logos*-doctrine derives itself mainly from Jewish or from Greek sources. The *logos*-doctrine is, at any rate the product of a process of reflective thinking—of inspired philosophizing, if you please—not only upon the significance of the historical personality of Jesus, but also upon the explanation of man's total experience with this world and with himself as a citizen of the two worlds; both of which are connected by the conception of a divine rational manifestation.

The truth is that the simplest faith in the historical person, Jesus, as the Son of God, the revealer of God, the founder of the divine kingdom, in any such form that the future developments of science and philosophy, and the future changes in the ethical and social condition of the race, cannot overthrow or undermine this faith, involves the taking of a mental position on the most abstruse and difficult metaphysical problems that can engage the mind of man. In the case of the unreflecting individual believer, this position may—nay, must—be taken naively; and it may be adhered to on account of the personal comfort and satisfactions which its assumption affords. But with Christianity as a claimant for the allegiance of the world, in comparison or contest with the other great world-religions, the apologetical position cannot be maintained in the same way. Christianity must either be abandoned before the attacks of science and philosophy, as well as the claims of other religions; it must either give way before the advances in race-culture and the social conditions of humanity; or else it must be defended and made to harmonize with the truths of science and philosophy, and to adapt itself to the changing needs of the religious consciousness of humanity under the new social and political conditions. It is, therefore, a fundamentally erroneous conception of

Christian apologetics which would try, in any respect, to render it free from its obligations to, and its natural and unavoidable and valuable connections with, the other developments of humanity.

It is not strange, then, that Schultz is forced—as all apologists are forced, who attempt to establish the “simplicity” of Christian truth in the experience of faith, and in such manner as to free this truth from all dependence upon science and philosophy—to waver and move backward and forward between his several points of view. The picture of the historical Jesus which he frames must, of course, be defended *by* scientific criticism *against* the attacks of scientific criticism. For with all that he is ready to surrender as not belonging to the essentials of this picture, even what remains is a matter for science to accept or to reject. And if there is hostile science there must be apologetic science. “The greatest danger of Christianity is now,” Schultz affirms (p. 165) “as at the beginning, that it will either be loosened from its historical foundations, and some of its thoughts mingled and confused with the current thoughts of worldly wisdom (Gnosticism, rationalism); or that some definite stage, with which it has some time been stamped in an empirical fashion, will be held to be identical with Christianity itself (Catholicism, confessionalism).” But however true this may be, it is difficult to harmonize either with his apologetical theory or apologetical practice the statement which follows: “The weapon of the communion of believers against both these dangers lies in the possession of the Holy Scripture.” As though this Scripture itself were not chiefly in need of scientific and philosophic defense! Yet only a few pages farther on (p. 168) we are told that the certainty of the reality and truth of our Christian fellowship with God rests, as its ultimate grounds, upon our personal consciousness of salvation, as it is founded upon the revelation of God made to us in Jesus.” Nevertheless, Schultz goes on truly to state that even Jesus himself set the high estimate which he did upon his own personality because this personality was, so to say, included in the kingdom, and was to be the effective divine means for actualizing this kingdom among men. “The mediation of Christian certainty by the community of believers is, therefore, not merely the customary, but the only possible way.” And this divine kingdom is simply “the ethico-religious form of humanity which proceeds from Jesus, as it exists among us in invisible actuality and carries in itself the certainty of its own perfection.”

Now, however well disposed we may be toward the essential truth of each one of the foregoing propositions, and toward the points of

view from which they are laid down, it is difficult to see how they can all be reconciled with one another; and much more difficult to reconcile all of them with the author's conception of the task of apologetics.

This swift change between the historical and the subjective, between Jesus' own personality and work, as it first appeared to his earliest disciples, and the total significance of Christianity as it has developed through the centuries of history since his day, between what is sufficient for the faith of the individual in order to effect his salvation and what is necessary to defend the whole circuit of that faith, that experience, and that total view of the world and of destiny which is the precious and sacred possession of Christian thinking today, is characteristic of this style of apologetics. Especially do we find a ceaseless vacillation between the two kinds of evidence, and the consequent kinds of conviction that belong to matters of history and matters of subjective experience. For example, Schultz rightly declares (p. 175) that the eschatological idea of early Christianity is one of its essential factors. Yet not only the disciples, but also Jesus himself, he admits, may be considered to have been mistaken in this idea without damage to the essential content of Christian faith. The foundations of faith are laid in the historical person of Jesus, as the Christ, the revealer of God, triumphant over sin and death; and yet, if it must be so, our faith is not affected by our inability to accept the accounts of his resurrection and subsequent appearances to his disciples. Nor have we either historical or subjective proof of the infallibility of Jesus; for Jesus was not a theologian or a philosopher. For proof of his own infallibility Jesus himself had simply the fact of his own religious life, made effective in founding the religious community of his followers. (pp. 198 f.). Even "the absolute sinlessness of Jesus is not a result for historical science to consider and is, therefore, also not a presupposition of apologetics." It is, the rather, "a dogmatic proposition, a conclusion which reflection deduces from what faith has experienced as the effect of Jesus" upon the believer.

The supremely difficult task of apologetics is not reached, however, until the attempt is made to justify for Christianity the claims of absoluteness and finality. That Christianity, considered as a historical religion, is on the whole superior to any other of the great world-religions may be shown to be true in a way to satisfy the majority of thoughtful and observing minds. The most enlightened religious consciousness of the world is a present witness to this truth. But does Christianity give such perfect and final satisfaction to those needs and

aspirations out of which the religious process in humanity continually springs, as from a deep and ever-living source, that one may confidently undertake to show to all inquirers, the impossibility of its being displaced by some yet higher and more nearly perfect religious development? This question Schultz attempts to answer under the rubric of "the perfectness of Christianity." Christianity is the revelation of the perfect good of salvation. But what is the measure of the perfection of this good? If we make our standard to consist in the truth and practice of primitive Christianity, as it established itself in the minds and lives of the early disciples, under the immediate impression from the personality of Jesus, and as it became matter of record in the New Testament writings, we are at once reminded of the great changes which have been incorporated into the content of this truth, and have been enforced upon the practice of Christians by the altered social and political environment of the race. Besides, this contention involves us in the hopeless attempt to establish what is absolute and final on grounds of historical probability. On the other hand, the moment we propose to determine by some process of selection, what tenets of Christianity belong to its essential and permanent content of truth, and what manner of life is for all time obligatory upon all Christian believers, we have substituted for our historical and objective standard one that is more or less subjective and ideal. And "to measure the worth of Christianity by an *a priori* ideal of religion" seems to Schultz a wholly false method.*

Enough has already been said to show how difficult, if not impossible, the author of this work on Christian apologetics has made his task by adopting too restricted a view of the nature of religion in general, and of Christianity in particular, as dependently and reciprocally related to all the other forms of the developing life of humanity. For these other forms of human life are also of a divine origin; they, too, are manifestations of the divine life in the life of humanity. Inasmuch as God is One, and the human soul is a unitary being, and the race is becoming more and more an organically united development, the religion which will substantiate its claims to absoluteness and to finality, must be conceived of in more varied and generous proportions, and must be defended, if at all successfully, not by the neg-

* I note, by the way, that the introduction of the opprobrious term "*a priori*" does not in the least change the state of the case. It is not an argument against, but it might be the very strongest argument for, some particular standard for fixing the values of any particular religion, to call it "*an a priori ideal*."

lect, but by the use, of its progressive adaptations to the growth of the race in science, philosophy, art, and social organization. This more comprehensive conception of the way in which the absoluteness and finality of any religion must be tested is taken account of by Schultz when, at the very last, he discourses on the "Christian kingdom of God." It is this kingdom which affords the full satisfaction, after the attainment of which religion is a longing and a struggle, against difficulties, forward and upward, for the race of man (p. 174). This highest good of religion must be revealed to man as God's own purpose which is to be fulfilled for, and within, the world. The kingdom of God, as it is revealed in Christianity, appears as the realization of the eternal thought of God himself. This kingdom is the ideal of Christianity.

From this point onward Schultz proceeds to discuss the consequences which follow from the Christian idea of the kingdom of God as the highest good for humanity, and as the complete revelation of God. It is here that his vacillation in the points of view and the judgments of value, which belong to his conception of the scope and method of apologetics, becomes most painfully apparent. The main positions assumed with reference to some of the most cardinal questions respecting the content of Christian faith are, indeed, well taken and admirably defended. The essential spirit and quickening thought of primitive Christianity are duly manifested. An heroic effort is made, in the confidence of modern critical science (although to mention the name of "science" would too obviously contradict the author's fundamental statement), and of reflective thinking upon the significance and worth of the Christian ideal for human life (although to call this "philosophizing" would undoubtedly surrender much of the previous contention); still an heroic effort is really made to give a scientific and philosophical construction and defense to this grandest of all human conceptions — the social ideal, the perfect kingdom of the all-Father and Redeemer who is the Christian's God. It may be noticed in passing how the dryness and exclusiveness of modern evangelicalism defeats the complete success of the effort. In his treatment, for example, of the *cultus* of Christianity, Schultz denies all elements of mystery to the sacraments and rates the mechanism of revivalism among the Methodists as on a par with the fanaticism of the heathen cults. This effort leads to the contention that the principle of love, upon which the Christian ideal is founded, is adapted to transform morality, to sanctify marriage, and to confer certain benefits upon science, art, and culture.

How shall the claims to absoluteness and finality, which have hitherto been made by Christian theology, for the Christian religion, be successfully defended under the changed conditions of modern life? These changed conditions have reference to an almost wholly new scientific view of the world and of human life, to a largely reconstructed philosophy—at once more profound, more comprehensive, and yet more solidly built on fact—and to modifications of the political and social environment that were not contemplated or consciously provided for by the primitive form of Christian faith and conduct. Is the infallible rule of faith and practice to be found in the New Testament, or in the Bible taken as a whole? If so, how and by whom interpreted; and how understood? Is it by giving precise dogmas and rules, or only by proclaiming a few central principles which each believer must somehow discover and apply for himself? Or must the content of faith be received as it exists within the soul of the individual who has the faith, and who derives for himself the rule of believing and living by way of placing himself in the proper relations to the personality of Jesus? And yet, again, how shall this truth, whether derived from the study of the Scripture or from the experience of the power of Christ over the soul of the individual, be adjusted to the truths of science and philosophy; and how shall this life be adapted to the political and social environment of the twentieth century?

The final contention of this work on apologetics maintains the thesis that Christianity *is* "the solution of the religious culture-problem" (pp. 212 ff.). Passing by the several excellent remarks made in proof of this proposition we come to the summary of the entire discussion: "Only genuine Evangelical Christianity is the perfect religion, because it can produce a theology which can suffer (*sic*) all true science to exist beside it without yielding anything of its own rights. Because for the Evangelical Christian there is no other object of faith than the revelation of God in Christ, which by the power of grace builds the kingdom of God in the hearts of men" (p. 223). But on the very next page we are reminded that the community of believers in the world is "an indispensable condition" of the Christian "good conscience," in the religious life, and of its sound spiritual development. And the confession is at once added that this ideal of apologetic theology is, at present, still "a postulate" and not an "accomplished fact." Then the book closes with the vague and yet noble declaration that "Christianity is the highest humanity. And among the good spirits belonging to the political and social progress of our time, that of Christianity is the Holy Spirit."

But who can read these words and fail to see how far the ideal of what Christianity must be and do for humanity, in order to vindicate the claim to be the religion for all men, and for all ages of human development, has passed beyond the limits within which the conception of apologetics, its nature and method, began to move and to explore? Is Christianity the highest humanity? Is its ideal of the kingdom of God the supreme good for man? Is the revelation of God which it makes the final and absolute revelation? It is the answer to these questions which constitutes the problem for modern apologetics. In their modern form they are immensely more complicated than the corresponding questions have ever been before. This is true whether the answer proposed be theoretical or practical; whether the affirmative is to be proved by vindicating the Christian ideal, *through the method of scientific and reflective investigation*, or is to be evinced *by the actual realization among men of this ideal humanity*. In either case, the claim is that the Christian conception of the kingdom of God can establish itself among men as the supreme social good, the final and absolute truth of God, immanent, operative, triumphant, in the life of man.

Because I am satisfied that no even half-way convincing answer can be given to the thoughtful men of this generation by the school of theologians and apologists to which the author of this—really, in many respects, admirable—little book belongs, I venture to add a few suggestions regarding the conception and method of modern apologetics:

1. The Kantian agnosticism, with its mechanical division of the faculties, its distrust of metaphysics as either a naive and instinctive or a rational and systematic theory of reality, and its schism between faith and science, must be frankly and totally abandoned. This agnosticism, logically carried out, destroys the foundations of all religious faith as well as, or even before, those of so-called scientific knowledge. The higher æsthetical, and even the ethical and religious, sentiments, and the faiths born of those sentiments, are as essential and as truly effective in science as they are in religion. But, on the other hand, religious faith, even when reduced to the simplest terms compatible with what is customarily called "primitive Christianity," is still essentially metaphysical. Were man not metaphysical, were he not an animal that philosophizes, then he would not be religious at all. All religion is essentially a postulate, an hypothesis, a theory, *respecting reality*. And what the school of Ritschl really needs is not to succeed in its vain attempt to determine a content of faith for the Christian believer

that shall be voided of all metaphysical elements, but to establish for themselves as theologians and leaders of religious thought, some consistent and tenable opinions in philosophy.

Neither can they dispense with the imperative warnings, and indubitable truths with which modern psychology deals, respecting the nature, origin, content, development, and validity of the religious consciousness.

The separation between man as scientific and man as religious, man as believing and man as knowing, is contrary to a sound modern psychology. The whole man goes into his science; the same whole man goes into his religion. And what is true for the individual is true for the race.

2. It follows, therefore, that religion is a form of human development which can never, either in theory or in reality, be considered as wholly independent of the other developments of man—especially of those in science, philosophy, art, and political and social organization. The religious development is not identical with any one of these other developments; just as what we mean by religion is a different combination of man's intellectual, affective, and practical activities from that which we mean by science, or philosophy, or art, or politics. But it is the same man that is all in all; it is the same humanity that displays these various aspects of its nature and growth, in its general progress toward the realization of the ideal. It is the same God who is over all and in all; and who gives the law and final purpose to all. Religion cannot, then, fail to be profoundly influenced by its environing race-culture.

But in turn religion acts most forcefully to modify its environment of race-culture. Since, on one of its most important sides religion is, essentially considered, an explanation of experience and a certain theory of the origin, significance, and purpose of events that happen in nature and in human history, it can never fail of being modified by the current science and philosophy; and, indeed, by all that goes to make up what we call "civilization," or the culture of the race. For science and philosophy have their points of view from which to regard these same events; they have also their rights *within* the field of religious phenomena. Even religion itself, whether as an experience of the soul or as an objective and historical phenomenon, offers itself to the mind of man for treatment by the methods of science and philosophy.

3. What is true of religion in general is emphatically true of Chris-

tianity in particular. I have already said that no creed, and no human experience, ever has presented, or ever can present, any content of Christian faith to man for his acceptance or rejection, in a state of perfect purity or freedom from all admixture of the elements of science and philosophy. In view of the meaning which this fact puts into the words, there cannot be any such thing as an abiding and yet "primitive Christianity." In the mind of Jesus himself, the truth about his own person, work, and destiny, and the significance of it all, and the divine purpose in it all, was a growth conditioned upon his own observation and reflective thinking. This growth had its roots in the historic past of Judaism, and it was influenced by the physical, political, and social surroundings. Thus was it, especially, with that ideal of the kingdom which he revealed and considered it his mission to found. What consciousness that remains essentially human, and so limited with respect to future developments of the world's history, could possibly grasp and pictorially represent, with all the richness of the reality of that far-off divine event, this religious ideal? Christ's own figure of speech represents it as, in his day, the tiniest of seeds, destined to become the greatest of plants, as a little leaven hidden in an immense unleavened lump. Immediately upon the planting of this seed, this process of its continuous readjustment to the changing conditions of its environment began. Its life consisted in its power perpetually to effect this readjustment.

The claim to be the absolute and final religion, instead of relieving Christianity from the risk of encountering, and the task of adjusting itself to, all the growths of science, philosophy, and of political and social organization, increases this risk and this task. The risk is two-fold; it is, on the one hand, the danger of identifying itself with the crudities and premature conclusions of science and philosophy, with the luxurious and egotistical side of art, and with the oppressive, unrighteous, and unloving political and social developments. On the other hand, its risk is that of refusing to adapt itself to the new truths of science and philosophy, of rejecting the refining and comforting ministrations of art, of withdrawing from the active contest to improve man's condition socially and politically. Over and over again has historical Christianity failed to overcome these evils. But as often has the spirit of Christ reasserted itself for the theoretical modification and practical reform of the current Christianity. Not to stand aloof from science and philosophy is the mission of the Christian church. To absorb and to sanctify these truths is the divinely appointed task of

Christianity. And while its spirit and essential content of truth can bear adaptation to changes in the political and social environment, its spirit and its truth must prove their superior worth by a constant and progressive transformation of this environment.

4. It follows, therefore, that apologetics in these modern times cannot be apologetically successful unless it is itself modern ; unless, that is to say, it is able to meet on their own ground the modern doubts and objections, which have their origin in the current truths of science and philosophy, and in the existing conditions of modern life. To say this is not to confuse religion with science, or with philosophy, or with political and social organization ; it is only to admit the truth of fact—namely, that the one great Divine Kingdom, which is the ideal of man's highest and most comprehensive good, includes all these connected developments. It is true that Christianity, in its earlier developments, was essentially either indifferent or positively hostile to the culture of its own age—to its science, its philosophy, its art, and to much in its government. It is true also that, in subsequent ages, Christianity frequently identified itself too exclusively with some particular and partial theory of science, or philosophy, or with some dominant or struggling form of political organization. For such one-sidedness we may apologize ; but the claim to be the absolute and final form of man's religious life involves the ability to transcend the limits set by any such one-sidedness. Modern science and philosophy—as has already been said—have their inalienable rights. They, too, have their place in the perfect, ideal good for humanity. These developments also are functions of the growing and extending kingdom of God. And when Christianity has either, on the one hand, ignored or denounced them, or, on the other hand, been enslaved and confined by them (and both of these mistakes it has often enough committed), it has so far failed of establishing its claims. But it is just this power of retrieval, this imperishable life, with its perpetual ability for new adjustments, which constitutes the most convincing proofs of the claims themselves.

5. Christianity must, then, in every age construct its proofs and its defenses in a form adapted to that age. Its source of power is a Spirit ; its ideal is a social ideal, a race regenerated throughout. For the individual, its sufficient content of faith, together with its sufficing proof, may be given in the individual's experience. But for the race, no definite limits can be otherwise set to the content of faith, and no sufficing proof of the truth of this content can be otherwise given

than that which perpetually reconstructs itself in the experience of the race. Its one all-inclusive good is the kingdom of God in its completeness, realized among men. Its one all-comprehensive revelation of God is of him, not only as the immanent Creator and Preserver but also, and supremely, as the Father and Redeemer of man.

The teachings, the personality, and the life and death of Jesus brought this ideal and all-inclusive good to men, and planted it among men, in a form transcending any other which had ever appeared in the life of the race. This is historical fact, presenting itself to the most enlightened religious consciousness for receiving its judgments of worth. This highest good which Jesus thus brought in historical form to the race has thus far unfolded its own inherent and divine life in a manner constantly to admit of higher and higher degrees of its own perfection. Thus the witness of history becomes accordant with the rising demands of satisfaction made by the religious consciousness of humanity, longing, striving, and seeking to realize its ideal. The ever-growing and expanding conception of the kingdom of God, which Jesus, by his teachings, person, and life-work, set into the life of humanity, appears to the developing religious consciousness of the race as the progressive realization of its ideal.

The supreme worth of this good, and the indubitable truth of this revelation, must, then, be shown anew, both theoretically and practically, to this modern age, in accordance with the conditions of proof which the age has a right to demand. To the man of science, who holds his science dear for its intrinsic value and its indubitable truth, Christianity must present an apologetics which will accept and appreciate this value and this truth, and which will reveal to him the higher worths and truths he is quite too likely to overlook or depreciate. The philosopher must not be denied his right to endeavor, by reflective thinking, so to apprehend Christianity as to harmonize its tenets with those ultimate conceptions of reality, and those final judgments of value which philosophy seeks. And the common people must see the current Christian religion actually transforming the political and social life of the age through its spirit of enlightened and self-sacrificing love. All this constitutes the task of modern apologetics. Apologetics is, therefore, now as always, partly a new and improved view of Christianity, which must be worked out in accordance with the scientific and philosophical requirements of the age; and it is also partly, and very essentially, a new life transforming the unethical and unspiritual factors of the existing political and social organizations with the

redeeming and illumining and uplifting love of God in Christ. Its claim to perfectness and finality is always to be subject to the testing of its power to do all this, in truth and in fact, so as to satisfy the ever rising and more exacting demands for satisfaction of the ideals of the religious consciousness.

On account of its vastness and the imperfection of the workmen, but especially on account of the unfaithfulness and selfishness of the Christian church itself, this task can, in this age, be only very imperfectly accomplished. It will be something new and different in each age to come. For, while the individual believer may attain to confidence in the redeeming work done by the spirit of Christ upon his own soul, Christianity can prove its claim to absoluteness and finality, amidst and over the other religions of the world, and in the face of all the tendencies to agnosticism and irreligion, only by the progressive actualization of its own ideal of the perfect kingdom of God among men. This is to say, that, as for the individual, so for the race, the blessed and complete experience of this kingdom will be its own quite satisfying proof. The final and conclusive apologetics will be the experience of the redeemed race.

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THE SERVANT OF JEHOVAH.

IN the introduction to his book Professor Giesebrecht¹ frankly takes his readers into his confidence. He speaks of the extraordinary differences of opinion among recent scholars concerning the Deutero-Isaian Servant of Yahweh. He has the impression that out of all this confusion there are now emerging signs of an approaching common consent. He hopes to contribute something toward making this common opinion definite and certain. He has not rushed prematurely into print, but has waited until he could be sure of the ripeness of his conclusions.

After the introduction he takes up one by one, under the designation of *Ebedstücke*, four short passages in Isaiah, namely 42 : 1-4 ; 49 : 1-6 ; 50 : 4-9 ; 52 : 13-53 : 12. After discussing these in detail, he presents a translation of them, and a summary of the conclusions reached. Then, in the second half of the book, he treats of their

¹ *Der Knecht Jahves des Deuterojesaja*. Von FRIEDRICH GIESEBRECHT. Königsberg : Thomas & Oppermann (Ferd. Beyer's Buchhandlung), 1902. iv + 208 pages. M. 5.60.

relation to Deutero-Isaiah taken as a whole. In the course of these discussions he pays his respects to most of the recent writers on the subject, including, for example, Budde, Duhm, Sellin, Laue, Bertholet, Cheyne, Kittel, Rothstein, Füllkrug, Marti, Smend, Ley, Schian, and others. The quality of the work is such as to justify his claim that he has taken time for thorough and deliberate study.

His central proposition is that the Servant in Deutero-Isaiah is the Israelitish people personified. This proposition he has made good, though his argument is not to be equally commended in all its parts. Perhaps some scholar of the year 2000 A. D. will say of it that it has the characteristic excellences and the characteristic weaknesses of the criticism current at the beginning of the twentieth century.

To mention, for illustration, one line of weaknesses, the opponents of Professor Giesebrecht's opinion allege that the Servant is often spoken of as having a mission to the Israelitish people, and, therefore, cannot be the Israelitish people. Giesebrecht meets this by text emendation. In the passages cited against his view he discovers that the meter requires the lines to be lengthened or shortened or dropped or replaced by lines consisting of different words, and when he gets the lines properly reconstructed they no longer contain anything contrary to his proposition. It must not be inferred that he is more given than others to text-mending. On the contrary, he is quite conservative in this matter, regarding as needless many of the changes proposed by other scholars. And his text-criticism is probably not more prejudiced by his theory than that of other men. All the same, his corrected text is the text of Giesebrecht, and not that of Deutero-Isaiah.

His proposition, however, is true, provided the terms are rightly conceived. In the sense in which it is true that the Servant is the Israelitish people personified, personification is not a mere figure of speech; it involves also the recognition of the fact that a people is an organic unit. In law we speak of a business organization as a corporate person. In its corporate personal character it has rights and obligations, and is subject to rewards and punishments. We apply the same modes of speaking to other aggregates of individuals. We speak of the German people or of the American church as an organic whole, having a character and duties like a person. We use this form of conception in spite of our weak way of representing a people by a neuter or a plural pronoun. Much more is it found in the Hebrew in connection with the virile and picturesque representa-

tion of a people by a masculine singular pronoun. We would say of the German people, *It* confers benefits on mankind through its achievements in thrift and learning and art. In Hebrew one would say of the German people, *He* confers benefits on mankind.

There is nothing to prevent such a personified aggregate from having relations with itself or its members, as well as with the world outside it. Even an individual has relations with himself, owes duties to himself, may be in conflict with himself, should respect himself. In a more marked sense the same is true of a personified aggregate. The German people has duties to itself, and to the persons that constitute it. The American church has obligations to itself and to its members. If the Servant is Israel personified, that does not exclude him from having a mission to Israel or to Israelites. In order to prove that Israel is the Servant, we have no need to get rid of the texts that affirm that the Servant has a mission to Israel.

Further, when Deutero-Isaiah identifies the Servant with Israel, it is never with Israel as a mere political or ethnical aggregate of persons; invariably it is with Israel as the medium of Yahweh's gracious purpose for the nations. Giesebrecht is correct in saying that the personified Israel is not some part of the people, for example, not those who stand with the prophets, or the pious kernel within Israel, but the whole people. Nevertheless it is the ideal Israel, the eternal Israel contemplated in Yahweh's purpose and promise, and not merely the concrete Israel existing at any given point of time. This dual conception of Israel is found in different parts of the Old Testament. In the latter chapters of Leviticus and Deuteronomy we find Yahweh's promise to Israel conditioned on obedience, but in those chapters we are also told that no degree of disobedience by Israel will annul the eternal covenant. A similar dualism of statement occurs in the passages that speak of David and his eternal seed and kingdom. The conception of Israel in his own character is one conception; that of Israel as the called of God for the sake of the nations is another. When we note this distinction, it is all the more evident that Israel the Servant, while from one point of view identical with Israel the ethnical aggregate, may from another point of view be thought of as having a mission to the latter, as well as to the outside nations.

Further still, any Israelite, so far forth as he has Israelitish characteristics, may be taken, within limits, as a type of the whole people. In particular, any Israelite who is imbued with the spirit of Israel's

call for the sake of mankind, may so far forth be regarded as a type of the ideal Israel. Within limits, that which is true of the people is true of any typical individual among the people. I think there is no instance in Deutero-Isaiah in which the term "Servant" is applied to the prophet himself or to any other individual Israelite of his time; but if there were, that would not necessarily conflict with the proposition that the Servant is Israel.

All the more, if the history of the world presents us with any one person who is peculiarly and uniquely a typical Israelite, who stands by himself as the representative of Yahweh's promise to the nations through Israel, whose experiences and character and relations to the world are such that Israel's mission to the world culminates in him, then it is correct to apply directly to that person the statements made in Deutero-Isaiah concerning Israel the Servant. The writers of the New Testament regard Jesus Christ as such a person. Because they so regard him they apply to him the utterances concerning the Servant. Their doing so is not a matter of accommodating interpretation, but is as correct critically as it is magnificent in the conception of human history which it implies.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.¹

PROFESSOR LOBSTEIN'S *Introduction* was originally published in French in 1896. In the following year it appeared in a German translation. The publication of an English translation of this admirable manual will be welcomed by many American students of theology. There is no other book which precisely serves its purpose, and none could serve it more successfully. It is primarily a treatise on the nature, task, sources, and method of Protestant theology. The author contrasts what he holds to be the true procedure in theology with the Roman Catholic method and with the Romanizing method so common still in Protestant dogmatics. The book is a plea for the theology of Christian experience. For the writer theology is the science of the Christian faith. The various positions taken in defense of this conception are in essential accord with the principles of Ritschl. There is probably no other book of equal size in English by means of which

¹*An Introduction to Protestant Dogmatics.* By P. LOBSTEIN. Authorized translation from the original French edition, by ARTHUR MAXSON SMITH. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1902. 275 pages. \$2.

one can so well acquaint himself with the Ritschlian method in theology.

The volume is divided into seven chapters, the first of which treats of the traditional conception of dogma. The history and applications of the idea of dogma are reviewed with the purpose of showing that doctrine must have a different character and meaning for Protestants from what it has for Greek and Roman Catholics. The spirit of Protestantism has transformed dogma. To the confirmation and illustration of this fact the second chapter is devoted. Here it is shown how the Evangelical view of faith, of the church, and of religious authority has undermined the mediæval conception of dogmatic tradition, but without involving indifference to the systemizing of doctrinal beliefs. The author advocates no "undogmatic Christianity," but regards dogma as the necessary result of reflection upon the content of faith.

Instead of saying: "Christianity is a life, it can accordingly transfer itself into dogma," it is necessary to say: "Because Christianity is a life which began by incarnating itself in a history, we have need of a dogma." Indifference to dogmatics would be, in effect, to refuse to acknowledge, to obscure, or to depreciate the revealed and redemptive facts which form the objective and historical part of the Christian religion. (P. 41.)

The third chapter treats of the actual task of Protestant dogmatics, which is defined to be "the systematic exposition of faith, of which the gospel is both source and object." It will be seen that in this view the nature and limits of theological doctrine are determined by the Christian faith. Dogmatics must conform strictly to the meaning and content of the faith of which it professes to be the interpretation. It is the product of the Christian consciousness, the child of the gospel. This same line of thought is further pursued in the fourth chapter, which discusses the source of Protestant dogmatics. The author enters a plea for Christian experience as an essential and determining factor in theology, but guards the principle against too subjective and narrow interpretations.

The fifth chapter, on the norm of dogmatics, reviews the two current opinions—first, that the true norm is ecclesiastical authority, and, second, that it is the Bible contemplated as a legal authority. Each of these positions is criticised and a better solution is sought in the principle, which has so often emerged, that theology is the science of the Christian faith and must find in faith its norm. "The religious authority of Evangelical faith constitutes at the same time the norm of Protestant dogmatics" (p 141).

The interest of the book will center, for most readers, in the next chapter on the true method of theology. The method of authority and the speculative method are acutely reviewed and estimated in order to clear the way for an exposition and defense of the experimental method. No brief summary can give any adequate idea of the real value of this most timely discussion. It deserves to be carefully read, and students and teachers of religion will do well to ponder the problem to whose elucidation it is devoted. The trend of the argument may be discerned from a passage like the following:

Protestant dogmatics is the scientific exposition of the Protestant faith. Now, the gospel is alone the source and the norm of that faith; consequently, dogmatics cannot draw its content and find its laws outside of the Christian revelation legitimizing itself to the consciousness of the believer. In other words, no rational philosophy, no human metaphysics, no so-called profane science, is qualified to furnish to the Protestant dogmatician the substance of his doctrine; that substance is given to him by his faith formed in the school of Christ and under the primordial and continuous activity of the gospel. (Pp. 196, 197.)

The final chapter carries over the principles previously developed and applies them to a number of theological topics, such as Christology, soteriology, Trinity, etc. Here will be found a brief summary of the views commonly taken by Ritschlian writers on the central problems of theology. The value of Christ to the believer is found in his disclosure of God and in his realization of ideal manhood, and his saving work is inseparably bound up with his person. The author defends a Trinity of revelation, as opposed to all speculative constructions of God's inner mystery, and considers the doctrine, in this historical and economic form of it, to be the crown of Christian dogmatics.

This book deserves to be warmly commended as a good guide to the problems of theology, and even if one should part company with the author, he will have occasion to feel that the way to his task has been made plain to him.

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A HERO'S JOURNAL.

MR. PARKER¹ edited the London *Daily Mail Year-book* for 1902, and so is probably a London journalist. Whether he is a Methodist

¹ *The Heart of John Wesley's Journal*: With an Introduction by HUGH PRICE HUGHES, and an Appreciation of the Journal by AUGUSTINE BIRREL, K. C. Edited by PERCY LIVINGSTON PARKER. Chicago: Revell & Co., 1903. xxx + 512 pages. \$2.

does not appear. His journalistic instinct for news it was which led him to make this contribution to the literature appropriately appearing in this the second centennial of John Wesley's birth, for the *Journal* is practically unknown to this generation. It was a great little man who "cried softly" (p. 94) in that godly clerical household at Epworth two hundred years ago. To be sure he was then an infant, but the possibilities which make all infants interesting were in his case realized, and he is now on the roll of earth's worthies to whom immortality belongs. It was a happy thought to condense the four volumes of John Wesley's published *Journal* into this one, and yet the process might have been carried still further. Many of the incidents here retained are very trivial, and also are so similar, if not identical, that their reading is tedious. It would have been a gain to the attractiveness of the volume if the fancy pictures had all been left out. They are poor woodcuts of poorer pictures. The portraits of Wesley and others, although shocking as "works of art," are appropriate as illustrations. Our gratitude to Mr. Livingstone is so great, however, that we forgive his publishers for so catering to illiteracy.

We have here not only the heart of John Wesley's journal but the heart of Wesley itself. And it is the heart of one who had no occasion to fear even the divine inspection. As for the face of man, its owner did not know what fear of that was. What a life he led, to be sure, from the time when at twenty-seven he visited the jail at Oxford to talk to the condemned prisoners down to his closing year, when at eighty-eight he preached to thousands! This life is outlined in his journal, and here we have portions of it. The impression he makes is most favorable. At first it was as a bit of conscience-work, in obedience to the rules of the Holy Club, that he endeavored to turn men into the ways of piety, but afterward in this way to do the will of God was his absorbing passion. As his spirituality increased his formalism left him and work for God was more joyous and satisfying.

And Wesley was eminently successful. What he aimed at was to deepen the spiritual life of English-speaking people in Great Britain and Ireland. He did not wish to make any separation between his converts and the mother church. He had the broadmindedness of the Christian and not the pettymindedness of the sectary. His vision was that of a revived church using her splendid inheritances of every kind for the spread of righteousness, not of a sect cultivating some peculiarity of doctrine or cultus. Thus we find him saying to the "society," as he calls the little gatherings of his converts, at Deptford: "If you

are resolved you may have your service in church-hours ; but remember from that time you see my face no more." "This struck deep; and from that hour I heard no more of separating from the church!" (P. 462. cf. pp. 474, 478.) This was in 1787. But most of the early Methodists were very common people, illiterate, poor, and unable to rise to their founder's height, and so they insisted on separating. Besides, they had the feeling that they would do better if they stood alone. The gain was theirs. The loss, the heavy loss, fell on the church of England.

This journal reveals the calmness of Wesley amid the continuous perils of his preaching tours. He was always on the go, for he covered 4,500 miles on horseback every year, and was ready day or night to preach. His favorite hour for preaching was 5 A. M., and it was to his custom of using that hour that he attributed in part his good health (p. 397). More preachers would make the experiment if they were assured of a congregation at that hour. These journeys were made disagreeable by as many perils as the Apostle Paul was ever exposed to; in fact Wesley had a rougher life than that of the great apostle, probably. The roads oftentimes were frightful, the weather always more or less inclement, road agents not infrequent, interruptions of every kind matters of course, and when he finally got to his destination he was frequently rudely forbidden to preach in the parish church and had to take to the fields, and no sooner had he opened his mouth than he was likely to encounter a shower of stones! Such experiences were common with him all his life, for the manners of a British mob are extraordinarily bad. But Wesley was undeterred by any difficulty or danger. He felt himself intrusted with a divine message, and that the insults he encountered were really given to the Master whom he served. So he bore all with cheerful courage. Never a pluckier man lived than John Wesley.

As you read his *Journal* you note his changes in ideas and mode of life. He began as an aristocrat, a fine specimen of the elegant scholar in the church, but constant association with the plain people who made up the Methodist "societies" unfitted him, as he says in one place, for associating with society people, although he always notes in his journal the presence of such at his preachings. He who was the greatest field-preacher in England began as so averse to it that he says: "I could scarce reconcile myself at first to this strange way of preaching in the fields . . . having been all my life (till very lately) so tenacious of every point relating to decency and order, that I should

have thought the saving of souls almost a sin, if it had not been done in a church" (p. 47). Still all his life field-preaching was a cross to him (p. 378). He also began as a great stickler for ritual, and being always ready to act according to his conscience, ventured to discipline a woman with whom he had been in love for some infraction of church order, a proceeding which, probably with perfect propriety, terminated his usefulness in Georgia, whither he went in his youth as a missionary to the Indians. But he lost all such verdancy after a while.

Upon the more interesting point of his changes in theology the *Journal* throws but little light. We see him coming under the power of the Moravians and then hear no more about them, probably because he found their theology too enthusiastic for a man of his cool judgment. It will always seem strange, however, that John Wesley, the scholar, the thinker, the statesman, adopted Arminianism, while George Whitefield, the actor rather than the preacher, the abuser of the cooler clerics of his day, and altogether a comparative light weight, adopted Calvinism. Both men lived under the same influences and had the same early training, but by some extraordinary toss-up each received exactly the theology which we should say *a priori* was least fitted to him. If the Methodist church were Calvinistic we could easily forgive Lady Huntington for enveigling Whitefield into her "Connexion!" Calvinism could much better afford to lose Whitefield than Wesley.

The points which the *Journal* yields for remark are so numerous that it is difficult to know when to stop. We have in it many of Wesley's profoundly interesting opinions of men, places, books, and things. To quote one or two passages:

I read over that celebrated book, Martin Luther's *Comment on the Epistle to the Galatians*. I was utterly ashamed. How have I esteemed this book, only because I heard it so commended by others, or at best, because I had read some excellent sentences occasionally quoted from it! But what shall I say, now I judge for myself? now I see with my own eyes? Why, not only that the author makes nothing out, clears up not one considerable difficulty; that he is quite shallow in his remarks on many passages, and muddy and confused on almost all; but that he is deeply tinctured with mysticism throughout, and hence often dangerously wrong (pp. 76, 77). I finished the translation of *Martin Luther's Life*. Doubtless he was a man highly favoured of God, and a blessed instrument in his hand. But O! what a pity that he had no faithful friend! None that would at all hazards, rebuke him plainly and sharply, for his rough, untractable spirit, and bitter zeal for opinions, so greatly obstructive of the work of God! (P. 172.)

Wesley is not alone in this wish. But the final quotation is this:

Wed. 23 [1771]. For what cause I know not to this day [my wife] set out for Newcastle, purposing never to return. *Non eam reliqui: non dimisi: non revocabo.*

Things however did improve later, though there was a final rupture.

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THE BOOKS OF CHRONICLES.*

RECENT discussions of the Chronicles, of which this commentary is a notable example, indicate the advance that a generation of criticism has made. The spirit of polemic has disappeared. Graf's epochal work on Chronicles in 1866 was mainly an assault upon the historicity of the Chronicle narratives on the assumption that the author used the books of Samuel and Kings as almost his only sources, supplementing them freely by his inventive genius. But great religious works do not grow in that way. Modern scholars have sought to discover the steps in the evolution of that levitical and pragmatical conception of the Judean history, which is given in the books of Chronicles. Kittel's indication of the strata of sources is the most elaborate that has yet been presented. He has of course first of all a discussion of the twelve different works mentioned by the Chronicler, which, since Ewald's brilliant theory, have been recognized as all referring to a single, or at most a few, large works. Kittel thinks there were two post-exilic compilations: an enlargement and working over of our book of Kings and a Midrash which contained still further material. He thinks also that our book of Isaiah is referred to. He very rightly insists however that these must not be immediately accepted as the sources of Chronicles. The author had no thought of referring to historical authorities. Internal evidence alone can determine the question of sources.

In this commentary, Kittel has elaborated his analysis beyond that presented in his critical text in the Haupt series. He finds at least eight strata of narrative. There is of course in the first place very much material that rests upon the earlier biblical books, either substantially identical or somewhat modified. It is very difficult to say

**Die Bücher der Chronik.* Übersetzt und erklärt von RUDOLF KITTEL (= Handkommentar zum alten Testament, herausgegeben von W. NOWACK). Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. xvi + 180 pp. M. 4.

whether the Chronicler used Samuel and Kings directly. He must have known those books in substantially their present form. Yet he may have made his excerpts from an expanded edition of the earlier history.

The next important source is a levitical work, compiled between 500 and 400 B. C., in which already the pre-exilic history is treated from the point of view and in the spirit of the Chronicler. The legendary element is less than in the later sources and the Levites occupy a humbler sphere.

A large part of the Chronicles is from one or more works, which are distinctly haggadic midrashim. They rest upon the original biblical books, but supplement them by independent tradition, often legendary and exaggerated. It is perhaps to this source that the Chronicler refers as *ספר המלכים* *מדברש*. Here belong such narratives as Abijah's battle with Jeroboam, characterized by the huge numbers and the pious speech; Asa's victory over Zerah; Jehoshaphat's military forces and organization; the miraculous discomfiture of the armies of Moab and Ammon, etc. The midrashist is to be found in the sphere of the post-exilic Levites about 350 B. C.

Next to him comes the Chronicler himself. He works entirely in the spirit and in the manner of his two levitical predecessors. His chief peculiarity is a special interest in the singers, musicians, and porters, who, while originally subordinate temple officials, were more and more asserting levitical dignity. All critics agree that the Chronicler must have belonged to one of these classes of Levites at about 300 B. C.

Kittel finds evidences of not inconsiderable additions still subsequent to the Chronicler, especially in the development of ancient genealogies of the singers. These additions were made during the third century, B. C. There are still later glosses, notably the height of the temple porch as 120 cubits, which may come down as late as the temple of Herod.

All critics of Chronicles, even Graf, have recognized that, especially in the tribal registers (chaps. 1-9), and in certain annalistic notes, there has been preserved some very old material. The contribution of Chronicles to the older history is to be found in these portions. Here belong the list of David's heroes, Uzziah's border wars, the family notices and building operations of the kings, etc. Even some of the levitical genealogies are regarded by Kittel as probably coming from old sources.

The analysis of Chronicles is a difficult task, because by common

consent the literary style of the work is all of one piece. Except for the passages parallel with Samuel and Kings and the older material just noted, there is a unity of style throughout the book which defies literary analysis. Most critics are content to say that the material has probably been worked over in repeated redactions of the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah and Israel. As already noted, Kittel undertakes to differentiate at least four strata on the basis of less and more exaggeration and of less and more interest in the singers as a class. It is probable indeed that the interesting personage, whom we have come to recognize with very definite characteristics as "the Chronicler" is really not an individual. He represents a school of thought, which had its definite beginnings as early as the time of Ezra and after about a century and a half of growth produced the great work Chr.-Ezra-Neh. It must be admitted however that even if this view be correct, it is by no means certain that the steps of the development can now be discovered by a literary analysis.

It is significant of the agreement of scholarship in the criticism of Chronicles that Kittel does not devote a section of his introduction to the question of historicity. The point of view of the Chronicler, his idealism of the civil state and religious condition of the earlier times, his manifest purpose not to write history but to teach lessons, are now recognized. No critic now talks of invention of facts and manufacture of genealogies. Recognizing the Chronicler's principles of interpretation, it is now the task of the historical student to discover the actual traditions upon which the narratives of Chronicles are based. Kittel's method or treatment may be indicated by a few examples. The story of the cause of Uzziah's leprosy is doubtless derived from some tradition of a contest between the king and the priests, which led them to look upon his affliction as a divine punishment. The victory of Asa over Zerah the Cushite is not invented as a reward for Asa's piety. The story is doubtless based on an expedition of a marauding band of Arabian Cushites, whom the Chronicler mistook for Ethiopians (so Winckler, Hommel, Benzinger). The deportation of Manasseh, which of course is exactly suited to the Chronicler's purpose, is possibly historical.

Kittel has given a very thorough discussion to the registers at the beginning of Chronicles, devoting almost one-third of his commentary to those nine chapters. There can be no doubt that important facts of the tribal histories have been preserved in these records.

THEODORE G. SOARES.

OAK PARK, ILL.

THE HISTORY OF THE GREEK CHURCH.

MR. HORE¹ entitles his work a "Student's History of the Greek Church," which means a concise outline of the leading events and a delineation of the chief actors in the drama of eastern Christianity. The last 150 pages out of the 514 of which the work consists are an account of the Russian church; and the author does well to enter so fully into the history of Slavonic Christianity, for all will agree with him that "the conversion of Russia is the greatest conquest which the Christian church has ever made since the time of the apostles."

In his preface, indeed, Mr. Hore avows that the object of his book is chiefly political, namely, to take his share in making Russia and England friends by promoting a union of the two national churches. Happily he keeps this his object well in the background throughout the book, for had it been allowed to color and shape the narrative, the author would have revealed himself a pamphleteer rather than a historian condensing into five hundred pages an enormous amount of records and much multifarious learning. Perhaps the fault of the book is that it gets in so much and seeks to leave out no event, no dates, and no names. Its pages, packed with cut-and-dried information, often read somewhat jejune. It would have been better to omit some of this, and to use the space economized for broader and ampler characterization of great spiritual movements. Thus the Manichean and Paulician churches are barely mentioned, although in a negative manner they contributed so largely to the shaping of orthodox opinion and ritual.

Mr. Hore recognizes that "the schism which followed the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon was as much political as religious, and was not merely a revolt of churches from the orthodox church, but of whole nations from the Roman empire." Here he enunciates a valuable truth which deserves to have been unfolded more fully as the key to an understanding of the Christian religion, not only in the East, but in the West. He also deplures "the ultra-dogmatism and narrow-mindedness of those early days," with which the church "cut off from the Sacraments all that rejected the watchwords of Councils." Would that it had been confined to early days! We today are witnesses of Tolstoy's excommunication by the Russian church, and of the excommunication of the entire Bulgarian church by the Greek patriarch of

¹ *The Student's History of the Greek Church.* By REV. A. H. HORE. London and Oxford: James Parker, 1902. 514 pages. \$2.25.

Constantinople. As long as this old spirit of intolerance and futility endures in eastern Christianity, it is unlikely that the mass of English churchmen will share Mr. Hore's zeal for a reunion therewith.

The introductory chapter, on some characteristics of the Greek church, is well written and full of information, as indeed is the whole volume; and the author, who has read the Greek sources with evident care, adds copious references to them at the foot of each page, so giving the student authority for each important statement. The chapters on the Russian church depend less directly on original authorities.

In a book so packed with information there must needs be several errors, but they mostly affect small points. Such is the statement, on p. 226, that the Armenian church recognizes as canonical the History of Joseph and Asenath, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the forged correspondence of the Corinthians and Paul. Mr. Hore's book is to be recommended to students, and forms a useful supplement to the works of Finlay and Gibbon.

The translator of the book of Kyriakos* tells us in his preface that the author of this work has been for thirty years professor of church history in the University of Athens. The translation is made from the second edition, published in Modern Greek in 1898. He claims that Professor Kyriakos is the first writer of the nineteenth century to give us a critical and systematic history of the fortunes of the eastern, and especially of the Greek, churches since the fall of Constantinople. This praise seems well deserved, and Professor Kyriakos is to be thanked all the more because at the head of each chapter he adds a list of books, both in Greek and in the other tongues of Europe, in which we shall find information about the matters he treats of. The work falls into four parts, dealing with (1) "The History of the Orthodox Church as in Subjection to the Turks;" (2) "The Rise and Growth of the Free Orthodox Church of Emancipated Hellas;" (3) "The Russian Church;" and (4) "The Minor Churches, Nestorian, Monophysite, Jacobite, Coptic, Maronite, and Armenian, that Survive in the East." The first two parts contain most that is new and will be read with much interest; for, as the translator notes in his preface, these pages throw much welcome light on the disturbances now rife in Macedonia and Bulgaria, on the attitude of the oriental churches toward Islam, and on the eastern policy of Russia.

* *Geschichte der orientalischen Kirchen von 1453-1898*. Von A. DIOMEDES KYRIAKOS. Autorisierte Uebersetzung von ERWIN RAUSCH. Leipzig: Deichert, 1902. 290 pages. M. 4.

Let us epitomize what we learn from Professor Kyriakos about the first of these topics. The conquest of Constantinople, instead of diminishing, increased the power and prerogatives of the Byzantine patriarch and of the higher clergy. For in the Byzantine polity the clergy were kept under by the emperor, and the administration of the church was frankly Erastian. But the Mohammedan rulers felt their inability to understand and control the clergy, and found it conducive to peace and quiet to give the patriarch the power of a policeman and hold him responsible for the good behavior of his flock. Moreover, after the disappearance of the Christian emperor, what was left of Greek or Christian national sentiment tended to crystallize around the figure of the patriarch, just as in Armenia, after the destruction of the Arsacid dynasty in the fifth century, the *Catholicos* or patriarch became the representative of the national memories and aspirations, and still continues to be so. Not only did the early sultans leave the church synods in enjoyment of their rights, but the bishops, exempted from taxation, received a large jurisdiction in disputes between Christians, and the government only intervened to execute sentences pronounced by the ecclesiastics. The worst infringements of Christian rights followed later in the turning of the churches into mosques and the robbery of Christian children to recruit the corps of Janizaries.

It has been at the hands of the Christian nations, which have one after the other freed themselves from the Mohammedan yoke, that the patriarchs of Constantinople have seen their ecumenical prestige suffer most. In 1453 the Russians began to choose their own patriarchs instead of taking one chosen at Constantinople; but the patriarchs so chosen continued to seek their ratification at Constantinople till 1657, when the last shadow of dependence on the Byzantine was abolished. Professor Kyriakos has no fault to find. He writes :

So long as Russia was a barbarous country, dependence of its church on Constantinople was a blessing ; but so soon as the country began to develop it was right and canonical that the Russian realm should supplement its political independence with ecclesiastical independence.

The Russian patriarchs retained a full control of their church, until Peter the Great two centuries ago substituted for their authority a synod of bishops acting under the eye and superintendence of a layman nominated by the Tzar. Peter also abolished all the monasteries but a few, which he reformed, and put a stop to unnecessary ordinations. In the last century Greece was the first of the subject

racers of the Balkan peninsula to wrest its freedom from the Turk, and the Greeks at once followed the example of Russia, and set up a church of their own on the Russian model, which they imitated even to the suppression of useless monasteries. This roused the acute dissatisfaction of Constantinople, where the church authorities held that the Greek government and bishops had no right to erect an autocephalous church on their own initiative without the consent of the ecumenical patriarch. Here again Professor Kyriakos approves of the course taken by the free Greeks. He says:

The bishops of a free country have, as representatives of their church, absolute ecclesiastical authority. Therefore in conjunction with the Greek government the Greek bishops had the right to proclaim the ecclesiastical independence of their land.

Nevertheless the authorities at Constantinople would not abate their claims over free Greece. The synod at Athens was to refer debated issues to Stamboul, receive thence the chrism or holy oil of confirmation, and was to be free of all control by the Greek government. In 1852 the Greeks yielded in the matter of the chrism, but renewed the proclamation of their independence in all other respects; and the patriarch of Stamboul ceased his importunities, though he has never, it seems, formally recognized the existence of the church of free Hellas.

As early as 1740 the orthodox in Austria, who number today about three millions, erected the independent patriarchate of Karlowitz; but Stamboul ignored its independence until 1884, when Joachim IV. for the first time openly recognized it. It is just as if the archbishop of Canterbury should until today arrogate to himself the right to administer the affairs of the Episcopal church in the United States. There has also been friction with the Servians, who in 1877 restored that old mediæval independence of their church which had been lost only as late as 1766. Toward the Roumanians who in 1856, having achieved national independence, at once proclaimed their ecclesiastical independence as well, there has been shown by the Greek patriarch of Constantinople the bitterest animosity. The Roumanians refuse to seek confirmation at Stamboul of their choice of their own ecclesiastics, to keep the Greek patriarch's name in their prayers and diptychs, and to go to Stamboul for the chrism. In 1873 the Greek patriarch professed himself willing to recognize the church synod erected in Roumania on the Russian model, but adhered to the well-worn claim that the announcement of its independence must be made by himself. The

Roumanians retorted by confiscating the rich revenues which the Greek monasteries of Athos and Sinai drew from lands in Roumania, and by displacing all priests and schoolmasters who knew Greek but did not know Roumanian. However, there is an eastern proverb which advises us to make friends, not with our very next neighbor, but with our next but one; and in 1884 the patriarch of Constantinople, Joachim IV., took this advice and healed his quarrel with the Roumanians,³ for the Bulgarians, who lay much nearer home, and were far from friendly with the Roumanians, had with the advent of their freedom from the Porte preferred and established the same claims to the independence of their national church as the other nations we have enumerated. The pages in which Professor Kyriakos relates the progress of what he is pleased to call the Bulgarian schism, are full of bias; and, if Gibbon were alive in our day, would justify many an additional gibe at the Christian religion. It is known that the Greek monks of Athos, in order to obliterate the memory of the ancient Bulgarian church, which even Professor Kyriakos admits to have possessed "a certain independence," destroyed, early in the nineteenth century, hundreds of ancient manuscripts in the Old-Bulgarian tongue preserved in their convents. In 1860 the Bulgarians, among other signs of a reviving national spirit, began to purge their churches and schools of priests and teachers who were Greek and Greek alone. Writes Professor Kyriakos:

In 1860 the Bulgarians, who sometimes went with Russia, sometimes with the Latin propaganda (Russia had in view the strengthening and diffusion of Slav influence in Thrace and Macedonia), began to work, not only for the recovery of the ancient rights of their church, but for the full ecclesiastical independence of all the Bulgarians disseminated over European Turkey. They made many complaints to the patriarchs of Constantinople about the sending of Greek bishops and clergy into purely Bulgarian districts and of the oppressions to which they were subjected by the Greek clergy.

Hopeless of justice at the hands of the Greeks, a Bulgarian bishop, Joseph, opened negotiations with Rome, and in Macedonia a small party of Bulgarians under the bishop Nilos became uniats. Professor Kyriakos admits that "the Bulgarians saw through the designs of the Latin propaganda and, energetically repudiating them, remained in all essentials true to the Orthodox faith" (p. 42). Yet he has not a word of blame for the suicidal folly and selfishness of the Greek authorities which drove the Bulgarians into such courses. For no alternative was really left to the Bulgarians but to follow the example of Roumania and

³ In 1897 it broke out afresh.

of Hellas, and to set up, or rather restore, their own national church. On February 27, 1870, the Porte issued a firman recognizing the independent existence of their church, both in Bulgaria and in certain regions of Thrace and Macedonia, where at least a third of the population was Bulgarian. What could be fairer? The Greek patriarch, however, refused to recognize this firman as being a contravention of the eighth canon of Nice and of the thirty-first apostolic canon! He also summoned an ecumenic council to deal with the matter, but the Russian and Servian churches very properly ignored the summons. In 1872 a Bulgarian exarchate was established in Stamboul to represent the interests of the Bulgarian church at the Porte; and Anthimos, bishop of Widdin, was chosen to fill the post. Thereupon the Greek patriarch excommunicated Anthimos and all who recognized him as schismatics, and formally condemned the intrusion into church organization of the principle of nationality, as opposed to the ancient canons of the church. This was a thoroughly hypocritical plea, which the Greeks do not dare to advance against the Russian, Servian, and Roumanian churches, under the same circumstances. The Russians, however, have remained in communion with the Bulgarians, and induced the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem, who leans on them, to recognize the newly constituted church. He was, for doing so, deposed by the Greeks in November, 1872, and one Prokopius substituted for him. But in 1875 the Russian government, undismayed by Byzantine writs of excommunication, went to work and got rid in their turn of Prokopius. The Bulgarians have persevered, and as recently as 1896 secured five bishoprics in Macedonia in regions where they predominate. "The energetic opposition of our people," observes Professor Kyriakos, with complacency, "hindered for a long time the success of their efforts." In 1897 the Greek patriarch Anthimos VII., by way of protest, resigned—a favorite and futile expedient of eastern prelates who cannot get their way with the Turk. In this quarrel our sympathies are with the Bulgarians. Their church was autonomous a thousand years ago, and possesses a rich and extensive ancient literature of its own. Reasonable concessions would have kept them loyal to the Greek patriarch, who, if he had possessed any charity, nay any common-sense, would have of his own initiative abstained from thrusting on them Greek priests and schoolmasters; as if the attempt to Hellenize an ancient Slav people with traditions and culture of its own could possibly succeed.

I have narrated, chiefly from the pages of Professor Kyriakos

this episode so fully, because it explains in a measure what is now going on in European Turkey. When the modern Greeks recently went to war with the Turks, it was in the wild hope of getting Macedonia for themselves; and that was why the Macedonians, who are mainly of Bulgarian stock, held aloof from their cause, and even aided the Turks. Just now, when a struggle of the Macedonians with their Turkish oppressors impends, the chief abettors of the Turk are the Greeks, of whom everyone aspires to play the rôle of a *Bulgaro-ktonos*.

From the professions of liberalism and progress poured out in the pages of Athenian journals, one would suppose that there was freedom of religious thought and expression in modern Hellas, and that the church there was more tolerant than, for example, in Russia, but from the pages of Professor Kyriakos it does not appear to be so. Under the head of "fanatics" he briefly sketches two recent religious movements, one of them evidently of deep interest. The first of these movements began in 1856 and was led by a monk named Papulakis, who preached "repentance and a return to the old usages of the Fathers." He seems to have resembled a Russian old believer. His followers, numerous in the district of Maina, were put down by armed force, and he himself was banished to a convent in Andros, where he shortly afterward died. The other movement is that of a highly cultured layman named Makrakis, who, according to our author, held himself to be a legate of God, directly inspired by the *Logos*, and proclaimed himself a son of Mary and a brother of Christ. The state was a creation of Satan, he said, herein agreeing with Paul, who in 1 Cor. 15 : 24 regards all rule and all authority and power as, with the exception of death, the last enemy to be abolished by Christ at his second coming. Makrakis was a patriotic visionary and believed that the Lord's mother in a vision had marked him out as the liberator of Byzantium from the Turk. He taught also that the immortal spirit in man is divine and is sent into men at baptism; that Christ, as touching his spiritual nature was first made perfect in baptism, when he received his immortal spirit. Makrakis founded a church of his own in which they receive the sacrament without previous fasting, and confession of sins is made in public, women confessing to women. In 1879, at the instance of the holy synod, Makrakis was prosecuted for violating the established religion and founding a new sect. His school was broken up and his churches closed. He himself was cast into prison. He escaped and continued his propaganda, especially against simony. Many of the orthodox clergy favored him, and his adherents

still number 5,000. Such is the fate of a religious reformer in modern Greece. One would like to know whence he drew his inspiration, and whether it was by accident that he blundered into so old a stratum of Christian teaching, for we can discern through the mists of spiteful exaggeration that his teaching exactly agrees with that ascribed to the Ebionites and to Theodotus of Rome by Hippolytus in his *Philosophumena*, Book VII, chap. 34. A not very dissimilar form of Adoptionist doctrine still survives among the dissenters of Russia and of Armenia, and I suspect that Makrakis had come into contact with them.

In spite, however, of the prejudices natural in a divine of the orthodox church, Professor Kyriakos has written a valuable and instructive book, which deserves to be translated into English, and which anyhow all must read who would understand the Christianity of the modern Greeks, and learn what are its aspirations and what the traditions it most cherishes. Of particular interest are the pages in which the Musulman treatment of the Christian Rayah is described. When one reads of the long martyrdom which the Greeks have undergone in behalf of their faith, ever threatened on the one side by the bribes the Sultans could offer to apostates, and on the other by the insidious propaganda of the Jesuits, one is disposed to pardon the occasional bitterness with which Professor Kyriakos speaks both of Mohammedan and of Latin. And if it is difficult to sympathize with the hatred of the modern Greek for the Slav, it is easy to understand it. Our author sees quite clearly that Russia, under the pretense of protecting oriental Christendom, merely aims at her own aggrandizement. Thus, on p. 265 he tells in brief the history of the Armenian massacres of 1895-6, and says that this Mohammedan persecution at the end of the nineteenth century exceeds in inhumanity and ferocity all the persecutions of the religion which there have been since it was founded. He adds that

Russia, who on other occasions is in such a hurry to figure as the protectress of Christians, showed herself absolutely indifferent and callous to these frightful crimes committed at her door; nay, even went so far as to support and uphold the Turks who were threatened from other quarters.

For a reunion with the Armenians Professor Kyriakos breathes pious aspirations. He minimizes the differences between himself and them, and dwells on the friendliness which marks their relations with the Greek churches all over Turkey. He is mistaken, however, in supposing that the Armenians will ever lie down in the same fold with the Russian Orthodox, for they have the example of the ancient Georgian

church before their eyes. The old Georgian liturgies have been thrust half-way down the Georgian churches and Russian substituted at the altar; Russian nuns are constituted the guardians of their dearest shrines, and their entire church economy is placed under the heel of the holy synod of St. Petersburg and of the Tsar's procurator.

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A STATESMAN OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

ONE would not go far outside the facts, if he said that Hooker's work¹ and the study of it mark the turning-points in the history of the English church. Born in 1553-4, dying in 1600, his life is practically coterminous with the Elizabethan age, and his book is its one enduring achievement in the field of the religious reason. The publication of the *Polity* by Keble was a significant literary symptom of the Oxford movement. And it is evident that the present crisis in the Church of England is leading to a renewal of interest. The fifth book was republished by Bishop Paget in 1898. This with the edition before us gives evidence of an increasing attention to Hooker's principles.

It is a pity that the fifth book should be thus isolated. The first book, published by Church in 1882, submits to such treatment without material loss. As a study of the idea of Law, deep in thought, sustained in dignity and noble in style, it may well be taken as an English classic. But the fifth book, if taken by itself, is bound to suffer serious loss. And in our generation, with its multitudinous books and the well-nigh resistless institutional pressure upon the average minister's time, when thus printed, it is pretty sure to be read more or less by itself, both by the gentle and by the hardened reader. It may be said, however, that the study of the fifth book by itself is a special need of the English church in our time. If the establishment is to be maintained, Hooker's method of dealing with the sacraments and with the questions of ritual must prevail. His spirit of comprehensiveness, his intellectual temper must continue to be the dominating element within the Anglican church if she is to abide in her present high position.

This edition has a great deal to commend it. Being the first in the series of handbooks entitled "The English Theological Library,"

¹*Ecclesiastical Polity*. Fifth Book. By RICHARD HOOKER. Edited by RONALD BAYNE, M.A. New York: Macmillan, 1902. Pp. cxxiv + 738.

it opens with a capital general introduction by the late Bishop Creighton. He says with truth :

English theology is penetrated by the same spirit that distinguishes the English character in other branches of literature. It is strong in sound and massive learning, and has never had reason to separate itself from other departments of English thought. It has no style of its own, and is not expressed in technical language, nor clothed in special phraseology. Its great products rank among the noblest specimens of English prose, and its literary merits are of a very high order. It may be read by readers of every class.

This is profoundly true of Hooker. Yet I cannot but regret that Creighton and the editor, in their praise of Hooker's theological merits, should betray their insularity. It is all very well for the Anglican to be proud of the fact that Anglican theology "has never had any reason to separate itself from other departments of English thought." But, for his own soul's health, he ought, in his very next breath, to confess his sins. Consciously or unconsciously, he is contrasting the theology of England with the theology of Germany, which has run its course somewhat apart from popular feeling ; and which, by reason of its close connection with a magnificent philosophical movement, has developed a more or less technical style. English theology has great merits. It also has all the defects of its virtues. It may be questioned whether, in the strict sense, Hooker is a theologian at all. His strength is not in that quarter. He makes no contributions. His theology is purely traditional. And the editor's praise of chaps. 50-60 as a magnificent intellectual effort (p. cviii) is strained beyond the nature and merit of its subject.

The editor keeps quite close to the plan of Keble's edition. His work within those lines is excellently done. Keble's notes are in some cases shortened, in others lengthened, always with good effect. His intellectual temper is more congenial to Hooker than was Keble's. With genuine historical spirit he takes himself back into Hooker's time and place and life, and approaches the positions of the *Polity* along the genetic line.

It is to be regretted that he has not made a greater advance beyond Keble. The object of an introduction is to put the reader in possession of the author's main thought and also to enable him to understand how he came to think as he did. Keble edited the *Ecclesiastical Polity* in the interest of the Oxford Movement. But the Oxford Movement was far, very far from Hooker's main position. The large body of

agreement between Hooker and Keble in specific opinions successfully disguised their substantial disagreement in methods and principles. Keble thought and wrote always as a churchman, often as an ecclesiastic. Hooker was both churchman and statesman, If one can imagine Burke — the Burke of the immortal speeches on America, not the Burke who looked through bloodshot eyes at the French revolution — wrapped up with Keble inside one human skin, he can imagine an ideal editor for Hooker.

All the more is a real introduction to be desired, when the fifth book is published and read by itself. But the editor does not give us what we need. However much he improves upon Keble in details, he does not correct Keble's fundamental error. The admirable section on "Hooker's style and characteristics" suggests to the hungry reader that he might easily have done this work. He has the right starting-point, the profound national consciousness of Hooker. Touching this he says:

It is by the strength of this national feeling that Hooker in the *Ecclesiastical Polity* is able to hold in a real unity so many different tendencies of thought and feeling; and to make his appeal today to Englishmen and not only to English churchmen. He is a national divine as Elizabeth was a national queen. The national life of England, after being thwarted and tormented for half a century, reached in 1559 a time of comparative peace and stability, under a queen whose genius corresponded remarkably to the eagerness and strength of the national life, and enabled her to be a true expression of the national unity. This national age was followed by a pedantic age in the politics both of Church and State.

Finely said. Hooker's first editor was an ecclesiastical pedant who constantly hit the circumference of the subject and as constantly missed the center. The present editor might have done much better, and given us a real introduction to the fifth book. But he has not made any considerable advance beyond Keble.

Both temperament and training equipped Hooker for his work. He was modest to the point of shyness, acutely sensitive, deeply affectionate. Walton's story about his marriage, that he took a wife because his wife's mother told him to, is almost too good not to be true, so beautifully does it illustrate the man's gentle disposition. Controversy as such was abhorrent to him. It required the eager, almost rampant, zeal of Puritanism, to drive him into it. And once in it, he bore himself with a highbred restraint which, considering the mental habits of his time and the violent temper of his opponents, is truly remarkable.

He drank deep of the new learning. The Renaissance and the Reformation met together in his mind. There was not a little of Erasmus in his nature and make-up. The heroic intensity of the Puritan was below his level and at the same time beyond his reach. His intelligence was wonderfully sound and clear, high and sustained. Temperamentally incapable of hatred, mentally incapable of narrowness or haste, God gave him to the Elizabethan age as its deepest interpreter in the field of the church idea. Great men are, in a sense, more truly *partus temporis* than ordinary men. The man more completely depends upon his opportunity. Yet the opportunity, without the man, is an inarticulate word: so that he who is most truly the child of his time is most truly its master.

His life was lived within the "spacious times of great Elizabeth." Never before and never since has the national consciousness of England been so deeply comprehensive. It was Hooker's good fortune that he could write with the thrill of national unity in his veins. Behind the Channel, the most significant of all political boundaries, England had grown into the promise and potency of the first modern nation. She was not national as France was national, by reason of monarchical centralization, but national because of a deep and wide national feeling which found articulate expression through constitutional development. Henry's breach with the papacy, and the definition of the royal supremacy, while it brought some exceedingly unpleasant things in its train, made possible a fusion of religion and patriotism such as had not been possible since the decline of ancient Athens and Rome and the destruction of the Jewish state. And this gave the possibility of a superb catholicity of feeling which is more creative, because less labored, than catholicity of thought.

The layman and the clergyman in Elizabeth's day were closer together than they are now. The men of affairs were scholars, the scholars were men of affairs. The spiritual leaders showed a sagacity in their judgments on society and politics which was peculiar to that age (editor, p. xlv).

Again it was Hooker's good fortune that he did his thinking in an England whose pressing questions were matters of foreign politics. The fear of Rome, the dread of Spain, lay heavy on the nation. The year of the Armada found Hooker's central thought fairly clear and complete in his mind, waiting for the quiet of a country parish in order to work itself out. The Puritan who, one hand having just fallen on the block, swung his hat with the other, while he cheered for the Queen, embodied the intense national consciousness of the age. It was out of

the depths of that consciousness that Hooker's thought came to the light.

That Hooker could have done his work in the reign of James is as inconceivable as that Shakespeare could have lived in the eighteenth century. The period of intense national unity had passed. Home politics were taking the precedence over foreign politics. The nation was facing towards the Long Parliament. The church was facing toward Laud, an Anglican ecclesiastic quite as narrow and uncomprehensive as the Puritans who provoked him to anger. But the Elizabethan age was the most supremely constructive period in the history of the English mind; and Hooker was called to speak its deepest word about the church.

Hooker's relation to Aristotle is better than academic. When Thomas Aquinas comments, in masterly fashion, on the *Politics*, the student feels that the performance is largely scholastic, in considerable measure part of a great tradition. But Hooker, in the eighth book, speaks Aristotle's language as if he had been born to it. Aristotle's conception of the state was as vital to him as Virgil to Dante. For Hooker Church and State formed an indissoluble unity, one organism with two aspects. He could not conceive of a number of churches within the boundaries of the single and indivisible nation. Hence, when he comes up to the question of ecclesiastical polity, he comes not as an ecclesiastic, but as a broad-minded English statesman. His controlling thought is the idea of law as a whole, its nature, its method, and its limitations.

If Hooker was happy in his time he was no less happy in his opponents. They were Englishmen who had summered and wintered on the continent, close to the commanding genius of Calvin, and had come back to England dominated by his spirit and logic and bent upon a radical reformation. They agreed with Hooker that the national church must be single, because the nation was one and indivisible. The congregational polity of the Brownists and Separatists, though put before the public in Browne's *Treatise of Reformation* (1582) and the Brownists' *True Confession* (1596), had made no impression. They were at one with Hooker. But the agreement was on the surface. In ideal and method they fundamentally disagreed. The Calvinistic ideals of discipline had been successfully carried out in Geneva, a small city. His opponents urged the same program on England, a great nation. The attempt to build a national church on their lines made it necessary to throw everything Anglican, the prayer-book, the episco-

pate, the details of divine worship and governmental régime, into the melting-pot. They would have forced the nation to make a clean breach with its own past.

To get a leverage for their reformation, they carried the Protestant conception of scriptural infallibility to the extreme. Their first main position was: The Scriptures are the only rule of all things which in this life may be done by man. Their second: There must be of necessity contained in Scripture a form of church polity, the laws whereof may in no wise be altered. The consequence was that they became in effect extreme high-church men—high church Presbyterians. Through their fusion of the idea of a radical reformation with the most advanced form of belief in scriptural inspiration and infallibility, they found themselves, without dreaming of it, on the ground of the Oxford Movement. There is a divine ideal of ecclesiastical polity. Because it is divine, it is immutable, Because it is divine, the hand of man, stretched out through the powers of the commonwealth, the secular arm, must not touch it.

History seems to delight in irony. Is there a more striking example than this? Hooker's great work, setting itself in mortal opposition to this ideal of polity, this conception of divine law as being immutable just because it is divine, is edited and published by Keble in the interest of the very conception which it opposed. For, beneath the broad difference of form between the Presbyterian high-church man and the Anglican high-church man, there is a substantial agreement as regards the ruling idea. Both aim at immutable forms of church polity. The Presbyterian sought to reach his end by straining the doctrine of Scripture. The Anglican sought his by developing a conception of tradition close akin to the Roman. But while the methods differ, and while the forms of polity are as far from each other as the East is from the West, the intellectual temper is one and the same.

A good opponent, logical and persistent, drives a man's thought in upon itself. The Presbyterian scheme of an ideal and immutable church polity did Hooker this service. His book was forced upon him by his appointment as Master of the Temple in London (1584-5). Travers, the afternoon lecturer in the same pulpit, was a rigid and uncompromising Genevan; so that, as Fuller says, "the pulpit spoke pure Canterbury in the morning and Geneva in the afternoon." This use of the same pulpit by such widely diverging views is in itself a lively illustration of the way in which ideas that in the Stuart period required separate establishments, in the Elizabethan age were housed together.

While the high church Presbyterians agreed with Hooker that the national church is one and indivisible, they totally differed from him in their estimate of the state. They were bitter opponents of the royal supremacy in things spiritual. They made a "necessary separation perpetual and personal between the Church and the Commonwealth." (Bk. VIII, chap. 1, § 2). But Hooker took Aristotle's noble conception of the state with the deepest seriousness. "The scope thereof is not simply to live, nor the duty so much to provide for life, as for the means of living well." (Bk. VIII, chap. 1, § 4.) The unity of England was his grand passion. In the service of England he sought to bring the ideal of the church and the ideal of the state within a single conception of law.

His book is a statesmanlike study of polity, not of ecclesiastical polity merely. His mental qualities are those of the statesman of the highest order, not those of the ecclesiastic or the theologian. He was lifted as far above his Presbyterian opponent as he stands above the modern Anglican ritualist who, without knowing it—heresy and history make strange bedfellows—is mentally close akin to the Rev. Walter Travers. It was a statesmanlike study of the ideal of law in its entirety and in relation to its divine source, which gave him his lofty position and wide outlook. His intellectual sanity and poise, his comprehensiveness, his eager search for the things that all Englishmen might hold in common, his abhorrence of sweeping generalization whether ecclesiastical or political, his insistence upon the "restraints and limitations" of abstract principles—all these qualities sprang from the same source. And this it is that verifies the truth of F. D. Maurice's fine description of him as representing so remarkably—more remarkably than any divine, perhaps than any English prose writer—that union of opposites in which the strength of the Elizabethan period lay, whatever seeds of weakness it might leave for the succeeding time.

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THE CHIEF END OF MAN.

THERE is a saying of Fichte's that the kind of philosophy a man chooses depends upon the kind of man he is. Every history of human thought in a greater or less measure justifies this saying. But if this is true of our intellectual attitude toward things, how much more must it be true of that complete response of the entire man to his total environment that we call religion. There is the same God and Father

of us all. But Jew and Gentile, Greek, and Barbarian, in seeking after him, if haply they may find him, meet with widely different adventures. The same gospel of Christ has been preached in ancient, mediæval and modern times, but the resulting forms of Christian life have varied greatly. We cannot expect, therefore, that amid all the changes in man's recent experience the form of the religious life is to remain unmoved. What then is the peculiar religious attitude of the present day? Professor Coe's work¹ is an answer to this question. He does not enter upon the kaleidoscopic forms of religiosity outside of the historical denominations, but he shows that a change is taking place within the church itself, and he describes in a masterly manner the character of the movement. Further, it is not so much the change in doctrines that interests him as "the transformation that is taking place in personal and practical religion, and in the modes of its propagation." (P. 5.)

In the first chapter the author gives a summary of the changed conditions which are most potent in determining present religious tendencies. "A developing humanity implies a developing religion." (P. 21.) First, then, what are the most significant of the recent developments of humanity? There are three main groups of these new influences.

The growth of science and the diffusion of knowledge have made great changes in man's general attitude toward the world.

Men have ceased to be afraid; . . . fears and mystical presentiments have been allayed; intellect has become self-confident and extraordinarily active; men boldly accept the responsibility of doubt and dissent; and authority, whether in doctrine or in practice, has largely yielded to individual opinion. (Pp. 22-5.)

A second significant factor in the life of the modern man is found in the new inventions and the unprecedented extension of man's control over nature. The ancients made many useful inventions, *e. g.*, the wheel, the harness, the sail, etc.

But none of these early triumphs of inventive genius inspired men with such a sense of superiority to nature and with such an ambition to control her forces, as is common-place with us. . . . To generate steam and electricity for our own use is to exercise an almost demiurgic authority. . . . This brilliantly successful appropriation of nature has added to our sense of the value of this life. We no longer feel that we are pilgrims and

¹ *The Religion of a Mature Mind*. By GEORGE ALBERT COE. Chicago: Revell, 1902. Pp. 442. \$1.35, net.

strangers. . . . The world belongs to us, and we propose to cultivate it and apply the produce of it to human ends. We are outgrowing the habit of longing for another world. . . . Thus our new control over nature gives us self-confidence, inspires a practical attitude toward all things, makes us this-worldly rather than other-worldly, and gives zest and buoyancy to the work of the world. (Pp. 26-9.)

A third group of new influences that act upon the modern man comes from the growth of popular government and of the social consciousness. Freed from the fear of nature, and the bonds of extraneous political authority, the average man grows restive under all religious authority that is imposed from without.

The democratic spirit leads the individual to look within himself for his "must" and his "ought." . . . The wave of democracy has, indeed, thrown the individual back upon himself. But, striving to be himself, he discovers that no man lives to himself; that the center of gravity of his own life lies outside him as a mere individual. The next step will be to try whether the social sense can realize its ends without likewise transferring its center from men considered as finite, temporary phenomena, into some eternal divine world. Surely, to start the movement from pure individualism toward this goal involves no small gain to religion. . . . Possibly, in the age that is dawning God will make of the newly invigorated social sense a chief instrument of his own self-revelation. (Pp. 30-33.)

In these three groups of influences Professor Coe finds the chief factors which differentiate the modern man from his forefathers. The rest of the book sets forth the consequent development in the modern man's religion. It is pointed out that there is a large religious element in the scientific spirit itself.

The most characteristic thing about modern science, in fact, is not its wonderful insight into the constitution of the universe, but rather its spirit of self abnegation and of devotion to ideal good. . . . The consecration of the modern intellect to ideal aims should be recognized as a religious phenomenon. A really scientific age cannot be also a materialistic age, for science does not worship things, but ideals. Its passion is for truth, and truth is a temple of which the senses are only the vestibule. . . . The passion for truth is nothing less than a dim and partially developed act of worship toward the God of truth. (Pp. 53-5.)

The writer might have cited the example of Huxley, whose letters show a genuinely religious attitude toward truth.

But while science is religious, it is still more important for the modern mind that religion be scientific. Science has taught us to put everything to the empirical test. The religion which is to satisfy the

demands of today must meet this test without denying the validity of the traditional method for former times. Professor Coe urges :

Rightly or wrongly the men of this generation do not feel sure of the older method. If I mistake not, the unrest of the time is less a revolt against the content of traditional beliefs than anxiety to find some way of being sure of something. . . . In other matters men begin with the observed fact . . . Why not make the experiment of treating religious experience in the same way? . . . Here, it seems to me, the need for the new attitude is most pressing. For if there be a God, we ought to find Him by some method more accessible to the common man than speculation can be. It would be suffocating to practical religion to make God's presence an inference rather than an experience, to think that He should have spoken to man in the past but be silent now, or that he should talk to us through documents or proxies without responding to our own advances. What the hungry heart of our time needs is experience of an original, present relation to divine things. . . This is the truly conservative stand-point. For experience, whether religious or other, is relatively abiding, while our reasonings about it are relatively shifting. . . . Not by declining the canons of modern thought, in short, but by working them to the extent of their capacity, is religious thought to adjust itself to the modern world." (Pp. 62-9.)

But how can the empirical method be applied to religion? The same fundamental method has to be applied differently in different fields. The methods of astronomy are not those of botany, and the methods of economics are widely different from either, yet all are empirical. One might wish that the author had stated more explicitly the form which the empirical method must take in its application to religion. There is a subtle danger here which has often proved a pit-fall in the past. The scientific method can lead only to delusion (or deception) if used unscientifically. An appeal to experience may turn out to be only a veil for dogmatism. While the writer does not stop to explain and justify the method in words, his actual use of the method in later chapters offers a strong vindication of it. The sincerity of his appeal to facts is manifest in the fourth chapter whose subject is "Some Things that We Know." These things that we know are, to use the author's words condensed, (1) that in each of us there is a higher and a lower set of tendencies ; (2) that these higher tendencies, as far as related to our fellows, find their best interpretation in the law of brotherly love ; (3) that whether or not there is a loving God, there ought to be one. "In a world in which love is the law for men, there ought to be a loving God. . . . Brotherly love is final for us provided it is thus final for the whole universe of which we

are parts. The reasonableness of any moral principle rests upon its harmony with the nature of things as they are." (4) The men who have applied in practical life the hypothesis of a God who is our Father have found their belief in it strengthened through experience. In so far as hypothesis is demonstrated by showing its correspondence with a considerable body of growing experience, we find in these facts a verification of the hypothesis of the existence of God. Life is interaction with reality. A belief that experience proves to be livable cannot fail then to be true, our author seems to argue.

We may admit the validity of this argument as a vindication of faith, even if we realize its incompleteness as a speculative demonstration. The theory of epicycles enabled the ancient astronomers to predict eclipses, but it was not true. The workable is not then always the true. But still the longer the period and the broader the field in which the theory works, the more reasonable is our confidence in it. Professor Coe is sound in affirming that: "The growing experience of the race, and the accumulated testimony of the Christian centuries, have a right to be heard, when the question of God's existence or of his loving fatherhood is raised." (P.127.) We need only observe, however, that the outcome of the appeal to experience is a reasonable faith rather than a rational proof. Perhaps this is all Professor Coe means to claim. The modern mind is becoming more and more convinced that such a faith is enough for practical religion, however much theology and philosophy may yearn for proof. There are two kinds of agnosticism, the one is anti-religious, the other pro-religious. The first says, We know only phenomena; the ultimate ground of reality is unknowable; let us then waste no thought or energy on the transcendent world. Science is all the knowledge possible for us, and religion is but superstition. The pro-religious agnostic starts from the same premises—we know only phenomena, and the ultimate ground of unreality is unknowable; but for him life is more than thought. We are not bound to confine our ethical strivings and our spiritual aspirations within the limits of our intellectual grasp. Let us then exercise a practical faith in the objects which our moral and our religious nature demand. Let us live as in God's sight, even if we cannot demonstrate his existence to our limited intellects. Men of science cannot refrain from philosophizing and theologizing any more than anyone else. During the last half century there has been a tendency of thought in the scientific world from materialism to agnosticism and from the anti-religious type of

agnosticism to the pro-religious type. Romanes is an interesting example of one who in his own person experienced the change from the anti- to the pro-religious form of agnosticism. Many recent philosophical writers take in one shape or another the Kantian position of epistemological agnosticism and practical faith. Paulsen, James, and Baldwin might be mentioned as examples. The significance of Professor Coe's book seems to me to lie in the fact that he writes not as a man of science or philosophy who stands outside of the church and seeks the truth independent of all historical religion; he writes rather from within the church as a lover of the historical faith who finds that its natural development and present movement is in the line of modern thought.

If from the quotations already given it would seem that the writer found the scientific spirit to be the chief determinant of the present religious movement, in other chapters we see a no less emphatic recognition of the influence of the social spirit. The old religion is dogmatic and individual, the new is empirical and social. The change from the individual to the social point of view is brought out in the chapter on "The Chief End of Man." To glorify God and enjoy him forever used to be understood in a perfectly individualistic sense. Put baldly, the thought was that the Creator likes to be praised and worshiped; men want to go to heaven; an exchange is effected whereby each secures what he desires. Such a view assumes that both God and men are actuated by self-regarding motives, and further it belittles this life into a mere stage of probation for the future. Selfishness and "other-worldliness" went hand in hand. A few quotations will show Professor Coe's interpretation of the new thought:

The Christian conception of life is all contained in that of the Kingdom of God. This kingdom is at once an internal, organizing principle, and the resulting external organization. This organization embraces the life that now is and that which is to come. Its motive power is love to God and to men, and this is not an individualistic but a social motive. The older conception of the Christian life was ruled by the notion of securing personal salvation; the motive was assumed to be self-regarding. If the term salvation is slipping out of use, the chief reason is probably the fact that a better understanding of the mind of Christ has made it impossible for us to accept the selfish motive which that term implied. . . . Christian self-denial has a positive, not a negative aim, and this positive aim is social. . . . Christianity is not self-suppression, but self-realization. . . . The end of the individual life is a perfected community life. . . . Individualism defeats itself because men are not and cannot be mere individuals, cannot save their lives by any

possible self-seeking. . . . The vital principle of all the churches will ultimately require of all of them that they surrender their own individualism in order to found a world-wide, visible fellowship. . . . Even now democracy's proclamation that government exists for the good of the governed goes a long way toward identifying its functions with those of the Kingdom of God. . . . Glorifying God consists in uniting ourselves with him in heart and work, to produce an ideal human race. . . . Individualism no more expresses the life of God than it describes the real life of men. God, as well as man, is a social being. . . . Is it our end to enjoy God forever? Yes, but not as compensation for our obedience to him. It is a sign of moral health that men have so largely ceased to be interested in the question of rewards and punishments. We are not to be good in order to gain bliss or to escape misery. The future life is not a device for getting even with men, or for reinforcing the motives to goodness, or for patching up a universe that is rather badly put together. Nor is this life a mere vestibule to real living. Rather, this life and the future life are one life (pp. 168-84).

Professor Coe touches upon a thought here which has been more explicitly developed by Professor Höffding, the well-known Danish philosopher, in his recent work on the philosophy of religion. Speaking of the tendency of the religious consciousness to regard one period of life as a mere means for another, he says :

Means and end are sundered, and life is divided between joyless labor and laborless enjoyment. Time is filled in great part by something that possesses worth only in its effects. Every forward step in the art of education, in ethics, and sociology* depends upon overcoming this dualism, the most distressing of all dualisms. . . . This is overcome if the labor and the development themselves possess immediate worth, and so themselves become ends or parts of an end. . . . It then becomes possible in the midst of time to live in eternity.³

In the chapter on "The Consciousness of Sin" the social point of view is again to the front. The sense of sin, our author tells us, has become a less prominent factor in the Christian consciousness. There are several reasons for this. We no longer test life by doctrine, but doctrine by life.

Now, the old-fashioned experience of the sense of sin was largely a factitious produce of the ruling theory of sin. . . . A second reason for the decline of the sense of sin is, that the terrors of the law appealed to motives not high enough to move the modern conscience profoundly. The personal salvation which men were exhorted to seek is a purely individualistic good. A third reason why the sense of sin has grown comparatively weak is found

* He might have added religion too, if Professor Coe's interpretation be true.

³ *Religionsphilosophie*, p. 50.

in the modern tendency to emphasize positive good in every sphere of life. The Christian consciousness is moving toward a point where the supreme question of life will be not, "Am I saved?" but, "What am I good for?" Not, "Does God pardon and accept me?" but, "How can I contribute most to the progress of the Kingdom of God?" Along with the decreasing sense of sin comes an increasing sense of personal responsibility. Is it not possible that as our sense of the positive content of the Christian life grows, it crowds out the sense of those negative impulses that gather about the thought of actual or possible guilt? Instead of being a retrograde movement then, is not the declining consciousness of sin the displacement of a lower by a higher type of Christian experience? (p. 383).

But the book is not only a survey of religion as it is. It is also in a large measure the author's view of what religion ought to be. This is not, however, a merely personal view; it is based very largely on his studies in the psychology of religion. While the results of these studies are especially manifest in the chapters on "The Breadth of Religious Experience," and "Are Conversions Dying out?" the book, as a whole, may be regarded as a first fruit of the present interest in the psychological study of religious experience. I believe that practical religion has much to learn from this new branch of psychology. Indeed we can hardly realize yet what is likely to be the fruit in the religious field of the newer study of psychology in general. Where people have spoken in the past of the relation between science and religion they have generally had in mind mainly, if not wholly, the physical sciences. These sciences have revealed the reign of natural law. We have come to see that the true evidence in nature of God's existence is not to be found in the exceptional, the abnormal, the terrible, the occurrence that cannot be explained. Were this the case, we should have to admit that science is gradually driving God from the universe — but, on the contrary, the real manifestation of God is in the law, order, harmony, and unity of nature. Every advance of science conquers so much more territory for God. The rationality of nature is the best evidence that its author is a rational being. Now I believe that our study of the mental sciences is bound to lead to a somewhat analagous result in the subjective world. Special, abnormal, unusually intense, and inexplicable mental experiences have often been regarded as direct evidence of the divine presence. But as Professor Coe points out, such testimony must be reweighed in the light of recent psychological conclusions. Our present knowledge of the susceptibility of the mind to hallucinations, hypnotism, and various forms of suggestion, compel the thoughtful mind to a new study of the claims

of the saints and other religious geniuses to immediate experiences of the divine. Such experiences in the past have been explained either by the faithful as immediate revelations from God, or by the doubters as pure fictions. Modern psychology is satisfied with neither of these explanations. Its present tendency, at any rate, is to accept such occurrences as genuine subjective experiences, but to explain them by the natural laws of the mind without reference to supernatural interference. As the physical sciences have changed our attitude toward the miracle in the objective world, so the progress of mental sciences is likely to change our attitude toward special religious experiences in the subjective world. But in the latter case as in the former we may well believe that the change of base from the special to the general will lead only to a broader and more solid foundation for the faith.

There is no thoughtful observer, I believe, who will deny that Professor Coe's book describes an actual movement in the religious life of the modern church. Whether it be the main stream of advance, or only a temporary eddy, whether these views be wholesome or pernicious, the intelligent religious student and worker must take account of the tendency, for it is a very real one. I have tried as far as possible in this review to let the book speak for itself. But the quotations selected to show the content have not done full justice, I fear, to the spirit. Particularly to be noticed is the author's constant recognition of the worth of the old. If the present is the better, it is so because it is the fruitage of the good of the past. The book is a noteworthy contribution to constructive religious thought.

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BRIEF STUDIES IN NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THERE is nothing more characteristic of recent literature in the New Testament field than its tendency toward biography. Even when he passes into the field of biblical theology, the New Testament student seems determined to work outward from the inner life of Jesus and Paul. Works of introduction are at present being quite outclassed in number and importance by those which seek to discover the true significance of Jesus and Paul in the light of their times and experiences. It is therefore not surprising to find the "Rationalist Press Association, Limited" publishing a new edition of *Supernatural Religion*.¹ This

¹*Supernatural Religion: An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation.* London: Watts & Co., 1902. xvi + 920 pages.

new edition has additions dealing with Ignatius and Tatian, as well as an examination of the relation of Josephus to Luke. At the same time a considerable amount of reference material has been omitted. The book, however, does not differ markedly from its original form. It is a wonderful piece of special pleading based upon great learning. As such, it will always continue to have influence. In some particulars New Testament criticism has made this work somewhat anachronistic, but it cannot be denied that it still demands consideration from the defender of Christianity.

At the very antipodes of this book is the little volume of Professor Ramsay, *The Education of Christ*.² Instead of scholarship one has here religious sentiment not too regardful of ascertainable facts. Much of this material is but distantly connected with Jesus, and its author reflects little acquaintance with the great works upon Judaism. It contains little on the education of Jesus, as in reality it is a series of loosely connected papers upon religious subjects. As such it is interesting and stimulating, but in point of historical worth it is not to be classed with the author's other works.

Not unlike the book of Ramsay is that of Rohrbach,³ but it is far its superior in point of style and general literary qualities. Its author knew what to see in Palestine, and knew how to describe what he had seen. It would be hard to find a book, unless it be the recent work of John Kelman, which portrays the Holy Land with so deep and scholarly a sympathy with all that the land represents. It is not strictly a geography, it is an appreciation; and as such contributes much of its own feeling to its readers.

Very different from these two impressionist books is that of a Roman Catholic scholar dealing with the Anglo-Jewish calendar.⁴ Its author attempts to show that by the rule *Badhu* an additional day was introduced into the Jewish calendar whenever the fifteenth day of Nisan would fall on Friday. He holds that by this means the Passover upon which Jesus was killed was retarded a day. Thus there might be two paschal days, one of which would fall on Friday and the second, or that actually observed, upon Saturday. Certainly there is no lack

² *The Education of Christ: Hill-Side Reveries*. By W. M. RAMSAY. New York: Putnam's, 1902. 139 pages. \$1.

³ *Im Lande Jahwehs und Jesu*. Von PAUL ROHRBACH. Tübingen: Mohr, 1901. 432 pages. M. 6.

⁴ *Anglo-Jewish Calendar*. By MATTHEW POWER. London: Sands & Co., 1902. 93 pages. 2s. 6d.

of ingenuity in his argument, and the book shows a large acquaintance with the Jewish sayings and history which can be pleaded in support of the main thesis. It is, however, a fair question whether this rule of *Badhu*, which may have operated later, was in force during the time of Christ. If this could be shown, it is not impossible that the author has given us a solution of the difficulty in harmonizing the synoptists and John.

Two little books by Schrenck,⁵ and Otto⁶ are good examples of how scholarly work may be popularized. The latter especially is good preaching. Both are written in the critical spirit and both reject the stories of the birth of Jesus as unhistorical. Both, too, are by no means sure of the historical worth of John. Yet, notwithstanding these limitations, both are possessed of a deep piety and attempt to bring the teachings of Jesus into distinct relationship with life. In this particular they are good illustrations of the fact, which is too often overlooked, that the biblical scholar is less interested in the discovery of truth than in its application.

Much more elaborate is the work of Margreth,⁷ also a member of the Roman church. It is marked by minute exegesis and theological exposition. Its scholarship seems as profound as its piety. Perhaps as interesting chapters as any are those in which the author shows and confirms by patristic authority that Christ prays in heaven and sets forth what must be the nature and the result of such prayer.

The literature upon apostolic writings and history of late very largely deals with Paul. There is to be mentioned, however, the brief work by Kögel upon the unity of the first epistle of Peter,⁸ which is found in the hope which the letter declares to be characteristic of the Christian life. The exegesis of the book is good, though dogmatic rather than historical. It is a fair question whether Peter was any more interested in the Christian hope than all the other New Testament writers. What was the meaning of the early Christian experience, if it were not that its possessor looked forward to a share in the coming messianic age?

⁵*Jesus und seine Predigt.* Von ERICH VON SCHRENCK. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. 234 pages. M. 2.40.

⁶*Leben und Wirken Jesu nach historisch-kritischer Auffassung.* Von RUDOLF OTTO. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. 76 pages. M. 1.35.

⁷*Das Gebetsleben Jesu Christi, des Sohnes Gottes.* Von JAKOB MARGRETH. Münster: Aschendorff, 1902. 320 pages. M. 6.

⁸*Die Gedankeneinheit des ersten Briefes Petri.* Von JULIUS KÖGEL. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902. 198 pages. M. 2.

In the literature dealing with Paul it is interesting to discover an American edition of Matheson's *Spiritual Development of St. Paul*.⁹ The book is all too well known to demand particular attention, but the fact that it is helpful at many points does not enable it always to stand the test of severe examination. Paul himself in a letter to the Galatians recognizes no such succession of stages in the development of his understanding of the gospel as Dr. Matheson pictures. None the less the book will always be of help to those who wish to get at the real spiritual power of the New Testament writers.

The work by Albrecht¹⁰ belongs to the older school of New Testament scholarship in certain particulars, but it breaks free from traditional chronologies. Thus the first missionary journey is put in 45-47, the letter to the Galatians in 49, and Paul's imprisonment in 54. The book is written in a charming style—something, by the way, which is increasingly characteristic of books produced by German pastors—but it is not always strictly historical in spirit. Thus in the case of justification the treatment is certainly theological rather than historically exegetical.

As regards chronology it is perhaps worth noticing that the careful and independent little treatise of Hoennicke¹¹ reaches results which are to all intents and purposes the same as those of Zahn, with the exception that it does not attempt always to give the precise year. Such a reaction against the tendency to the new chronology is on the whole satisfactory. It is difficult to see how a careful balancing of probabilities in the matter of discordant sources could give different results.

The little treatise by Achelis¹² treats a matter of great difficulty with much learning, though not always with a result of complete conviction. It is very difficult to believe that Paul's reference in 1 Cor. 7: 36-38 is to a virgin living in "spiritual marriage" with some Christian brother.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

⁹ *Spiritual Development of St. Paul*. By GEO. MATHESON. New York: Whittaker. vi + 293 pages. \$0.80, net.

¹⁰ *Paulus, der Apostel Jesu Christi*. Von LUDWIG ALBRECHT. München: Beck, 1903. 400 pages. M. 4.50.

¹¹ *Die Chronologie des Lebens des Apostels Paulus*. Von G. HOENNICKE. Leipzig: Deichert, 1902. iv + 68 pages. M. 1.50.

¹² *Virgines Subintroductae*. Von H. ACHELIS. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 75 pages. M. 2.50.

RECENT BOOKS ON EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

THE study in the Latin of St. Cyprian by the Abbé L. Bayard¹ is of philological rather than of theological interest. It is a careful examination of the grammar and vocabulary of all of Cyprian's authentic works. In the introduction we have an essay on the influences formative of Cyprian's pure style and his freedom from the influences of the *lingua plebeia*. The authorship of some disputed works, notably *Quod Idola*, is discussed and the decision is in favor of authenticity. We also have a chapter on the chronological arrangement of the works and letters. The book is then divided into three parts, treating respectively of orthography and derivation, of the exact sense of the words used, and of Cyprian's style. The discussion of the exact meaning of Cyprian's religious vocabulary, in part two, is the section of principal theological interest.

Of greater interest for our idea of Cyprian's time is Harnack's list,² compiled from all Cyprian's works, with the passages cited, of the lost letters and decrees of councils, which are confirmed by Cyprian's extant writings. These are divisible into four classes: Roman writings, pre-Cyprianic decrees of African councils, Cyprianic letters and conciliar decrees, and letters, especially African, to Cyprian. This list of letters and the like bear new testimony to the immense epistolary activity, which bound together the bishops and their churches in the third century, and which, with the councils, gave interdependent unity to the ancient church.

Johann Ernst has made a thorough and interesting investigation into the early status of heretical baptism.³ In his opposition to heretical baptism, Cyprian advanced three arguments: (1) that heretics

¹ *Le Latin de Saint Cyprien*. Par L. BAYARD. Paris: Hachette, 1902. lix+386 pages.

² *Ueber verlorene Briefe und Actenstücke die sich aus der Cyprianischen Briefsammlung ermitteln lassen*. Von ADOLF HARNACK in "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur." Neue Folge, Bd. VIII, H. 2; together with *Eusebius' Schrift ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΤΙΚΩΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΘΕΙΑ ΓΡΑΦΗ*. Von ERICH KLOSTERMANN; and *Hippolyts Kommentar zum Hohenlied auf Grund von N. Marrs Ausgabe des Grusinischen Textes*. Von NATHANIEL BONWETSCH. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. 45+28+108 pages. M. 5.50.

³ *Die Ketzertaufangelegenheit in der altchristlichen Kirche nach Cyprian*, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Konzilien von Arles und Nicaia [= "Forschungen zur christlichen Litteratur- und Dogmengeschichte," II, 4]. Von JOHANN ERNST. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1901. vii+94 pages. M. 3.

have not the Holy Spirit and, therefore, cannot give what they have not. Yet if that were true, a sinful priest could not baptize. (2) There is no salvation outside the church. Basil, however, showed that, though in a sense outside the church, heretics still stand in a certain relation to it. (3) Cyprian argued that if heretics do not believe in the Trinity, their error invalidates the use of the triune formula, hence baptism itself, because they do not mean by it what the church means. Athanasius, Basil, and others, therefore, distinguished between schismatics, or lesser heretics, and those who are heretical on the Trinity. In the West, following Pope Stephen, as shown especially in *Optatus Milevius* and the decrees of the synod of Arles (314 A.D.), a still broader doctrine prevailed. Augustin held that wrong ideas concerning the Trinity need not destroy the intention to baptize in the name of the Trinity. The West naturally advanced to the Tridentine doctrine of the validity of baptism, where there is the *intentio faciendi quod facit ecclesia*.

Of great value for our understanding of the third century is F. Nau's translation of the Syriac text of the Didascalia,⁴ of which we formerly had only an expanded fourth century version, in the first six books of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. This Syriac text, preserved only in one manuscript,⁵ and shown, by a comparison with fragments of a Latin text,⁶ to be an unaltered translation of the original Greek text, is now, for the first time, made accessible by a translation from the Syriac. The critical problems, as to what, if any, earlier recensions that original Greek text had worked over, are yet to be solved. It is not a mere expansion of the Didache. As we have it, it undoubtedly dates from the second half of the third century. We find the closely biblical moral passages reminding us of Didache and Barnabas, extensive legislation about bishops, deacons, deaconesses, and widows (these two classes of women being evidently distinct), and legislation against heresies and schisms of the first two centuries, especially the Judaizers.

Another third century document made accessible to us is found in Bonwetsch's German translation of the text of Hippolytus's commentary on the Song of Songs, from Marr's (Russian) edition of the Grusinian text, from a manuscript of the tenth century.⁷ In parallel

⁴ *La Didascalie*, c'est-à-dire l'enseignement catholique des douze apôtres et des saints disciples de notre sauveur. Traduite du syriaque pour la première fois. Par F. NAU. (= *Canoniste contemporain*, Fév. 1901 à Mai 1902). Paris: Lethielleux, 1902. 172 pages.

⁵ Published by Paul de Lagarde in 1854.

⁶ Published by Hauler in 1900. ⁷ This was a translation from the Armenian.

columns, Bonwetsch also gives translations of the old Slavic and Armenian fragments, likewise the few Syriac fragments in the notes. Bonwetsch maintains the authenticity of this document, which was used also by Ambrose, but by few other western writers. The method is the allegorical application of the Canticle to Christ's relation to his church and to the synagogue (which latter is black, sinful, but comely, because Christ loved Israel, etc.). It is a valuable addition to the extant writings of Hippolytus.

Eusebius's *περὶ τῶν τοπικῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θεῇ γραφῇ* and St. Jerome's Latin translation of the same are discussed in a critical essay by Erich Klostermann.⁶ Eusebius arranged place-names according to the Greek alphabet. Jerome rearranged them according to the Latin and also made corrections in Eusebius from his own knowledge of the Hebrew text and his personal acquaintance with Palestine. Otherwise Jerome's translation is pretty literal and critically valuable, as based on a better text of Eusebius. The sources of Eusebius were the Hexeplar Septuagint and Josephus. Other sources, if used, are no longer traceable. In that age of pilgrimages there must have existed sources now lost. Besides, the personal acquaintance of Eusebius with Palestine was also great. The book was little used by later writers.

We have also the sixth and seventh books of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, translated from the Armenian, which itself was a roughly literal translation from the Syriac, by Erwin Preuschen.⁷ It is based on the Armenian edition of *Vardabit Djarean* at Venice, 1877. This was based on seventeenth or eighteenth century MSS., brought to Venice from Ispahan. The Armenian translation goes back doubtless to 400 A. D., the time of Sahak and Mesrob and Moses of Chorene, who mentions, among the many translations of that time, a translation of Eusebius.

Theodor Schermann presents as a supplement to his work *Die Gottheit des heiligen Geistes nach den griechischen Vätern des IV. Jahrhunderts*, a study of the Greek sources of Ambrose "On the Holy Spirit."⁸ Schermann, in turn, examines and compares Ambrose with his Greek sources, Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, Basil, Didymus, Gregory of Nazianzen, and Epiphanius. He comes to the conclusion that

⁶ *Eusebius Kirchengeschichte, Buch VI und VII: Aus dem Armenischen übersetzt. Von ERWIN PREUSCHEN* (= "Texte und Untersuchungen," Neue Folge, Bd. VII, H. 3). Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. xviii + 109 pages. M. 4.

⁸ *Die griechischen Quellen des heiligen Ambrosius in libro III de Spir. s.* Von THEODOR SCHERMANN. München: Lentner, 1902. viii + 107 pages. M. 3.

Ambrose's speculative theology is almost entirely Greek. Yet he possessed the historical spirit of the Latin race; his theology and especially his exegesis is western in feeling. The review of St. Ambrose's sources makes this paper interesting.

Willy Gaul's book⁹ on the pseudo-Justinian *Cohortatio ad Graecos* is an excellent critical work on this document and of importance to students of the apologists. In six chapters and a conclusion, he first reviews the history of the criticism of this document; then follow an examination of the MSS. and citations, bringing back the ascription of the tract to Justin as far as Eusebius; a chapter on authenticity, proving from differences in style, doctrine, argument, sources used, etc., that the *Cohortatio* cannot be authentic; a comparison of the *Cohortatio* with the writings of the apologists from Justin to Eusebius, and with Julius Africanus; a discussion of sources of the *Cohortatio* in the rising neoplatonic and mystic literature. The author of the *Cohortatio* used the works of Clement of Alexandria, and, in turn, was used by Julius Africanus, as is proved by a comparison of the use of quotations from Tatian and other writers to establish the greater antiquity of Moses than Greek history. The author believes that the *Cohortatio* was written by an unknown author between 200 and 220 A. D.

Arthur Hjelt's¹⁰ *Altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron* is a careful and critical comparison of the Syriac versions of the Gospels and the *Diatessaron*. It will be found important and interesting for biblical criticism. Hjelt points out that the Syriac is the oldest version of the New Testament. The church was undoubtedly established in Edessa by 150 A. D., and existed as a national church by the time of Tatian, who left Rome for Edessa, 173 A. D., and the first Christian king, Abgar IX. Hjelt reviews in turn the Curetonian Syriac, the attempted reconstruction of the *Diatessaron* and its versions, especially the mediæval Arabic, the *Syrus Sinaiticus*, and, finally, the relation of this to the *Diatessaron*. He finds that the gospels were separately translated into Syriac, Matthew first, and Luke last, and that they were used separately in different localities in Syria, as early as the middle of the second century. This *Syrus Vetus* is represented by *Syrus Sinaiticus*. Later on, Tatian's harmony, which was also influ-

⁹ *Die Abfassungsverhältnisse der pseudojustinischen Cohortatio ad Graecos*. Von WILLY GAUL. Berlin: Schwetschke, 1902. 110 pages. M. 2.

¹⁰ *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron*: Besonders in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältniss untersucht. Von ARTHUR HJELT (in TH. ZAHN'S "Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons und der altchristlichen Litteratur," VII Teil, I Heft). Leipzig: Deichert, 1903. viii+166 pages. M. 6.

enced by western texts, became *the* gospel for the national church and influenced the Curetonian Syriac. Later, under the influence of the Greek canon, the Peshito became the Syriac Vulgate, to which the text of Tatian was conformed, as shown by the Arabic translation of *Abulfaradj* (1043 A.D.). This conclusion evidently makes against the antiquity of the Textus Receptus and is important in that connection. Finally the use of the *Diatessaron* was rooted out among orthodox and monophysite Syrians, but it continued to be employed, perhaps liturgically, among the Nestorians to a late date, as proved by Ebed Jesu of Nisibis in the fourteenth century. The style of Hjelt's book makes it delightful reading.

Here should be mentioned also Hans Lietzmann's¹¹ convenient critical edition of the text of the Muratorian fragment together with a reconstruction of the text. This handy edition is the first *Heft* of "Kleine Texte für theologische Vorlesungen und Übungen." It consists of a careful reproduction of the chief MS., *Cod. Ambros., J 101 sup. s. VIII*, together with the prologue to the Pauline epistles discovered at Monte Cassino, 1897, whose author had used the Muratorian fragment, and a reconstructed Latin text of the fragments, the joint work of Lietzmann and Buecheler. The gospel prologues are, in the main, a republication of P. Corssen's text of 1896.

Of importance for the history of the liturgy is the study by Paul Drews¹² on the origin of the Roman canon of the mass. The book is divided into three parts. First, the prayers in the canon, their order and logical connection are discussed. Drews thinks the prayer *hanc igitur oblationem* is the logical beginning of the canon, because after ascription of praise to God in the *sanctus*, it is natural to call attention to the offering. *Te igitur* should come at the end, after *Supra quae* and *supplices te rogamus*, in which Drews sees the fragments of an ancient *epiklesis*. In the second part the author reconstructs the canon on the basis of these changes, thus bringing the Great Intercession after the canon as in the liturgy of James (West Syrian). In the third part, he discusses the time when these changes took place. If the original Roman canon had the form of the West Syrian liturgy, this change in the direction of the Alexandrian use, in which the Great Intercession¹³ precedes the canon, probably occurred under Pope

¹¹ *Das muratorische Fragment und die monarchianischen Prologe zu den Evangelien.* Von HANS LIETZMANN. Bonn: Marcus & Weber, 1902. 16 pages. M. 0.30.

¹² *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Kanons in der römischen Messe.* Von PAUL DREWS. Tübingen: Mohr, 1902. 39 pages. M. 1.

¹³ Anglican "Prayer for the Church Militant."

Gelasius (492-96 A. D.), who had somewhat intimate relations with Alexandria and is known to have altered the liturgy. So little is known of the the origins of the Roman liturgy that one welcomes this study and hopes for more from Professor Drews on the subject.

Of interest for students of dogmatic theology, as also for the history of dogma, is Anton Rehrmann's *Christology of Cyril of Alexandria*.¹⁴ The book falls into two parts; viz., the negative and the positive sides of Cyril's theology. Part I examines the Christological controversy from the first to the fifth century, being chiefly devoted to the Antiochian school and Nestorius and to Cyril's opposition to it. The second part takes up Cyril's positive doctrine of the Logos and of the Incarnation, especially expounding the doctrine of the union of the two natures in one person. The work is very carefully done, with constant attention to opposing views. It would be valuable for scholars whom Harnack and others have taught to see in Cyril a tendency to a refined Apollinarianism and Monophysitism, to read, as here set forth with careful learning, the Catholic view of Cyril as the teacher of the church's orthodoxy whose principles are the chief force that overthrows monophysite heresy.

Of this monophysite heresy we have a very interesting bit of history in A. A. Vaschalde's *Three Letters of Philoxenus*.¹⁵ Philoxenus represented the more conservative monophysitism of Severus of Antioch; yet he was, throughout his active and influential life, none the less a vigorous opponent of the orthodox and, of course, also of the Nestorians. He was at the same time one of the most elegant and prolific writers of Syriac literature. Vaschalde gives a history of his life and works, a careful review of his doctrine, valuable to students of the history of dogma, a description of the MSS., the translations of the three letters and the Syriac texts of the same, together with a Syriac theological glossary, a list of biblical quotations, of Greek words occurring in the Syriac text, also, which should be of considerable interest to students of Syriac.

The *Acts of Paul and Thecla* are of great interest to Christian

¹⁴ *Die Christologie des heiligen Cyrillus von Alexandrien*. Systematisch dargestellt. Von ANTON REHRMANN. Hildesheim: Borgmeyer, 1902. 404 pages. M. 3.

¹⁵ *Three Letters of Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabbogh* (485-519): Being the "Letter to the Monks," the "First Letter to the Monks of Beth-Gangal," and the "Letter to Emperor Zeno;" edited from Syriac manuscripts in the Vatican library, with an English Translation, an Introduction to the Life, Works, and Doctrine of Philoxenus, a Theological Glossary, and an Appendix of Bible Quotations. By ARTHUR ADOLPHE VASCHALDE. Roma: Tipografia della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1902. xv + 191 pages.

scholars for two reasons, (1) one must desire to know the truth of any tradition respecting the Apostle Paul. How far can it be accepted? Professor Ramsay believes that the story of Thecla, while much modified in transmission, is at bottom historical; (2) the study of the transmission and of the versions of the story necessarily throws light on the general study of martyrology, and this, in its turn, is important for the history of the liturgy. From both these points of view von Gebhardt's edition¹⁶ is very important. The book gives a critical review of the three principal translations of the *Acta* into Latin and of the different types or versions in which these translations have been handed down; of two fragmentary translations; and of other fragments or epitomes of the story, such as that in the "Golden Legend" and in the "Martyrology of Ado of Vienne." Comparison with the Greek and illustration from the Syriac and Coptic versions of the *Acta*, etc., are accompanied by considerations of the relation of the different versions to the primitive text (the *Urtext*). This original text, if worked out, would, one hopes, give us the original and most nearly historical form of Thecla's story. Von Gebhardt does not attempt to reconstruct the primitive text. Yet if anyone else will try to do so here is the critically prepared material for it. The introduction is followed by the several Latin versions in parallel columns, and then by the fragments, epitomes from the martyrologies, etc., the panegyric on Thecla by the Patriarch Photius, and some other material for comparison. In the study of the Latin versions of this story, so popular in the West during the Middle Ages, one becomes well acquainted with the methods of the martyrologists and gains insight into the freedom with which they treated their sources and the variations in text which crept in otherwise. Students of the *Acta*, or liturgical history in general, will welcome this volume.

The *Catena* to the commentary on Luke by Nicetas of Heracleia is examined by Sickenberger¹⁷ in a pamphlet before us. Nicetas was a deacon and a teacher in the church of St. Sophia toward the end of the eleventh century. He was finally elevated to the see of Heracleia. His work is largely a mechanical compilation of older commentaries, the largest use being made of the works of Cyril of Alexandria and of

¹⁶*Die lateinischen Uebersetzungen der Acta Pauli et Theclae: nebst Fragmenten Auszügen, und Beilagen.* Herausgegeben von OSCAR VON GEBHARDT. (= "Texte und Untersuchungen," Neue Folge, Bd. VII, H. 2). Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. cxvi + 188 pages. M. 9.50.

¹⁷*Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia.* Untersucht von JOSEPH SICKENBERGER (= "Texte und Untersuchungen," Neue Folge, Bd. VII, H. 4). Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. viii + 118 pages. M. 4.

John Chrysostom; but the immense range of his theological knowledge made the book valuable. It was largely used in its Latin translation by Thomas Aquinas for his great *Catena Aurea*. Sickenberger discusses the life and work of Nicetas; describes the manuscripts and the extracts from the *Catena*. He next takes up the existing incomplete editions of the *Catena*, and carefully examines all the authors and works mentioned in the *Catena*. Lastly he gives some illustrations from the work. The book is interesting especially for the history of exegesis.

Wehofer²⁸ has given us a theory of the form of ancient Christian epistolography, according to the rules of the Semitic artistic prose (*Kunstprosa*). His book is based on the theory of Semitic poetry and artistic prose proposed by D. H. Müller, which expands the idea of the *parallelismus membrorum* in Hebrew poetry and the prophetic prose to a massive scheme of strophe and antistrophe, balanced by verbal and thought-responson and bound together by concatenation and thought-inclusion. Wehofer's method and conclusions are made uncertain by the fact that Müller's theory is not accepted by most Semitic scholars. Yet Wehofer professes to find such a method of construction underlying most of the apostolic fathers. He goes over them in painful detail to prove it. Often he seems to put their prose through strange contortions. When he cites

ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην
τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικοῦσῃ Κόρινθον,

to prove parallelism (p. 149), he overlooks the fact that it would have been hard for Clement to begin his letter in a way to avoid such parallelism. This, though an extreme example, shows the arbitrariness of his method. At that rate the balanced sentences of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* could easily be shown to be based on a Semitic verse-theory. The book is rather suggestive than convincing.

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RECENT LITERATURE ON MISSIONS.

Books about missions, good, bad, and indifferent, mostly indifferent, multiply upon the publishers' lists. One may find encouragement

²⁸ *Untersuchungen zur altchristlichen Epistolographie*. Von THOMAS M. WEHOFER. [Aus: "Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien," Band CXLIII.] Wien: Gerold, 1901. 230 pages. M. 5.

in the indication thus afforded of an increasing demand for this literature. Certainly interest in the subject is not waning. Dissatisfaction with the poor book will produce by and by a better one. Already there is discernible an improvement in the quality of these books. This claim is made with diffidence. But it does not altogether lack support. If most mission books are still quite unscientific in the choice and arrangement of material, if they are hastily and clumsily put together and "popularized" at the cost of accuracy, if they are shamelessly padded with gossiping detail or pious reflections, it is something that they are no longer so deadly dull as to be unreadable; something, too, that they are losing the denominational stamp, that they take a broader view of the great missionary undertaking of the Christian church, that their writers often appear to have had in view the information of mature minds rather than the spiritual edification of pious readers.

Perhaps the best missionary books are to be found among the very numerous biographies of missionaries. Some of the worst are in this list also, but with these fortunately we are not now obliged to deal. *John Mackenzie, South African Missionary and Statesman*¹ must go into the list of books that are not only timely, of immediate interest, but likely to be of lasting importance. Professor Mackenzie has done a difficult thing extremely well. The story of his father's life is told with the reticence of unfailing good taste. Nowhere is the filial relation needlessly obtruded, and nowhere is the affectionate and tender appreciation which only a son could express wanting. In delightful contrast too with the slipshod diffuseness of much biographical writing is the author's clean, well-compacted English style. The wearied reader of "missionary memoirs," accustomed to the hard necessity of sifting his handful of wheat from an overflowing bushel of chaff, cannot be too grateful when conscientious care is shown for the manner in which important matter is set forth. It is unreasonable perhaps to wish that so good a book were smaller. John Mackenzie had to do with large affairs both in Africa and England, and these affairs deserve and require a detailed narrative. But one questions whether the impression upon the reader would not have been livelier and more lasting if the story could have been told in somewhat less than five hundred and fifty solid pages. Upon a casual inspection there would

¹ *John Mackenzie, South African Missionary and Statesman*. By W. DOUGLAS MACKENZIE. New York: Armstrong; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. 564 pages. \$2.

appear room for doubt also whether this book is properly classed with missionary literature. Not that John Mackenzie was not a missionary through and through. For, says his biographer :

From the beginning to the end he had within him the passion of the evangelist ; at no time would he confess that he subordinated his desire for bringing man to God to any other conception of duty. It was in the interests of this task that he was drawn into political life, and from political labors he returned at the end to this (p. 531).

To the entire truthfulness of this statement every page of the "Life" testifies. Mackenzie was never more truly a missionary or more faithful to that high calling than when he left his sheep in the wilderness and went home to urge upon the government his South African policy. But the book is much more than, or rather much beside, the narrative of a missionary career in the common conception of that phrase. The picture it presents is by no means the palm grove and its group of half-naked savages, listening with wonder and awe to a serious black-coated person with an open book in one hand and the other pointing heavenward, which is suggested to the minds of most good people by the words "missionary to Africa." On the contrary it is largely a narrative of very mundane matters ; of review articles in aid of the endeavor to educate the public mind regarding South African affairs, of conferences with the leaders of government, of political intrigues, of cattle lifters and unscrupulous land grabbers, and irresponsible filibusters. Through this confusion of conflicting interests one honest, resolute, unselfish, God-fearing man holds a direct and fearless course. John Mackenzie had at no time personal ends to gain. He was solicitous only that England might understand the true nature of her heavy responsibilities in South Africa and meet them with far-seeing Christian statesmanship, and that justice might be done to the black man whose cause he held himself appointed of God to advocate. The book should be read and pondered by the men, if there are any such today, who glory in the costly humbling of the Boer to which "manifest destiny" summoned England ; and by the apologist as well of Cecil Rhodes. Mackenzie and Rhodes differed as widely as possible regarding questions of imperial policy in South Africa, but they were never personal foes. Which of the two men has the better claim to be called a "statesman" is a question which the judicious reader of Professor Mackenzie's "Life" will be able to answer with considerable confidence if it is admitted that a statesman is such only through unselfish devotion to high ideals.

But, after all, first and last the "Life" is a missionary book of great power, quite apart from its political significance, in its narrative of Mackenzie's introduction to his work in six *Wanderjahre*, followed by twelve years of toilsome and fruitful evangelizing among the Boman-gato at Shoshong, and eleven years of educational service in the establishment of the Moffat Institution at Kuruman, with the epilogue of the seven heroic years at Hankey, where at the age of fifty-six he faced with cheerful resolution the task of learning to preach in Dutch and the far heavier duty of dealing with "the sordid facts" of a very perplexing situation in an obscure field of labor. It appears that the London Missionary Society had no larger appointment than Hankey at its command when Mackenzie re-entered its service. With his characteristic indifference to personal ambitions he accepted this designation, making no protest or complaint, but giving himself to the duties of his new field with all his heart. "Manifesting no resentment," to quote the words of one of his Cape Town friends:

The man who for a while had played so prominent a part in connection with statesmen and soldiers and the large affairs of public life turned back again to the simple and obscure duties of the missionary life as he found them at the old colonial mission station at Hankey. There the same clear judgment and the mingled firmness and kindness which had been applied to subjects of national import and government of territories was employed, with no less interest and self-devotion, to settle the details of village allotments, the landlord's rule and improvement, the affairs of the mission school or the irrigation scheme.

At Hankey John Mackenzie died, not yet an old man, but worn out by toils which involved continual and lavish expenditure of moral and physical energy. "He was taken from the evil to come," says his biographer, "for within eight months after his death his beloved South Africa was plunged into the shame and horror of the great war," the war which his unheeded counsels would have averted. One closes the book with a heavy heart, so scanty appear to have been the lasting results even of the missionary activity of this indomitable and devoted servant of Christ. The mission station at Shoshong has been abandoned. Kuruman has disappointed all expectations and its educational institutions today exert little influence. The reader is cheered nevertheless as he reviews the story by the conviction that John Mackenzie never wavered in his steadfast pursuit of high ideals, and that he would himself unhesitatingly have chosen his apparent failure rather than the success which seemed to attend upon the plans of the men who opposed

and thwarted him. Such a life is not lived in vain. Influences have gone out from it, certain to affect profoundly the future history, political, educational, religious, of South Africa.

But when all is said of the work so successful in its failure, one must add that there is nothing nearly so valuable in the book as the picture of "the South African Missionary and Statesman" himself. Vividly it sets him before the reader in his deep strong piety, in his clear-sighted intelligence, in his energetic administration of practical affairs, in his courage, his passion for justice, his unselfish love for the defenseless and oppressed men to whom his Lord called him to minister. It is good to have known such a man.

A book of quite another sort, dealing with another missionary field, and in a very different and much less satisfactory fashion, is *Erromanga, the Martyr Isle*.^{*} Mr. Robertson has been for nearly thirty years a missionary of the Presbyterian church of the Maritime Provinces, Canada, to the New Hebrides, and in this big book of nearly five hundred pages, with more than a score of illustrations and maps, he has written, first, a history of Erromanga; secondly, a narrative of his own missionary service; and thirdly, an account of the natives, their physical and moral characteristics, their dress, food, social customs, religious conceptions and practices. In the history of Erromanga is included a geographical description of the island, and an account of its discovery and of the trade in sandalwood which made it known to Europeans. The interesting and important matter in this portion of the book, however, is the story of the martyrdoms which have caused Erromanga to be accounted "the darkest spot in the Pacific." It was here, in 1839, that John Williams, "the Apostle of Polynesia," and his companion Harris were murdered by the natives almost immediately upon leaving the ship which brought them to this island. The first missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. George Nichol Gordon, met the same fate, in 1861, after a residence on the island of four years; and ten years later James Douglas Gordon, who had gone to Erromanga resolved to win for Jesus Christ the murderers of his brother, also sealed his testimony with his blood. The two chapters devoted to the "Erromangans" contain just the information the general reader wants. One might be listening to the informal discursive abundant talk of the "returned missionary" regarding the strange people among whom a

^{*} *Erromanga, the Martyr Isle*. By H. A. ROBERTSON of Erromanga; edited by JOHN FRASER. New York: Armstrong; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902. xv + 467 pages. \$1.50.

large part of his life had been spent, people whom he knows well, and loves. But the reviewer is compelled to confess that he finds Mr. Robertson's personal narrative sadly disappointing. He had unquestionably a story to tell. His labors in Erromanga have been richly rewarded. The "Martyr Isle" has been practically Christianized, although there are still a few heathen scattered among the people, and a quiet work which has every promise of stability is still going on in the upbuilding of the Erromangan church. And it may be assumed that Mr. Robertson proposed to tell this memorable story; but to the affliction of the reader he has encumbered his narrative with an accumulation of the pettiest and the most trivial details of his life in Erromanga and elsewhere, in which the really significant facts and events of his missionary career are with difficulty discoverable. For the select company of Mr. Robertson's personal friends to whom nothing regarding him is insignificant the book, no doubt, will be delightful reading; but the missionary student, as he toils over his pages must wish that the editor, to whom the author appears from the preface to have given plenary powers, had made a bolder and more conscientious use of the blue pencil.

To Mr. Robertson himself, as he stands disclosed in the unconscious self-revelation of these personal memoirs, every reader must be strongly attracted. To the shrewdness, the sense of humor, the kindly tolerance and wise patience with the unamiable infirmities of men slowly struggling out of savagery, the knack of fitting oneself to the inevitable situation whatever it may be, which enabled him to live a cheerful and useful life in very hard and narrow conditions, he joins the indispensable missionary qualification of plain unaffected piety and steadfast faith in the redemptive and civilizing power of the gospel. Such as these are the witnesses of whom the church of Christ makes her boast.

No one is so hopelessly behind the times today as the man who scoffs at the feeble and foolish enterprise of foreign missions and derides the handful of fanatical sectaries who supported it. His complacency is proof against all instruction. But the candid doubter, willing to be shown his error and convicted of his ignorance, will confess, if he takes an hour for the serious examination of *World-Wide Evangelisation*,³ that here is the record of an enterprise to be treated with respect, even if it cannot command sympathy.

³ *World-Wide Evangelisation, The Urgent Business of the Church*. Addresses delivered before the Fourth International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, Toronto, Can., February 26-March 2, 1902. New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1902.

Certainly the day of small things for the Student Volunteer Movement is past. At the fourth in its series of conventions, held at Toronto in 1902, two thousand, nine hundred and fifty-seven delegates were enrolled, and of this number two thousand, two hundred and twenty-five were students, representing four hundred and sixty-five institutions in the United States and Canada, and more than fifty "divisions and branches" of the Church of Christ. The "Proceedings" with index and appendices make a book of six hundred and ninety-one pages. This big book need not be read by anyone from cover to cover. Indeed, its editors frankly confess that they entertain no such extravagant expectations by the pains they have taken to prepare in Appendix E a "List of Illustrative Paragraphs," in order that the missionary talker may furnish himself, at short notice, with precisely the anecdote or the illustration which will fit his particular topic. That the book contains an abundance of good material for the reports on the present condition of missionary fields which every pastor ought to be statedly offering to his people, is evident enough from an examination of the suggestive table of contents. Next in importance, perhaps, is the report of the executive committee presented by Mr. Mott. The reading of every additional page will reinforce one's confidence in the movement, and increase his respect for the courageous, aggressive, far-sighted spirit in which the enterprise of foreign missions in general is prosecuted today and the wisdom with which its methods are adapted to the needs of particular fields. The sharpest critics of foreign missions can hardly charge it with adherence to an antiquated theology, or with neglect of the opportunity for practical beneficence which every mission-field offers. The Toronto convention discussed not only "world-wide evangelization" in the narrower sense of the phrase, but medical, educational, and industrial missions. The claims even of missionary athletics and gymnastics were not overlooked.

In the past, the "watchword" of the volunteer movement—the evangelization of the world in this generation—has appeared to apprehensive critics to imply the deliberate acceptance by its supporters of an eschatology unwarranted by any but the most literal and the narrowest theory of inspiration, and thus to bring under suspicion the sanity of the movement itself. But the famous motto which, notwithstanding the objections brought against it, has unquestionably been one of the elements of the success of the movement, is susceptible, like the prayer-meeting pledge of the Christian Endeavor Society, of

more than one interpretation. The bishop of Toronto in his opening address to the convention took pains to distinguish between "the plain duty of the church to preach the gospel to every creature within this generation," and "the transcendent issue of the conversion of the world;" and it does not appear from the reports that there was anyone to urge, as against this eminently safe position, the extravagant end-of-the-world doctrine upon which the China Inland Mission, for example, used to base its appeals. Mr. Mott, indeed, claimed that the watchword "has won its way to a very general acceptance, not only among students, but also among leaders of the missionary enterprise." This may be true. What is certain is that it is not now commonly understood in any such sense as to differentiate the volunteers in their missionary motive and expectation from the great body of Christian believers who pray continually for the coming of the kingdom of heaven.

It might have been taken for granted that these addresses and discussions would show no trace of denominational ambitions and rivalries. But the case is even better than this. There is little or no talk even of "Christian unity." Why waste time over an accepted fact? Men who are chiefly bent upon the extension and aggrandizement of a particular denomination do not, in general, seek for employment abroad.

It remains to call attention to the emphasis which this collection of addresses puts upon education. It could not have been otherwise, of course, when students composed the audience. But it means more for the future of missions than we realize perhaps, that the most enthusiastic and influential assemblies of missionary workers are thoroughly committed to the sound and wholesome doctrine that however urgent the obligation to evangelize the world in this generation may seem, that obligation can only be successfully discharged by instructed and disciplined men. Of such men there have never been enough in the foreign service of the church.

Mr. Beach has compiled, primarily for the use of Student Volunteer Study Classes, two books⁴ quite unrivaled in the range and minuteness of the missionary information presented. The *Geography*, an octavo volume of 570 pages, offers in twenty-one chapters an account, geographical, political, and religious, of the missionary fields of the

⁴ *A Geography and Atlas of Protestant Missions*. By HARLAN P. BEACH. Vol. I, *Geography*, 571 pages; \$4. Vol. II, *Atlas*. New York: Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1901 and 1903.

world, including chapters on "Missions to the Jews," "Fields Practically Unoccupied ;" and "Japanese and Chinese in Christian Lands." This ambitious undertaking is carried out on the whole in a satisfactory fashion if one remembers that the book does not profess to be a history of missions, but rather an account of the present condition of the missionary enterprise. But since historical narrative is not, and indeed, cannot be, neglected altogether, one finds it difficult to account for the omission in the chapter on India, for instance, of such names as Cary, Martyn, Duff. Under Africa there is no mention of Livingstone or Mackenzie, and the merest incidental mention, under Burmah, of Judson. Nothing is said of the various Somaj movements of India, numerically unimportant, no doubt, but of great significance in a survey of the religious condition of that country. Further there appears to be in certain cases a curious disproportion in the relative amount of space given to these missionary fields. "The Panoramic View of South America," mostly geographical information, comprises twenty-one pages, while the "Missionary Force of China and its Distribution" claims only twenty-five ; Mexico has twenty-two pages, as against twenty-four for Burmah and Ceylon. It may be said in general that the American continent receives larger treatment than its strictly non-Christian population would entitle it to. But these criticisms are relatively unimportant qualifications of the indisputable merits of the book. The *Geography* must go at once into the working library of the student of missions. He will find its matter always readable and in general trustworthy, and its clear convenient paragraphing, its skilful use of different styles of type, its indispensable index and its classified bibliography of missions will persuade him after a short trial to place it on the shelf of the books which one must have always at hand.

The value of the *Geography*, issued two years ago, has been greatly enhanced by the recent appearance of its companion quarto volume, the *Atlas*. That the publication of this book should have been delayed is not surprising. The wonder is that the enormous amount of material it contains should ever have been hammered into shape at all. The atlas presents to the student, an "Alphabetical List of Protestant Missionary Societies," with date of organization, denomination, nationality, fields ; twelve pages of "Statistics of Protestant Missions" arranged under countries and societies, and a "Map-Index to Protestant Missionary Stations." The maps, eighteen in number, with numerous insets, designate the missionary stations by the use of red lines and an elaborate system of signs and letters, with the key printed

on the margin. It is apparent even to a hasty examination of the atlas that the most patient industry has gone into the preparation of this large and varied apparatus. The "index" of stations, for example, contains more than 5,000 entries with such particulars as reference to map, initial letters of society, date of organization, special forms of work, number and compensation of workers. The attempt has been made to mark upon the maps every station, even the smallest, at which organized Protestant missionary work is carried on. That there are errors and omissions in this incredible accumulation of particulars, large and small, may be taken for granted. Neither Mr. Beach nor his proof-readers lay claim to infallibility. It goes without saying also that the accuracy of the maps and tables prepared at such a cost is somewhat lessened with every day that passes. No one realizes this fact more keenly than the laborious compiler. But it would be easy to exaggerate the practical importance of this slowly increasing defect. Really it is not a matter of vital importance even to the rigidly scientific seeker after facts whether there are eleven or thirteen native male teachers at Mangari Station, whether the membership of the native church at Han-tee is four or seven. His conclusions will not be sensibly vitiated. One may continue to consult the atlas for years to come with a profit not seriously lessened because he must make allowance for these unavoidable and anticipated imperfections. Mr. Beach has done all that intelligence and industry can accomplish in this presentation of the condition of the missionary endeavor of Protestantism at the beginning of the twentieth century.

If Dr. Zwemer's expectations that the twentieth century is to be pre-eminently a century of missions to Moslems is well supported, the first complete biography in English of the thirteenth century pioneer in Moslem missions should prove a timely book.⁵ It is indeed a readable and useful book for any time. Not that there is anything new to be said of Raymond Lull himself six hundred years after his martyrdom, or that his philosophical writings, once taken so seriously by European students, can still afford nutriment to any inquirer. But a missionary church today cannot afford to forget the profligate courtier of six hundred years ago, who turned from a life of pleasure-seeking at the call of his Lord to spend fifty years in the endeavor to overthrow by means of philosophical treatises, backed up by such personal testimony as he was able to offer, a system of religion avowedly hostile

⁵ *Raymond Lull, First Missionary to the Moslems.* By SAMUEL M. ZWEMER. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1902. xii + 172 pages. \$0.75, net.

to Christianity. His labored and ingenious demonstrations of the logical impossibility of Mohammedanism have gone their way into forgetfulness, along with countless similar refutations of error, and the personal testimony offered at the risk of his life was not widely heard. The work failed. The man lives. Raymond Lull was schoolman, mystic, monk; that is to say, he belonged to his century. But the spirit which dwelt in him is the undying spirit of all Christian centuries. "He who loves not," he said, "lives not: he who lives by the life cannot die."

Dr. Zwemer's little volume offers to the reader an easy and attractive page, is furnished with an introduction by Mr. Robert E. Speer which is too good to be skipped, and with photographs of scenes memorable in the life of Raymond Lull, and other illustrative matter. It is also equipped with an astonishing bibliography of 321 titles by Lull, and a score of books about him. The material from these sources, or so much of it as is now available, appears to have been industriously sifted and the trustworthy and significant information thus gained is put together with a literary man's good taste and sense of proportion.

Two books, put out by the Presbyterian Publication Board may be briefly described. *Presbyterian Home Missions*⁶ is "a history embracing the whole scope of Presbyterian home missions until now." Its "scope" is wide enough to include in its evangelizing effort the Indians of the Northwest, the Southwest, and Alaska, the Mormons, the Mountaineers of the Appalachian region, the Mexicans, the foreign population of our great cities, and the people of Porto Rico and Cuba. The home missionary of the twentieth century goes far afield. There are besides chapters at the beginning and at the end of the book having to do with the denominational missionary record. Dr. Doyle writes in a straightforward, readable fashion, offering facts, names, dates in abundance, and sparing the reader hortatory and sentimental verbiage.

The Presbyterian General Assembly of 1902 celebrated the centennial of its organized home-mission work by a day and a half of addresses. There are twenty-nine of them altogether in this volume, formal and informal, long and short, addresses by eminent Presbyterian pastors, by home missionaries, by representatives of "sister boards," by representatives of home-mission societies of other denominations, last of all, by Theodore Roosevelt, president of the United States.

⁶ *Presbyterian Home Missions. An Account of the Home Missions of the Presbyterian church in the U. S. A.* By SHERMAN H. DOYLE. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, 1902. 332 pages. \$1, net.

It was a great occasion, and the celebration was worthy of it. The addresses are spirited, interesting, effective, sometimes eloquent, never merely entertaining and trivial. The "contents" pages of the book alone would repay study as an instructive lesson in the art of program making. Would that all anniversary committees of arrangement might take it seriously to heart.⁷ No one is given a place upon it merely because he is a "denominational leader," or a "magnetic platform-speaker." A man's acquaintance with and share in the work commemorated constitute his only claim to this privilege; and it follows from this principle of selection that each speaker has a definite something to say and that his address finds its definite place in the program. So skilfully indeed are these addresses fitted one to another that a book of only one hundred and seventy pages presents a narrative of the century's achievement in Presbyterian home missions as logical in arrangement and sustained in interest as though its pages had been the work of one hand.

*Leavening the Nation*⁸ is a capital book for the Sunday-school and the mission-circle libraries, narrating as it does the great organized religious movement which, beginning with the nineteenth century, has carried Protestant Christianity across the continent, and planted churches and Christian schools wherever population centered. It has a genuine historical interest also, the interest of American history at that, in its accounts of the Northwest Territory, the Louisiana Purchase, the Pacific Northwest, and the Mexican Cession; and it is brought down to date in the narrative of what the churches are doing today for the Christianizing of Alaska, Cuba, and Porto Rico. Dr. Clark takes a broad view of the questions with which he deals and writes in a style that commands respect.

The claim of the *History of Wachovia*⁹ to be classed in the literature of missions is of the slenderest. The Moravians, who settled Wachovia in 1753, began fifty years later a mission to the Cherokee and Creek Indians; and thirty years later still the United Brethren's

⁷ *Centennial of Home Missions in Connection with the One Hundred and Fourteenth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*, New York city, May 16-20, 1902. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-School Work, 1902. 288 pages. \$1, net.

⁸ *Leavening the Nation. The Story of American Home Missions.* By JOSEPH B. CLARK. New York: Baker & Taylor, 1902. x + 362 pages. \$1.25, net.

⁹ *History of Wachovia in North Carolina. The Unitas Fratrum or Moravian Church in North Carolina during a Century and a Half, 1752-1902.* By JOHN HENRY CLEWELL. New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1902. xiv + 365 pages. \$3, net.

Home Mission Society of North Carolina was organized, and evangelists were sent to the mountaineers of Virginia and North Carolina. Of this small missionary undertaking there is little to tell, or Dr. Clewell did not think it worth the telling, for the matter is dismissed in nine pages of a volume of over three hundred and fifty pages. The book, otherwise, has the interest which attaches to local or county histories. Residents of Wachovia and members of the Moravian church may find it readable and the specialist in American history will perhaps glean from it some serviceable facts. The material has been industriously collected, but unfortunately it is not well organized, and trivial particulars get an attention they can hardly deserve. The Right Rev. Edward Rondthaler contributes a useful chapter on "The Doctrinal Position of the Moravian Church," and Adelaide L. Fries an "Historical Sketch of the Moravian Church."

A. K. PARKER.

RECENT LITERATURE IN PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

THE lives of Christian saints, heroes, and teachers are not the least valuable part of the literature of practical theology. The present day is notable for the admirable volumes of Christian biography which teach by example the virtues of the faith. Such is *The Life of Dr. Joseph Parker*, by W. Adamson.¹ Although this biography appears so soon after the death of Dr. Parker, it has not been hastily prepared. The author began it years ago and it bears the marks of faithful, thorough work. He vividly depicts the brilliant career of this unusually able man, and at least measurably reveals the secret of his power. He came of sturdy Northumbrian stock. His father was by trade a mason, and in religious belief an uncompromising Calvinist. The son inherited a sound body and had by nature rare intellectual powers. While not a college graduate, he was carefully drilled in Latin and Greek and in translating and paraphrasing the Greek New Testament. He began to preach when he was eighteen years old, and continued to proclaim the truth of the gospel with ever-increasing enthusiasm for fifty-four years. He made preaching his supreme work. He spared no pains in preparing for the pulpit. He did, to be sure, write many books, some of which, like *Ecce Deus*, *Ad Clerum*, *The Paraclete*, *The Priesthood of Christ*, *The People's Bible* (in twenty-four volumes), and *The People's Family Prayer-Book*, are of a high order of excellence; but all of his

¹ *The Life of Joseph Parker*, Pastor of City Temple, London. By WILLIAM ADAMSON. Chicago: Revell, 1902. xvi + 387 pages. \$1.75, net.

writings contributed to the richness and effectiveness of his sermons. He was very independent in his thinking and manner of working; he was always simply himself. His discourses were largely expository, but seldom lacking in unity. With all his soul he held to the great doctrines of grace, and especially to the deity of Christ, but with sweet charity towards all who differed from him. His pulpit prayers were tender and sympathetic. He was an ardent friend of the poor and did much to lighten their burdens. In his three pastorates at Banbury, Manchester, and London he was marvelously successful both in gathering great audiences and in winning men to Christ. Still he was not perfect. He was a man of like passions with ourselves. He was sometimes mistaken in his judgments. At times he was stern and tender, magnanimous and exacting all in an hour. But just what he was in public and private, in his pulpit and in his home, the author clearly reveals. This is the test of good biography. It would be easy to find fault. In the latter part of his book the author seems to be merely an interested chronicler rather than a biographer. He records events without adequately analyzing them. Yet he manages, largely at times through the utterances of others, to keep clearly before us the great personality that he so ardently admires. A quarter of a century hence, when the perspective has lengthened, someone who has a genius for biographical writing, may be able to give the world a still more truthful picture of one of the foremost preachers of the nineteenth century, but we are glad to receive at this early day a biography of Dr. Parker so thorough and trustworthy as this.

A discourse in commemoration of Phillips Brooks, delivered in Trinity Church, Boston, on the twenty-third day of last January, the tenth anniversary of his death, is published as a "study" of that eminent preacher by his successor in the office of bishop.* The eulogist briefly but clearly sets forth the doctrinal conceptions of his distinguished predecessor, his profound sympathy with truth wheresoever found and by whomsoever held, his new statement of fundamental gospel doctrine, his loyalty to the Episcopal church, combined with the most ardent fellowship for all of whatever name who sincerely love Jesus Christ. This admirable address is a valuable supplement to the great biography of Phillips Brooks by Professor Allen.

On the border line between biography and homiletic literature is

* *Phillips Brooks: A Study.* By WILLIAM LAWRENCE. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co, 1903. vi+51 pages. \$0.50.

another volume.³ Dr. Park, commemorated by these sermons, lived to the ripe age of ninety-one. In his early manhood he was a Congregational pastor at Braintree, Mass. For eleven years he held the chair of sacred rhetoric in Andover Theological Seminary, and then became professor of sacred theology, and for thirty-four years adorned that chair. He was one of the founders of the *Bibliotheca Sacra* and served on its staff of editors for fifty-six years. He died in 1900. For many years he took high rank among the most distinguished theologians of our country. Some sane observers, who were well qualified to judge, thought that for a quarter of a century he was without a peer. However, in his day he was sometimes regarded with more or less suspicion as a thinker who entertained some notions that had a dangerous tendency. But he held with unrelaxing grip to the deity of Jesus Christ, and the doctrine that Christ, by the shedding of his blood, made an atonement for our sins. He had the profoundest sympathy with the memorable generalization of the late Professor Henry B. Smith of New York: "The great fact of objective Christianity is incarnation in order to atonement. The great fact of subjective Christianity is union with Christ whereby we receive the atonement." As he apprehended the teachings of Scripture, Christ was not an evolution from beneath, but came down from heaven and, as God incarnate, bore the penalty due to our sins.

But whatever may be the present estimate of him as a theologian, he was by common consent a preacher of unusual power. Whenever it was announced at Andover that he was to occupy the pulpit the church was always packed with a throng of eager listeners. Nor were their high expectations ever disappointed. He read his sermons, but was not closely confined to his manuscript, while his emphasis gave wonderful impact to his thoughts. He held a conspicuous place among the ablest preachers of the nineteenth century. His thought was profound. He pierced to the very heart of the subjects that he discussed in the pulpit, yet his style was as clear as a sunbeam. He was also full of that fire which the truth kindled in his very bones. As he composed his sermons eternal realities rose clear on his vision and touched his heart, so that the things not seen became to him more real than the solid earth beneath his feet, and were proclaimed with an energy born of the intensest conviction. His preaching fairly met the demands of reason, but never failed to grip the conscience. He

³ *Memorial Collection of Sermons*. By EDWARDS A. PARK. Compiled by his daughter. Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1902. 320 pages. \$1.50.

preached to the whole man, both to the head and to the heart. He had a rare combination of gifts; he was at the same time a profound theologian and a popular preacher. In this volume, the sermons on "The Theology of the Intellect and that of the Feelings," and "All the Moral Attributes of God are Comprehended in His Love," are worthy of study both by theologians and preachers; while his discourses on "The Dividing Line" and "Not Far from the Kingdom of God" arrest the attention and possess unusual pungency and power. Dr. Park also made important contributions to homiletical literature. Extended articles in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of 1872-73 on "The Structure of a Sermon," and on "The Three Fundamental Methods of Preaching," are replete with practical suggestions.

We pass to a volume of practical exposition.⁴ After the preface, table of contents, and the revised version of the epistle of James, the Lord Bishop of Ripon divides his book into two parts. He begins the first part with a brief, pithy introduction, and then presents the general characteristics of the epistle in a fascinating way. He finds in it the self-revelation of its author, his philosophy of life, and his thoughts about God. Who he was, and the character and condition of those to whom he wrote, receive ample and suggestive treatment. In the second part of the volume the epistle is popularly yet thoroughly expounded. The current of thought that unifies the whole is clearly traced. The apostle's point of view and the vital connection of the various subjects treated by him are kept constantly before the reader. The innermost meaning of the key-words of the epistle is admirably brought out. The relation of James's thought to the truth in other parts of the Bible, and especially to the utterances of Christ, is interestingly revealed. The author's words are largely Saxon and his style is clear as crystal. Any preacher who wishes to expound in popular discourses the pre-eminently practical epistle of James, let him read and digest this volume together with that of the late Dr. R. W. Dale on the same epistle, at the same time thoroughly studying the epistle in Greek, and he will be well equipped for his important task.

Each essay in the two attractive volumes⁵ of Dr. Watkinson is based upon, or suggested by, a text of Scripture. The essays have a

⁴ *The Wisdom of James the Just*. By W. BOYD CARPENTER, Lord Bishop of Ripon. New York: Whittaker, 1903. xlx + 253 pages. \$1.25.

⁵ *Studies in Christian Character, Work, and Experience*. By WILLIAM L. WATKINSON. Chicago: Revell, First Series, 256 pages, \$1; Second Series, 260 pages, \$1.

sermonic flavor. Some of them have formal divisions, and in one instance, in the application of a thought, the author uses the second person "you," as though he were directly grappling with an audience. So that these studies are either sermons thrown for publication into the form of essays, or else the author's habit of sermonizing unwittingly asserts itself and makes his essays sermonic. In the author's thought there is nothing commonplace. It is decidedly fresh and alluring. It is clearly and forcefully expressed. We have not found in all these dissertations a single obscure or slovenly sentence. The analogies by which the truths presented are illustrated and enforced are abundant and unusually pertinent. They are suggested by a wide range of objects and reveal the author's breadth of observation and reading. And to crown all, these studies are pre-eminently practical; they pierce to the very center of Christian and human experience and "come home to men's business and bosoms." Let all who love literature that is pure in form and pregnant with thought read these essays.

The twenty-six addresses of Rev. J. H. Jowett were first published in the *Examiner*, an English newspaper. They awakened so much interest that there was a popular demand for them in a more permanent form—hence the publication of this book.⁶ Although they are called addresses the style lacks directness and is rather that of the essay. For this reason they are all the more attractive and interesting to the general reader. They are bright, suggestive expositions of texts of Scripture. They are crisp and fresh. New views are constantly opened up which commend themselves as being the innermost truth of the gospel and of Christian experience. The truth unfolded is abundantly illustrated by facts with which we are familiar in common life. If anyone thirsts after the springs of divine truth he will find many of them uncovered before him in these simple, forceful essays. This book shows that its author is a worthy successor of the late Dr. R. W. Dale, and that is justly according to him high praise.

A translation of George Christian Dieffenbach's *Evangelische Haus-Agende* has been made by Professor Charles E. Hay.⁷ It is a series of devotional meditations on weighty passages of Scripture pertaining to the priestly work and passion of Christ. These meditative dissertations cover the six weeks of the Lenten season. The warp and woof

⁶ *Thirsting for the Springs*. By J. H. JOWETT. New York: Armstrong; London: Allenson, 1903. 208 pages. \$1.25.

⁷ *Meditations for the Passion Season*. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1902. xiii+258 pages. \$0.75.

of them is the great doctrine of redemption through the voluntary suffering of Jesus Christ. They are written in a style clear, simple and pure. All who desire to cultivate the devotional spirit will find them helpful. Following each meditation is a short, fervent prayer, and at the close of the volume is the history of the Lord's passion in the words of the four evangelists. The sacramentarianism of these meditations will be distasteful to some. The author assumes that baptism imparts spiritual life, and that "every communicant at the Lord's Table receives with the mouth the body and blood of Christ." From this papistical doctrine Lutheranism unhappily never freed itself. The difference between the transubstantiation of Rome and the consubstantiation of Luther is so slight and obscure that ordinary mortals can scarcely discern it. If, as these meditations teach, we receive Christ by faith, then we do not receive him by the mouth.

A sermon of Henry Ward Beecher is printed without preface or introduction, so that we have no hint as to the reason for its publication.⁸ We do not find it among the author's discourses which are before us, so it may not hitherto have been in print. It is simply an average sermon of Mr. Beecher. In it he contends that we should not make the most mysterious doctrines of the gospel the test of orthodoxy and church membership, but rather the possession of the spirit of Christ. While he declares his own firm belief in the doctrine of the trinity and gives forceful reasons for it, he does not think that such belief should be the test by which we determine Christian character.

In passing to Christian institutions we notice, first, one of the books in "The Oxford Library of Practical Theology," written and published for the special benefit of the laity of the Church of England. In this volume⁹ our author discusses briefly, but clearly and suggestively, the canon of scripture, creeds, apostolical succession, episcopacy, western liturgies, church festivals, the Catholic church and national churches, penitence, and monasticism. He writes as a sturdy churchman, for churchmen, and from a churchman's point of view. He maintains that the Catholic church is the divinely-appointed channel of God's grace; believers without her pale may be saved, however, through the uncovenanted mercies of God; her grace and authority are expressed through her apostolic ministry, which is linked in unbroken succession

⁸ *The Background of Mystery.* By HENRY WARD BEECHER. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. 32 pages. \$0.25.

⁹ *The Christian Tradition.* By LEIGHTON PULLAN. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. ix+317 pages. \$1.50.

to the apostles; Christ conferred on this ministry the power to forgive sins; baptism administered by them to infants regenerates them; he who partakes of the consecrated bread and wine of the Lord's Supper partakes of the body and blood of Christ. The Church of England, while it repudiated the papacy, made no organic changes in the Catholic church, and so continues to be a part of it. The utterances of ecumenical councils are as authoritative as the Scriptures of the New Testament. Happily many able scholars of the Anglican church utterly repudiate such papistical dogmas. The author is ecclesiastical and hierarchical rather than biblical. We can commend this volume to all who wish to understand the doctrines of highchurchism.

In *The King and His Kingdom*¹⁰ the author treats first of theology and second of church organization. His chief contention is that Christ and the Holy Spirit are in the word of God. If by faith we receive the word of God into our minds and hearts, we thereby receive Christ and the Spirit. The Spirit enlightens, convicts, renews, and sanctifies men only through the written word. This thought is presented with wearisome iteration. Church organization is wholly of the Lord. To choose church officers by vote is unscriptural. They are appointed by Christ and the Spirit. To call a pastor is contrary to the teaching of the New Testament, and makes him a hireling. The book abounds in one-sided statements and half truths which are always the most mischievous untruths. The style is exceedingly diffuse. If the volume were condensed into half the space it would be greatly improved. The spelling and punctuation are original and marvelous. Throughout the book there is a merciless slaughter of the king's English. Here and there, however, the author has dropped a gem. He says: "Agnostics doubt everything and believe nothing." "No gush, however beautiful, can supply the place of gospel teaching." "You cannot love like the Savior and lie like the devil." The mission of the apostles was to bear witness to the death and resurrection of Christ. "Of course a witness can have no successor." That is terse, unanswerable logic. If the whole book were like that it would be inconceivably better than it is.

In a monograph on the *Agapé*¹¹ the author criticises an article on the same subject, written by Pierre Batiffol, of Toulouse, for the *Dictionnaire de Théologie*, in which he maintains that in 1 Cor. 11:18-34, Paul makes

¹⁰ *The King and His Kingdom*. In Two Parts. By J. CARROLL STARK. Hamilton, Ill.: the Author, 1902. 528 pages. \$1.50.

¹¹ *L'Agapé*. Par F. X. FUNK. Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1903. 23 pages.

no reference to the agapé; and also that the supposed reference to it by Tertullian is a misinterpretation of him. He refers, Batiffol contends, not to the agapé supper, but to the eucharist assembly, and especially to the collection there taken for the poor and for the confessors. Thus the word agapé in Latin took on the meaning of alms, and specially designated a meal given by the rich laity to the old women who were cared for by the church. This use of the word did not, however, appear till the third century, and it disappeared in the fifth. Our author sharply attacks Batiffol's position, and shows that Augustine and most of the ablest exegetes, both ancient and modern, hold that the agapé existed in the Corinthian church, and that Paul when he set things in order there (1 Cor. 11:34) separated it from the eucharist. Anyone who has occasion to examine the subject of the agapé will find this monograph useful.

The author of *Apostolic Order and Unity*¹² was for thirty-five years a missionary of the Church of England in Persia and the Punjab, and in hearty Christian fellowship with the missionaries of all denominations. But during that period his own church at home was split "into two almost hostile camps," one seeking unity with the Greek church and that of Rome, the other unity of spirit with all who love and serve Christ; one emphasizing church organization, the other apostolic doctrine and practice. This led the author to a careful investigation of all that the New Testament and the apostolic fathers say concerning church officers and their powers. From this historic survey he concludes that the primitive churches were modeled after the Jewish synagogue instead of the temple; that in them there was no sacerdotalism or episcopacy in the modern sense, and that when such episcopacy began to appear in the second century it was wholly confined to individual local churches; and that the doctrine of apostolic succession, as held by the Roman Catholic church and the Church of England, has no recognition or foundation in the New Testament or in the writings of the apostolic Fathers. His discussion of the epistle of Clement, the Didaché, Ignatius, and Polycarp is just and scholarly. He contends simply for the truth. He is charitable in statement, irenic in spirit, and writes to promote the brotherhood of all true believers in Christ irrespective of the church organizations to which they belong.

Professor Davison's ordination charge¹³ was delivered first before

¹² *Apostolic Order and Unity*. By ROBERT BRUCE. New York: Imported by Scribner, 1903. xiii + 151 pages. \$1.

¹³ *The Christian Ministry: Its Origin, Scope, Significance, and End*. By W. T. DAVISON. Cincinnati: Jennings & Pye, 1902. 65 pages. \$0.15.

the Irish Wesleyan annual conference in Dublin and repeated, in 1902, at Gravel Lane Chapel, Manchester. It is comprehensive and scriptural in thought and full of apostolic fervor and force. Here and there are pithy, quotable sentences. "The only true successors of the apostles today are men who work in apostolic spirit, after apostolic fashion, for apostolic ends." This is a parody on Sir William Hamilton's famous utterance, "Nothing is important in this world but persons; nothing is important in persons but character."

GALUSHA ANDERSON.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY

Volume VII

OCTOBER, 1903

Number 4

RICHARD WAGNER AND CHRISTIANITY. ✓

By HEINRICH WEINEL,
Bonn, Germany.

THE conflict which is going on regarding the true view of man and the world will be brought to an issue rather by men of the prophetic type than by dogmatists and philosophers. And since the former are found among poets as well as in the ranks of philosophers and theologians, it is not sufficient for theologians, as experts in matters of religion, especially the Christian religion, to take cognizance only of scientific books. Nor is the unscientific form in which ideas, often of the highest value, are expressed, any reason why we should not give them our serious attention.

Therefore in selecting a subject suitable for the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF THEOLOGY, I have been actuated by no mere personal partiality for the present topic, but rather by a sense of the significance of Richard Wagner for the religious conflict of our time. Especially have I been induced by the consideration that Wagner's influence is continually on the increase, and particularly because such weighty names as those of Henry Thode and Houston Stewart Chamberlain represent his ideas among us. The work of the latter entitled *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*¹ is one of the most significant, perhaps the most outstanding work of the last years of the nineteenth century; it must

¹ *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.* München: Bruckmann, 1900.

gradually but surely gain a great number of adherents and exercise vast influence on our spiritual life. In that work Wagner's ideas are set forth in a powerful way and, although approximating more closely to the gospel, it always clearly occupies the ground on which Wagner's whole mode of view rests. Wagner's influence, indeed, is bound to keep pace with the increasing maturity of our European development. Certain it is that the general uncopyrighted edition of his works will by and by find a public very differently prepared for their purchase and far more appreciative than was the case at the first appearance of his works in Germany. I am confirmed in this by the incredible popularity of Schopenhauer, whose books now appear in cheap editions, numbering myriads of copies.

When we come to propound the question as to how Wagner's view of man and the world stands related to Christianity, we are only doing what he himself constantly did; for, after the example of Schopenhauer, he sought continually to be a reformer of Christianity. Therefore it is in this aspect we have to judge him. Nor was it any slight estimate he himself set upon his poetical and musical compositions which have this reforming purpose. "As Christianity," he says, "appeared amid the imperial civilization of Rome, so now, amid the chaos of modern civilization, music starts forth on a similar mission. Each exclaims, 'My kingdom is not of this world.'"^{*}

I.

In the following words of the aged Wagner the aim of his reforming activity is concisely set forth: "To deliver mankind from the woes of life, and above all from the pressure of modern culture."

It is a familiar truth that we live in an epoch sated with culture to an extent scarcely paralleled in Rome at the zenith of her splendor, when the world's goods flowed from all points of the compass into the great metropolis. The mass of European mankind float with voluptuous enjoyment in the full current of this modern civilization, while millions from beneath press

^{*} *Werke*, Bd. IX^a, p. 120.

eagerly upward to enjoy a share of the supposed treasures which it has accumulated.

But in the case of the more finely organized and leading individualities, yea, in whole circles, repletion is apt to develop a morbid appetite. Certain almost ludicrous parallels between the life of the upper stratum of modern society and that of the higher classes in the declining Roman empire indicate clearly that we, too, are in a fair way to ripen to our decline and fall. As in all periods of decadence, nervous diseases increase at an alarming rate. Their morbid phenomena are being employed in order to satisfy all sorts of strange religious cravings by means of occultism and spiritism. Vegetarianism comes forward almost with the pretensions of a new gospel, like Gnostic vegetarianism under the Roman empire. Secret, or at least separatist, religious societies, theosophic associations, the "neue Gemeinschaft" in Berlin, Christian Science in America and Europe, seek their God and their redemption outside of the official religions and with new symbols and sacraments. He who can read such signs of the time in the light of analogous epochs of ancient and mediæval civilization knows what period in the life of a people they indicate. The manifold life of our time, exhausting alike in its pleasures and its toil, has superinduced a state of *ennui* and that oversensitiveness to pain and suffering, that longing for death and craving of repose, which characterize all epochs of decadence. Redemption, of which the eighteenth century sought to know nothing, had become the goal of the aspiration of the out-going nineteenth.

Amid all these phenomena of the age, that religion which was the outcome of decadence, which best corresponds to it, and which gives pretended deliverance from it, has in a characteristic fashion presented itself in Europe and America. I mean Buddhism, the religion of the deliverance of man from the sufferings of life by means of mysticism and asceticism.

It was Schopenhauer, so far as I am aware, who in his sensitive soul and keen understanding, first united all the impressions of the modern world so as to originate this new, and yet so old, religion. Various influences conspired to produce this result.

It was just the time in Germany when skepticism and the French illumination, and finally Kant's *Critique*, had loosened the old faith in God and immortality, when our great poets and philosophers sought to satisfy the cravings of the soul with the pantheistic doctrine of a Bruno and a Spinoza, and when the *Weltschmerz* had taken hold of the young poets of the Romantic school and the finest spirits of the West. Finally, it was just at that time that the literature of ancient India was discovered and translated for us. Schopenhauer's chief work, *The World as Will and Idea*, contains the first complete system which combines all these impressions, moods, and persuasions of the time in order to frame out of these a world-redeeming philosophy or a religion without God and without belief in the future life of man—a religion which might afford a true deliverance for mankind afflicted with the evils of civilization.

Richard Wagner became acquainted with Schopenhauer's work between 1853 and 1857, just while he was occupied with the composition of the *Nibelungen*. From that time forward, as he ever freely and thankfully acknowledged, he became and continued to be a disciple of that philosopher. In many of his writings Wagner has given expression to this new mode of view. The most important of them are *Über Staat und Religion* ("On State and Religion"), 1864, which was prepared for the young King Ludwig of Bavaria; *Beethoven*, 1870; and *Religion und Kunst* ("Religion and Art"), 1879, with the appended treatises *Was nützt diese Erkenntniss? Erkenne dich selbst* ("What Avails this Knowledge? Know Thyself"), and *Heldentum und Christentum* ("Heroism and Christianity"). But poetry and music as well as prose were brought into requisition by Wagner in furtherance of his new teaching, which has received its fullest and finest expression in *Parsifal*. In this drama the new music and the new religion co-operate in the representation of a grand mystery, to restore to humanity what it has lost, viz., spiritual well-being, true life and happiness.

What required to be overcome was "the gloomy feeling of misery in the human spirit, and of human cravings profoundly unsatisfied by the state" as well as by culture. What gives

deliverance from this unhappiness ? It is religion as negation of a world which it perceives to be a transient, dreamlike state of existence grounded on an illusion : religion both prepares the deliverance we long for through renunciation and attains it through faith.³

What plunges mankind in misery is the Will to Live, egoism, which seeks to seize for itself all the good things of civilization with that hot eagerness of the Faustian will :

In depths of sensual pleasure drowned,
Let us our fiery passions still !
Let wondrous charms our senses thrill !
Plunge we in time's tempestuous flow,
Stem we the rolling surge of chance !

But no one who gives way to this Will to Live shall be spared the experience of Faust :

From craving to enjoyment thus I reel
And in enjoyment languish for desire.

Instead of happiness he heaps up with restless labor, unhappiness, disillusion upon disillusion, suffering upon suffering. Yea more : on his fellow-men also that grasping spirit, possessed by the Will to Live, heaps up suffering upon suffering. For he takes at the expense of others the good things which he seizes for himself. Hatred, rage, and revenge, conflict and bloody strife, all spring out of this unhappy will. Even the brute creation has been dragged by man into the endless stream of suffering. Like the worst of all beasts of prey, man has forsaken the vegetable food assigned to him by nature and begun to murder the lower animals to nourish himself on their dead bodies.

Man can be delivered from this wretched state only by recognizing, as the Brahmanic religion already does, that deep "This is Thyself !" that is, by recognizing that all living being is one, that in all living the eternal Will to Live impels its subject toward life, strives after enjoyments, and thereby suffers. Whoever recognizes this will cease to lacerate his fellow-creatures, for in all that suffer he will recognize himself suffering with them and will find his own lot repeated. Thus he will cease to cause suffering. If others give him pain, he will understand that they,

³ "Staat und Religion," *Werke*, Bd. VIII, p. 20.

like himself, must do so because they too have that Will to Live, and he will forgive them, since infliction of pain on their part arises from their natural craving and creates for themselves trouble and sorrow. Nothing but the deepest compassion will possess his heart; he will understand and forgive, where, without a personal knowledge of deliverance, he would have hated and robbed his fellow-mortals.

Whoever has become "wise through sympathy" and sympathetic through knowledge is on the very pathway of his own spiritual deliverance, for all suffering will cease for him if he denies the Will to Live, when he brings passion and heart-longing to silence. For then a still, serene peace is lodged in the soul, and it craves no more for itself: it experiences no disillusion; and the evil which others inflict will be overcome through sympathy, through the recognition that they thus treat us because they are still under the power of illusion and have not reached up to the blessed, peace-inspiring recognition of "This thou art."

From this point of view the true freedman, the blessed soul, is the saint, the monk, who has stopped up all the sources of suffering for his own life, viz., the family, possession of goods, and his own will. He who renounces these is delivered from trouble: he has nothing, he loves nothing, he wills nothing. He only recognizes, understands, and sympathizes, and is blessed in the peace of renunciation. It is characteristic that Wagner did not follow Schopenhauer quite to this extreme position. He possessed too strong and brave a German personality for that. Wagner rather sets the ideal of spiritual knighthood before the soul—an ideal which involves, not only complete renunciation, but conflict, and which guides, not merely along the way of knowledge and speculation, but of manful activity in order to lead men to bliss. Parsifal is his typical spiritual deliverer. Wagner conceives the Christian hero as one who, horror-smitten, bestirs himself to fight

against the corruption of his race, of his own habits and honor, and, by means of a marvelous reversal of his misdirected will, seeks to restore himself, as a spiritual hero, to a position among the saints.⁴

⁴ "Heldentum und Christentum," *Werke*, Bd. X, p. 279.

In one other point Wagner appears not to have drawn the final conclusion, from which neither Buddha nor Schopenhauer was deterred. It is expressly required, by the mode of view we have depicted, that the saint should renounce marriage, which—as being the source of individuation, and as in it the Will to Live, in the form of life-creating will, is at the strongest—should be regarded as the source of all suffering even for the future generation. Therefore Wagner appears to have presented this idea also in *Parsifal*;⁵ but an expression in *Heldentum und Christentum*⁶ points rather to another mode of view which Wagner entertained in his younger years. He appears even in later life to have held fast by the principle that only the marriage concluded without love can be regarded as sin, not marriage in every aspect. On this subject he is therefore inconsistent.

On the whole we can say that Wagner never adopted his new view of man and the world in a quite thoroughgoing way.

I need not say much about Wagner's own life, in which he did not exemplify his own ideal of sainthood. He was twice married, and in other ways—as an artist—he gave himself up to the enjoyment of the good things of civilization. This, however, does not affect our judgment of his doctrine. The ethical teacher and the prophet need not always be identical, as Schopenhauer claimed in his own case, although for the success of a system of ethical teaching it is of decided importance that it find a prophet who devotes his life to it, rather than a mere ethical teacher who only speculates about it and recommends it to others. Wagner, however, can claim to have been more than a mere ethical teacher. He can appeal to the fact that he aimed at making his art the instrument of bringing spiritual deliverance for others, and that his art had compelled him to use the means and advantages of culture. Wagner strove and suffered for his art and was faithfully devoted to its service. In face of a hostile world, he won his way upward through much privation.

⁵ The fact that the Knight of the Grail in Lohengrin was married proves nothing, since Lohengrin falls within the first period of Wagner's ideal development.

⁶ "Heldentum und Christentum," *Werke*, Bd. X, p. 279.

But what he did for music was also accomplished for religion and man's spiritual deliverance. "Genuine music," he says, "has the power of deliverance from the fault of mere appearance;"⁷ that is, it reveals the essential nature of things.⁸ In music, and in the mind of the composer, the true nature of the world is disclosed. Music brings home to man's spirit that insight which is the means of its deliverance. Great as may be the difference between a Buddhist monk who begs his daily bread and patches his garments out of picked-up rags, and Wagner, as he lived in his Villa Wahnfried, he too exercised renunciation by the full surrender of his life to the service of his art. There were also times in his life when he could hardly call anything his own any more than the Buddhist beggar, just because he was unwilling to compose fashionable music.

I shall not in this accuse Wagner of inconsistency. Thus far, indeed, he is inconsequent, viz., that he does not hold steadfastly to the idea of spiritual deliverance for individuals, but, urged on by the active force of his personality, he proceeds toward effecting a regeneration of humanity. The express object of that spirit-saving insight which he sought to promote was to produce the saint, that is, one who is delivered from all things, and so delivered that only one task can peculiarly remain for him: he has now to proclaim that deliverance to all, and so seek in course of time to bring about a universal annihilation of the Will to Live, in order that the wheel of becoming may at length altogether stand still and all shall return to the eternal rest of nothingness. Wagner, on the contrary, aims at once more making an attempt on behalf of humanity. It is only historical humanity that he regards as smitten with depravity. So he sought to create among his adherents, or by their means, great organizations and to league together existing associations having special aims, such as societies for the protection of animals, vegetarian and temperance leagues, along with those working for the good of society in general. A wider organization was to spring up which was to devote itself to the accomplishment of the work of regeneration. Wagner even occupied himself about

⁷ "Beethoven," *Werke*, Bd. IX, p. 81.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

a vast scheme of the re-migration of mankind out of the cold and temperate zones into the warm zones which need so much less culture, and in which, above all, the consumption of animal food is superfluous.

In all this Wagner goes beyond the outlines of his Schopenhauerian pessimistic view of man and the world. Here we find, once more, motives which had influenced Wagner in his early years. Yet these are not so strong that on their account we can regard him as one who had entirely broken loose from the pessimistic Buddhist view. We must rather regard his fundamental mode of view as being thoroughly in accord with the general ideas we have already sketched.

II.

As yet I have only mentioned Brahmanism and Buddhism as the religions with which Schopenhauer and Wagner had connection. But the philosopher and the musician themselves recognized that connection. Both expressly and frequently appealed to the Indian religions as those in which their view of the world was most clearly expressed.

Alongside of this, however, both alike claim that their view coincides with genuine and real Christianity.

In order to test this claim we must seek a generally recognized standard of judging. Christianity is a vastly complicated phenomenon of history. It embraces not only three powerful church organizations, but also a history lasting nearly two thousand years, whose arena was on the ground, first of Semitic, then of Greek, next of Roman, and finally of Latin, Germanic, and Slavonic civilization. If, however, we confine ourselves to the ground of the Reformation, here also we find not merely different church organizations, but also so great a variety of forms of Christian doctrine that it is very difficult to find among them one standard of universal validity.

One standard there is, however, which all churches in principle recognize, which Schopenhauer and Wagner continually recognized, which the Reformers, especially Luther, strongly emphasized, and which is, indeed, the most comprehensive and

intelligible one, viz., the gospel of Jesus. Whatever claims to be Christian must find its basis in Jesus and in him only.

Schopenhauer and Wagner appealed to three facts connected with the life and teaching of Jesus: first of all, that he went about the country without home, without family, without possessions, as an itinerant ascetic and preacher, extraordinarily like the Buddhist preaching fraternity as to outward circumstances; then they pointed to his voluntary death, which is always regarded by the church as having atoning efficacy; and finally to the fundamental principle of the ethics of Jesus, viz., neighborly love, which they held to be nothing more than sympathy in the sense of Schopenhauer and the Buddhists.

Along with this Schopenhauer and Wagner cited the example of a series of prominent Christian personalities in whom the ideal of the Buddhistic renunciation of the world had been actually embodied, and that not merely in the case of the monks and the saints of the ancient and mediæval church, but in that of the Mystics and Quietists of the churches of the Reformation. Concerning these we shall not here enter upon any discussion; for in their case also the question would arise as to how far their mode of view and manner of life corresponded to that of the gospel of Jesus, and how far certain legitimate religious cravings and requirements were allowed scope by them. But Wagner regarded the church itself, in many of its phenomenal forms, as degenerate, especially in its concrete dogma and in its cumbrous political organization—these being evidence of a reincroachment of the spirit of Judaism upon the gospel. On the latter alone would Wagner base his doctrine. He would have Christendom reformed by bringing it back to Jesus. "In the image of the crucified Jesus and in his influence on the human soul lies the whole secret whereby the church won to itself the Greek and Roman world. On the other hand, what smote the church with spiritual blight and at length led necessarily to the ever more strongly expressed 'atheism' of our time was the conception, inspired by the encroaching spirit of lordly arrogance, which reduced the divine Victim on the cross to the old Jewish conception of the 'creator of heaven and earth,' with whom as

an angry punitive God man seemed to have more to do than with the self-sacrificing, all-loving Savior of the needy."⁹ It is also the old Jewish Yahweh in whose name Christians still fight battles, bless banners and satisfy the lust of power; not in that of the God of Christendom who died on the cross. In this we cannot say that Wagner is quite wrong. Christianity, as it now actually exists, contains in reality, among other elements of belief, a surprising admixture of Jewish and polytheistic ingredients, which have too little in common with the Father, as Jesus knew and worshiped him, for one to hold him in reverence. Wagner's expressions, however, are exaggerated. In his works he wages a conflict with Judaism which, beginning about music, passes into politics and finally to the religious conception of the world. Wagner aims at separating Jesus entirely from his connection with the Jewish people. Once he sought to do so by means of the rational consideration that there was actually very little Jewish blood in Galilee in Jesus' time. He passed on from this, however, to a profound speculation in regard to the birth and blood of the Redeemer. We find here a thought similar to one expressed by Schleiermacher, viz., that the origin of so eminently gifted a man as the founder of a religion of the significance of Jesus was less the work of two human individuals than of the whole human species. This consideration was extended by Wagner on the ground of his idea of purity of race and blood, and with the help of Schopenhauer and Gobineau's thought, till it assumed the following form: "The blood in the veins of the Redeemer must have flowed as a divine sublimate of the human species from the utmost effort of the redemption-seeking will for the deliverance of the species which was ready to succumb to its noblest races." Thus the partaking of the blood of Jesus, as done symbolically in the "one true sacrament" of the Christian religion, is a divine purification which hinders the corruption of the race through the mixture of blood.¹⁰ In this sacrament Wagner found yet another symbol. For in his view Jesus devoted his own flesh and blood as the final and highest sin-offering for

⁹ "Religion und Kunst," *Werke*, Bd. X, p. 215.

¹⁰ "Heldentum und Christentum," *Werke*, Bd. X, p. 239.

all the blood and flesh which has been sinfully shed and slaughtered by man; and for animal good he substituted bread and wine as the daily nourishment of his disciples: "Ye must partake only of these in remembrance of me." This sacrament Wagner regards as the one great healing institution of the Christian religion; in its use the whole teaching of the Redeemer is brought into exercise.¹¹ Grotesque as it may appear to us to hear the Holy Supper described as a showing forth of the spiritual deliverance through vegetarianism, and to find this regarded as Christianity *in nuce*; and historically false as such an idea is, for Jesus was certainly no vegetarian, and he had probably just partaken of the paschal lamb before pronouncing the words of the sacred rite, which in themselves have no vegetarian sound, yet we can understand how all this originated in Wagner's general view, which tends to ascribe the rapacious elements of human nature to the use of animal food, and to this again the whole perverse development of culture.

This example very clearly shows in what sense Wagner appropriates Christian ideas, usages, and dogmas. For him the Christian doctrine and the church, and faith and hope in God exist no more. All these he regards as illusion (*Wahn*), a fanciful way of representing the real saving insight into the unity or totality of all that live—an illusion which the laity, who cannot penetrate to the deepest view of the nature of the world, must continue to hold. Says Wagner:

Just on that account faith is imperatively required on the part of the people, while the "religious man," who has become a partaker of redemption by means of his own insight into the true view of the world, feels and knows that the laity, to whom that view remains strange, have only access *through faith* to an acquaintance with divine truths. And if this faith is to be really fruitful, it must be sincere, unconditional, and undoubting, inasmuch as the dogma contains what is incomprehensible and apparently contradictory to common knowledge, because of the incomparable difficulty of giving it form and expression.¹²

In Schopenhauer's and Wagner's own estimation they were the first to unveil this profound, inwardly intelligible content of Christianity.

¹¹ "Religion und Kunst," *Werke*, Bd. X, p. 230.

¹² "Staat und Religion," *Werke*, Bd. VIII, p. 23.

It was to be the life-task of Wagner, the aged composer, to bring "deliverance to the deliverer," to purify the Christian religion from the dross of its long-continued decline to Judaism, to reveal its essential principles, and to make the blood of the Redeemer once more effective for our race; in a word, to do Parsifal's work.

In *Parsifal* Wagner has employed all the resources of his powerful art, as only a great poet, painter, and musician could, in order by their means to constitute the new religion as a worship, a sacrament, and a mythology, in a form than which scarcely anything could be more enrapturing and elevated. Here Wagner has held up the mirror to the feeling and thinking humanity of our generation; he has with tremendous force depicted the fall of the soul in the alluring garden of voluptuous culture, the restless fever of this life, and the blissful, superterrestrial rest; all this he has portrayed or rather engraved on the soul. When one remembers that, in the hearts of most of the hearers of *Parsifal*, the deepest impressions of their childhood's faith and the memories of the most decisive day of their early religious life—though these may have been deadened by years of indifference, amid the stress of daily toil or mundane pleasure—have been revived by the representation of the sacrament of the Supper, of baptism, and of Good Friday, he can understand why the performance of *Parsifal* is the most powerful sermon that can be preached to our generation.

It is, indeed, a powerful Christian sermon; for in many features Wagner's religion and Christianity really coincide.

But when we inquire after the deepest and ultimate elements of Wagner's teaching in *Parsifal*, we find that it embodies all the ideas of Schopenhauer and the Indian religion—of course with the exception of the divergences to which we have already referred—and we perceive that it makes Christianity only supply the grand, allegorical vesture of the ideas with which we are already acquainted through Wagner's prose writings.

The whole fundamental conception of *Parsifal* shows this plainly; it is not through the death of the fallen Amfortas, and not through the punishment of the sinner, nor even through

that forgiveness which restores to him the gracious love of God, that the Grail was redeemed, but through sympathy and that soul-delivering insight which Parsifal gained when he realized self-abnegation.

Blest be that suffering which endowed
The timid foolish wight,
With highest power of sympathy
And purest wisdom's might.

Quite unconsciously, and in chaste folly, he brought by his flight the deepest suffering on his mother; half unconsciously, in innate lust of blood, he killed the first animal, the swan; and at first he regarded, without understanding, the sufferings of his fellow-men as represented by Amfortas. It was the temptation into which he was plunged by Kundry, the woman, and the world of sense, that gave him experimental insight into that which is the source of the world's suffering, viz., lust; and when the dazzling light flashed upon his own guilt and that of Amfortas, then at length, capable of insight into the reality of things (*weltthellsichtig*), he attains knowledge of the great truth, "This thou art," and sympathy lodges in his heart. He conquers and wins the lance which brings deliverance. Of all the stories of temptation in literature, including that of Hercules at the parting of the ways, and Buddha's conflict with Mara, this appears to me to be the profoundest and most powerful, because it connects temptation with the most beautiful feeling of human nature, love toward the mother. It is characteristic of Wagner that he goes beyond Buddha and Schopenhauer in making his hero, long after this wonderful experience, wander still on the path of "error and of suffering," while he proves himself in conflict. Not knowledge alone, but also conflict and action, were necessary, according to the aged Wagner. No doubt in the end the hero wanders out of the world back to the Holy Land, lays aside his weapon, transforming himself into a monk or a saint; and now for the first time he brings deliverance to all—Kundry, the knights of the Grail, Amfortas, and finally the Grail itself; he brings deliverance to the deliverers. The unveiling of the Grail and of its mystery now finally sets the seal of perfection on the deliverer.

Down to all its details, so far as the use of the old legendary material does not occasion some incongruity between form and idea, we can, in *Parsifal*, trace the thought of Buddha and Schopenhauer. Even the peculiar limitation of the temptation to the allurements of woman and sensualism is characteristic of its ascetic religious form. In the case of the temptation of Jesus the tempting thoughts are represented as of quite a different character, viz., the unwarranted and sinful gratification of the passion of dominion and the exercise of that miraculous power of which, as the Son of God, he was the conscious possessor.

In addition to this we find in *Parsifal* many other points of difference. The killing of an animal is a dreadful and criminal act. Against Parsifal, when he had killed the swan, was launched this stern denunciation :

Horrible deed !

Canst thou do murder ? In this holy wood,
Whose peaceful solitudes surround thy steps,
Its denizens ne'er showed thee threatening teeth,
But greet thee aye with friendly innocence.
What songs the birdlings sang thee from the boughs !
What harm was done thee by the friendly swan ?

* * * * *

Here, horror ! here thou smotest him ; his blood
Cries out against thee ; limply hang his wings ;
His snowy plumage wears a crimson stain ;
The eyes grow dim ; mark their accusing look,
And recognize that thou'st committed crime !

Another noteworthy point in *Parsifal* is in regard to Good Friday, which brings redemption, not merely to the sinner, or to the suffering human creature, but to the whole creation :

Now all creation joys

In the Redeemer's gracious trace,

And lifts its grateful prayer.

Himself it cannot on the cross perceive,
It dumbly looks to man who is redeemed,
Who feels released from guilty fear and grief ;
Made pure and whole through sacrifice divine.
Today the meads wear tender grass and flowers :
No human foot is there to trample them.

Now every creature joins in praise,
(All that blooms and quickly dies),
Since Nature on this day of days
Cleansed and freed from guilt doth rise.

This profound and impressive elegy is the utterance of a noble, sympathetic, and pious spirit which is oppressed under the burden of culture and finds the same trouble wherever he looks. Among the early Christians, Paul had similarly felt—Paul the dweller in large cities, who had spent his youth in Tarsus and Jerusalem, and his adult years in the towns of Syria and Asia Minor, as well as in Jerusalem. He had seen humanity tormented in the service of culture and the lower animals martyred; he had sympathized with the universal suffering, and had uttered the profound saying in regard to the heart-longing of the whole creation which groans for the manifestation of the sons of God. He cherished the hope that it would be delivered from bondage into the glorious liberty of the children of God (Rom. 8:21).

It was quite otherwise with Jesus. Not that sympathy with nature was foreign to him. He was not possessed by a spirit of anxiety, like so many moderns. And perhaps none of his contemporaries had lived in and with nature as he did. But he does not regard nature with the eye of a pessimist, but in all its radiant living fulness. The lilies of the field in their beauty tell him not merely that they are "as the grass," a spoil for the harvest, but they above all reveal to him the riches and care of the Father in heaven; and the fowls of the air, which carry on no culture-work and yet live, tell him of the fatherly love of God to all his creatures. The sparrow which falls dead from the roof did not preach to him any pessimism and universal suffering, but of God in whose hand is life and death. Jesus beholds around him the ever-young, mighty, death-devouring life which speaks to him in clear tones. The sprouting blades waving in the vernal breeze gave him assurance of a steadfast gradual growth; and the mustard-seed, the smallest of all seeds, which grows to such a height in one brief summer, revealed to him that God can cause great things to spring out of small beginnings.

This is no mere side issue into which I have wandered. We are here brought directly to the main difference between Jesus and that culture-wearied resignation-religion which Buddha, Schopenhauer, and Wagner represented.

Certainly Jesus has many ideas in common with the latter religion. He also views the present time pessimistically. In the language and mode of representation of his age he has expressed this by saying that "the devil rules over the kingdoms of the world" (Matt. 4:8f.), and that he was come to destroy the works of Satan (Luke 10:18). Jesus was also far from the superficial optimism and world-enjoyment of the mass of mankind. He is certainly a saint in Wagner's sense. He had renounced everything, possessions and occupation, home and family, in order to do God's work. He had parted with everything for the pearl of great price. The Son of man had less of his own than the foxes and birds. His end was the cross, to which, albeit after a hard conflict, he went forward with calm resolve.

Nevertheless this renunciation of the world was not that of Buddhism, and the love which Jesus set forth was not the sympathy of Schopenhauer.

With the latter the deliverance lay in the very renunciation of the world. Man can furnish no handle to suffering or unhappiness when he renounces all striving after the gratification of desire. The man who is resigned as to weal or woe can experience no disillusion. In this mode of view blessedness implies the calm tranquillity of him who has recognized that all willing leads only to suffering, and who has therefore renounced willing. World-renunciation is freedom from the world and, since the world is suffering, it implies spiritual deliverance. The world can be overcome only in the sense of being left behind.

With Jesus renunciation of the world is not happiness, but suffering. Jesus had painfully felt what it means to be separated from home and mother and brethren. He had painfully borrowed what foxes and birds possess—a home. He knew what he had undertaken, and he warned others against seeking with light-hearted rashness to become his disciples. But he had accepted the sorrow of renunciation as a duty which his lofty mission imposed upon him. He had accepted it bravely and cheerfully as being the will of his Father who knows what is for the good of his children, and can cause suffering to bloom

at length into welfare and happiness, blessedness and the kingdom of heaven. With Jesus all is activity, onward pressing, happy faith, gallant hope; therefore for him suffering has significance only as it subserves his cause; by itself it is of no value.

The love which Jesus manifested and preached is not mere sympathy, but a strong, much-daring, valiant affection. It is not the compassion which merely pities, bewails, and supports the neighbor, and so makes weak; it is a love which calls its object to high and arduous achievement, that seeks to raise him above himself and draw him to the highest. Jesus not only willed to die for others, but willed that others should die with him (Mark 8: 35 ff.).

With Jesus also the life which consists in culture is not "the life;" but he will not go back to an imaginary Utopia, a happy naïve state without culture; he rather looks forward to a new order of things, the kingdom of God wherein the divine will prevails. What in the case of Buddha's disciples is the weary longing of souls tormented by culture, and æsthetic deliverance through mystery or the transports of ecstasy, is in the case of the disciples of Jesus confident trust, firm hope, and healthy activity.

III.

Not that this element of hopeful activity is quite lacking in Wagner. It is quite clearly brought into prominence at an earlier stage, and also at the close of *Parsifal* the same note is audible:

Partake ye of bread, transform its strength
 To bodily power and vigor;
 Faithful to death, steadfast in toil,
 Follow the Savior's mission.

Partake ye of wine, transform it anew
 To blood full of living ardor;
 Joyously banded, true to the brotherhood,
 Combat with courage undaunted.

But this note does not quite harmonize with Wagner's general point of view. It can be understood only as a reaction of

Wagner's own strong personality against Schopenhauer's teaching which had come to him under the influence of Franz Liszt and certain sad experiences at a time of growing depression. It was quite otherwise in Wagner's earlier years. Then also he had connected his ideal with the figure of Jesus, and therefore it is well to cast a glance at his dramatic sketch *Jesus von Nazareth*, of the year 1847.¹³

One cannot better exhibit the revolution in Wagner's view of the world than in the two conclusions of the *Götterdämmerung* ("Twilight of the Gods"). Thus speaks Brunhilde in the later :

Never more I hasten
To Walhalla's banquet.
Know ye my direction ?
From the realm of Wishing,
And shadowy Illusion,
I have fled forever ;
And the gate where passes
The current of Becoming —
Of eternal *Werden* —
I must close behind me ;
Draweth me the Wise One
To the kingdom radiant
Of most holy Choice-Land.

Void of vain desiring
Void of all illusion —
Goal of our world-wand'ring,
By New-Birth enfranchised,
All of this eternal
Happy consummation
Wist ye how I won it ?
Sorrowing Love and
Suffering profoundest
Clarified my vision ;
Gave me true insight
Of the world's condition.¹⁴

In an earlier version the words ran thus :

All the race divine
As a breath has vanished,
And the world forlorn
Is left without a ruler.
My most sacred lore
To the world I leave it —
'Tis not goods nor is it gold,
Brilliant pomp I give not ;
'Tis not house or princely court,
Lordly show I leave not ;

Compacts dark, deceptive leagues,
Hollow customs use not,
Rigid laws, nor any wrongs
That oppress the peoples.
But happy still whate'er your lot,
Be it joy or sorrow,
Let love prevail: throughout the
earth
The only law and ruler.

The influence of Schopenhauer is manifest in the first quotation, the very title of his chief work being here recalled : "The

¹³Published by his son Siegfried Wagner in 1887. Leipzig : Breitkopf & Härtel.

¹⁴This passage may be more clearly rendered in prose, as follows : "The initiated one (Brunhilde), by New-Birth enfranchised, is bent on a pilgrimage to the kingdom radiant of most holy Choice-Land, where vain desires and illusions are no more. . . . Profoundest suffering of sorrowing life opened my eyes : I saw the end of the world."

World as Will (*Wunschheim*) and Idea (*Wahnheim*).” In the latter citation we have the spirit of a young turbulent revolutionist of 1848, who is in rebellion against state and society, hollow compact, rigid law, and hypocritical customs. This one does not seek to attain his end by fellowship of suffering and renunciation, not by negation, but by highest affirmation by the Will to Love. “So let us comport ourselves that man may be just without the work of the law and only through love.”¹⁵

We cannot here take in hand to trace out all the stages of transition from Wagner’s first formative period to the second, nor is this the place to treat of all his writings of the first period; but the general mode of view which is plainly mirrored in the *Jesus von Nazareth* is well worth consideration, even although it was abandoned by Wagner himself. It is the predominant view in the *Nibelungen-Ring* which, in its original form, was wholly founded on it. Especially is it powerfully expressed in the great dialogue between Wotan and Fricka.

Wagner was a revolutionary, not only in the domain of music; he was even one of communistic tendency. To overthrow the state and the law, and to build on their ruins a new world by the help of a love, passionate, ardent, and impetuous—that was his aim. Before this love all law was to vanish; for law, or compulsion, renders man unhappy. The first law is that of marriage. But “marriage does not sanctify love; it is love that sanctifies marriage.”¹⁶ Free love must stand instead of the law of marriage. Such a relation will be moral and lasting; for love is in its nature eternal, and a couple who form such a relationship without any compulsion can do so only in love. In Wagner’s future community, however, one of the chief among the false motives for marriage, viz., money, would be wanting. For property would no longer exist. Property is maintained through law. But Wagner represents Jesus as saying:

Strive not after the world’s treasures and lay not up the mammon where thieves dig through. . . . But where in opposition to the love of humanity riches are laid up, there also the thieves assemble, against whom the law is promulgated: thus the law makes the sinners and mammon the thieves.”

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 92.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 34 f.

He who laid up the treasures that thieves can steal was the first who broke the law, since he took from his neighbor what was needful for him. Who is the thief? He who took from his neighbor that of which he had need, or he who took from the rich man that which he did not need?¹⁸

Property is theft. Therefore there is no peace between God and the state, since God and mammon are irreconcilable foes and the state was formed for the protection of property and gold. But if property were abolished, all misery, even sickness itself, would vanish from the world. What Wagner at a later period believed might be attained through vegetarianism, Jesus sought to bring about through love which works in the service of others.

My doctrine of healing is simple. Live according to my law, and you will no longer need a physician. Therefore I say to you, if your bodies are deranged, take heed that your children may be in health and not inherit your disease. Live always in community of goods; say not "That is mine," but "This is ours." Then none of you will suffer want and ye will be in health. But the evils which yet befall you through nature are easily remedied; every beast of the forest knows what herb he needs—how should you not know it as soon as you see clearly and have open eyes? But so long as you walk on the way of misery and gluttony, of usury and famine, your eye is veiled and you see not what is most simple.

Who can miss the penetrating power of these words, which are a great social sermon, and who can fail to perceive that Wagner here grasps more profoundly the source of human misery than in his later years? In spite of all that is fantastic and excessive in these words, they hit the mark; it is not vegetarianism, nor law, but only a strong brave love which is ready to sacrifice itself, that can heal the physical wounds which culture inflicts on mankind.

The view of man and the world on which these injunctions are based is essentially that of the later pantheism, or rather panpsychism; only it is here characteristically limited to mankind, and its mode of thought is rather that of the young Hegelians than of Schopenhauer. Thus Wagner represents Jesus as saying: "Even as the body has many and manifold members, each of which has its work, its use, and its peculiar

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

function, all of which, however, constitute the one body, so all men are members of the one God."⁹ God is for him the unity of mankind in love. "All are partakers of God in immortality who know him ; but to know him means to serve him ; that is to love our neighbor as ourselves."¹⁰ Man must love others as Jesus did, viz., even to death. For with death is annihilated the body, which is the seat and abode of egoism ; through death man returns to the universal. He who has loved others and spent his life for them in faithful service, and so has absolutely surrendered it, attains immortality in the grateful love of those whom he has loved. The egotist, on the contrary, who loves only himself, never has the happy experience of receiving grateful love in return for his own ; he is excluded from immortality, though no doubt he too must yield up his life in devoted service, that is, to himself and his own welfare. Yet, notwithstanding all his care, he cannot at all, amid his continual desire, make himself happy. To such men apply the words of the epistle of James : "Ye lust and have not ; ye hate and envy and obtain nothing thereby ; ye fight and war and have nothing." Only through loving service to the common weal is the life even of the individual maintained and happiness attained — a profound and true thought which even apart from the pantheistic substratum retains its truth ; in our time Tolstoi has reread it out of the gospels and made it the foundation of his teaching.

IV.

I am thoroughly convinced that, in spite of all contradictory features, the Wagner who manifests himself in the *Jesus von Nazareth* stands nearer the historical Jesus than does Wagner, the disciple of Schopenhauer.

No doubt we must here except what may be termed the legal dogmatism with which Wagner contends *against* law in every form and *for* communism. His Jesus is an ethical-political reformer — a rôle which the historical Jesus never adopted nor sought to adopt. But the strong and steadfast, happy and courageous love of Wagner's conception, is really that love of

⁹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

one's neighbor which Jesus taught. And who shall dare to deny that from this source, even centuries hence, organizations may be formed and precepts may be drawn on behalf of our race, though it no longer believes in the impending advent of a great world-catastrophe?

But the gospel of Jesus exhibits no feature of legal narrowness. The ground of Wagner's divergence from its spirit lies in the fact that he manifests no trace of the *religion* of Jesus. On this account Wagner did not conceive the commands of Jesus as the natural expression of the living power residing in his person, but as laws which must be carried out in detail even through compulsion. It was not for nothing that Wagner, the young revolutionist, fought at the barricades.

It is on the ground of this want of the *religion* of Jesus, of his faith in the Father, the mighty God of love, that I find the explanation also of why at a later period Wagner was caught by the spell of Schopenhauer's pessimism. One cannot in this case aptly cite Goethe's saying that old age makes man a mystic. For Wagner, when he went over to pessimism, was still in the forties. It was not the result of age, but of continual conflict and the many disillusionments he had experienced, that he changed from a revolutionary into a preacher of fellow-suffering; and the high hope that the faithful followers of Jesus would in the near future set up a kingdom of love²² changed with him into the resignation which, in the charms of art and the depths of esoteric knowledge, enjoys deliverance from the sorrows of the world.

This hope of Wagner's always lacked the right foundation, viz., faith in the Father in heaven as Jesus taught it and found in it the strength of his own life—the faith that a stronger personal will, which is at the same time the will of a Father, guides the history of all living, so that it is not we ourselves who “make” our own lives and the lives of mankind. This is faith, in Jesus' meaning of that word, not in the sense of that blind acceptance of dogma without understanding it which Wagner sets forth as the faith to be enjoined upon the laity.

²² This is expressed in glowing terms with plain reference to contemporary events, on p. 50, of his *Jesus von Nazareth*.

That faith of Jesus alone can give support for a life such as his disciples are ever called to lead, in combat with the stupidity and inertia within and around them, in their struggle after loftiness and purity of soul, and in their service of love, that courageous, strong, self-sacrificing, exacting love which seeks to draw others into the kingdom of God. This faith is also the one sufficient support for the hope that God will cause his kingdom to come, which will appease all the sorrows of culture and of the creation in the victorious joy of oneness with God as his children. Whoever trusts only in man speedily learns to be doubtful of man. Sympathy and resignation and æsthetic self-elevation above this discovery of human weakness is all that remains to him. Such "deliverance," however, like all æsthetic enjoyment, is something very transient. Also the earnestness of life is fully manifest only to him who is capable of discerning God and eternity behind the veil of this life. The more certainly he bases his hope upon the assurance that God will bring in his kingdom, the more strongly will he feel it incumbent upon him to devote his own life to co-operating toward the victory of that kingdom and to fit himself for participating in its blessings.

It is no matter of indifference that we should clearly bring out the distinction between the religion of Jesus and the religion of Buddha and Schopenhauer, which, with few divergences, is the religion of Wagner.

For if a religion is changed into ever so many symbols and allegories to express thoughts of another character—as Schopenhauer and Wagner deal with the Christian religion—then that religion is lost. Christianity can be preserved only by a return to the historical person of Jesus—to his God, his hope, and his conception of the good.

Moreover, the most dangerous attack made against Christianity in our day, and one that has not yet been wholly repelled, that of Friedrich Nietzsche, resulted in a great measure from the fact that Nietzsche understood Christianity and Jesus in Schopenhauer's sense. The historical Jesus is scarcely ever met in his writings.

Finally there is this to be taken into account : Were a form of

Christianity akin to the Buddhist faith to be devised and carried into practice, the same fate would befall its votaries which has befallen the people which have been or are now ruled by Buddhism. The question may, indeed, arise as to which is cause and which is effect—the decadence of those peoples or their religion; in reality all those peoples are in a condition of decline. One may observe something similar in the case of the Catholic nations of Europe. Here, too, it is shown that a people must necessarily become retrograde where asceticism and monasticism are viewed as the peculiar form of the devout life, and faithful work in one's calling and simple, strong trust in God are relegated to a second place in religion. Or, is here also that kind of devoutness the offspring of decadence? Whichever way it is, we must not have decadence, and it behooves everyone who loves his people and his neighbor to fight against it. Only the gospel of Jesus, with its firm faith in the future and its strong impulse to active work can preserve a people. It is not rejection of culture, but rather making such culture subservient to the kingdom of God; it is not renunciation of the world, but overcoming the world, which lifts us above the sorrows of modern life. Certainly, the difficulties connected with the question of how this is to be done tower mountain-high; but have we not a thousand hands which should work together to remove these mountains?

In spite of this disagreement, let us not forget what we have in common with Wagner. Along with the homage we pay to him as an artist, we would cherish gratitude for the great service he has rendered to our age by the promulgation of his views of man and the world. More so, especially, because the German people in the seventies and eighties of the last century were in danger of sinking down into a shallow, superficial enjoyment of a culture that was supposed to yield happiness. The gospel which David Friedrich Strauss had preached in his "*The Old Faith and the New*," threatened at that time to devour the gospel of Jesus. Then Wagner recalled our people to the true and right, and to aspiration after the eternal and the highest, an aspiration which no industry, no technical pursuit, and no art can conjure away. Still in our own day Christianity is in danger of becom-

ing lost in culture and of confounding trust in God with a superficial worldly enjoyment. In this state of things two weighty lessons are earnestly brought to bear upon us in the teaching of Wagner; one of these, drawn from his earlier works, deals with the *social problem* and enjoins the carrying out into practical effect of the duty of love to one's neighbor; in the other the aged Wagner leads us into the still deeper and more difficult subject of culture, and compels us to ask what the gospel has to do with culture. If we have not found Wagner's solution of the problem adequate, yet we should never forget that he brings it home to us with overwhelming power, and has ever afresh directed Christianity to the source of its strength—to Jesus himself. In this respect Wagner remains always consistent; and therefore so far as he has done this, and in proportion to his true knowledge of Jesus, we owe him an imperishable debt of gratitude.

THE IDEA OF GOD HELD BY NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.¹

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It is generally thought that the Indian believed in one supreme deity, whom he designated the "Great Spirit." Such a term was often used by Indians when speaking with white men. What was the nature and origin of this Indian "Great Spirit"?

The first thing to note and to remember is that the Indian has not one god only, but many gods. When he passes by a remarkable waterfall, he makes a prayer and leaves an offering. There are various rocks, caves, and other objects of nature that are approached with awe and presented with gifts. Father Brebeuf, writing about the Hurons in 1636, tells of a certain rock which they passed on their way to Quebec, and to which they always offered tobacco, placing it in the cleft of the rock and addressing the demon who lived there with prayer for protection and success.² When the Indian in crossing a lake finds himself in serious danger, he prays to the spirit of the lake, throwing an offering, perhaps a dog, into the water. When the sound of the thunder frightens him, he prays to the thunder-being for protection.³ When he needs rain, he directs his rites to the god of

¹ The Mexican peoples and the Eskimos are not included in this study. I omit the Mexicans partly because many of them had advanced in civilization so far beyond other natives that it is easier to study them separately, but also because there is a convenient geographical division between Mexico and the United States. The Eskimos present a race-type sufficiently marked to distinguish them from other natives of the continent.

² BREBEUF, on Hurons, Part II, chap. iii.; in "Relations of the Jesuits" (1636); translation in THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. X, pp. 159 ff. Cf. with this D. W. HARMON, *Journal of Voyages* (Andover, 1820), pp. 363, 364, and H. Y. HIND, *Red River Exploring Expedition* (2 vols.; London, 1860), Vol. II, p. 133 (on Crees and others).

³ J. O. DORSEY, "Siouan Cults," in the *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 381-5; MRS. E. A. SMITH, *Myths of the Iroquois*, in *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 54, 55.

rain for thunder. Air and earth and water are alive with spirits, any one of which may be prayed to; but as a matter of fact certain ones are singled out for worship. Add to these the many animal deities, which are invoked even more frequently than those of the elements in the sacred formulas of the Cherokees.⁴ Among all the Indians we find particular species of animals and plants adored by particular individuals or tribes as special guardian deities, the famous totems of the Indians. It will be remembered that the Indian corn appeared to Hiawatha.

Bearing in mind that Indians are vigorous polytheists, we may study the character of the chief of these many deities. He is sometimes figured in purely human form. The Californians, we are told, called their chief god by such names as the "Great Man," the "Old Man Above," etc.⁵ The Dakota term *Wakan-tanka*, or "Great Mysterious," often used by missionaries to designate the supreme god, is applied also to the thunder-god, and probably to others.⁶ Among the Omahas, Kansas, and Ponkas the word used for "god" is *Wakanda*, "the mysterious" or "powerful;" but there are many beings addressed as *Wakanda*, such as the sun, the thunder-power, the ground, the upper world, etc.,⁷ and it is difficult to tell which is the greatest. But the sun may, I think, claim the pre-eminence with these, as with most other tribes.

The missionary Brainerd wrote of the Delawares:

I find that in ancient times, before the coming of the white people, some supposed that there were four invisible powers, who presided over the four corners of the earth. Others imagined the sun to be the only deity, and that all things were made by him.⁸

A chief of the Indians of the Potomac river said to the English in 1612:

⁴JAMES MOONEY, "Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," *Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, pp. 340-42; cf. E. A. SMITH, *Second Report*, pp. 51-5, 112-16.

⁵STEPHEN POWERS, "Tribes of California," *United States Geographical and Geological Survey; Ethnology*, Vol. III, pp. 24, 79, 161.

⁶DORSEY, "Siouan Cults" (p. 366).

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 366, 367, 372, 380, etc.

⁸JON. EDWARDS, *Memoirs of David Brainerd*, 2d ed. (New Haven, 1822), p. 345.

We have five gods in all; our chief god appears often unto us in the likeness of a mighty great hare; the other four have no visible shape, but are indeed the four winds which keep the four corners of the earth.⁹

This deity in the form of a great hare was a deity of light, whose house was toward the rising sun.¹⁰

Father Biard says of the Canadian Indians among whom he labored: "They believe in a God, so they say; though they cannot call him by any name except that of the sun." When the Jesuit asked an Indian priest about their rites, the priest replied that when they were in great need, he put on his sacred robe and, turning toward the east, said: "Our sun, or our God, give us something to eat."¹¹ An Omaha reports that when Indians traveled they extended the mouthpiece of their pipes toward the sun, saying:

Ho, mysterious Power, you who are the Sun! Here is tobacco! I wish to follow your course. Cause that it may be so!¹²

The sun-deity was thought to have use for things even grosser than the fumes of tobacco. A war captain of the Kansas about to make an attack on the Pawnees is reported to have addressed the rising sun as follows:

I wish to kill a Pawnee! I desire to bring horses when I return. I long to pull down an enemy! I promise you a calico shirt and a robe. I will give you a blanket, also, O Wakanda, if you will allow me to return in safety after killing a Pawnee!¹³

This Indian, like other people, pictured his god after his own image. His deity, we notice, was somewhat identified with the sun; but he was a man for all that. The same Indian who here addressed the sun would at another time address the thunder, the earth, or the mountains.

The sun was especially prominent in the worship of southern Indians. The Natchez called their ruler the "great sun," and said that his ancestor came down from the sun and gave them

⁹ WILLIAM STRACHEY, *Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia* ("Hakluyt Society," London, 1849), p. 98.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

¹¹ BIARD, "Relation," 1616, chap. viii; translated in THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. III, p. 135.

¹² DORSEY, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 376-8.

their laws and their sacred fire.¹⁴ The Pueblo Indians now profess the Christian religion, yet they hold to the old rites in that they still turn to the east and worship the morning sun¹⁵ and expose their infants to the sun at their birth.

Father Brebeuf reports that the Hurons address earth, rivers, lakes, and dangerous rocks, but direct their rites particularly to the sky, and adds:

It is really God whom they honor, though blindly, for they imagine in the Heavens an Oki, that is to say, a Demon or power which rules the seasons of the year, which holds in check the winds and the waves of the sea; which can render favorable the course of their voyages, and assist them in every time of need.¹⁶

The chief deity of many of the tribes was described as an animal. In one story from the Sioux he is represented as an eagle, who had a nest on the summit of a mountain. It is also said that he used to kill buffalo and eat them on the hill.¹⁷ Some writers speak of the Great Spirit of some of the Chippewas and Ottawas as the "Great Turtle." One adventurer describes the ceremony of invoking the Great Turtle, who gave his people information of value to them.¹⁸ The most common animal deity among Algonkin tribes was their chief god, the Great Hare,¹⁹ variously called Nanabush, Michabo, etc.; the latter name, Dr. Brinton says, originally meant a light god. The Great Rabbit was at the same time a man and the ancestor of the Indians. He was the creator of the earth, the teacher of men, a nature power,

¹⁴ LE PAGE DU PRATZ, *Histoire de la Louisiane* (Paris, 1758; three vols.), Vol. II, chap. xxiii.

¹⁵ J. GREGG, *Commerce of the Prairies* (New York, 1844), Vol. I, p. 273.

¹⁶ BREBEUF, on Hurons, in "Relation," 1636; translated in THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. X, pp. 159 ff.; cf. LAFITAU, *Moeurs des Sauvages Américains* (Paris, 1724, 2 vols), Vol. I, pp. 133 ff.

¹⁷ ABBÉ E. DOMENECH, *Seven Years in the Deserts of North America* (London, 1860; 2 vols.), Vol. II, p. 384; and CATLIN, *Manners and Customs of North American Indians* (Philadelphia, 1857; 2 vols.), Vol. I, pp. 218, 219.

¹⁸ ALEXANDER HENRY, *Travels and Adventures, 1760-76* (New York, 1809), chap. xxi. SCHOOLCRAFT, *Western Scenes and Reminiscences*, p. 457, writing of the Chippewas, calls the turtle their Great Spirit. From such reports we at least see how loose is the use of the term "Great Spirit."

¹⁹ See above (note 9). STRACHEY, on Potomac Indians.

etc. And yet he was by no means omnipotent or omniscient. From observing the spiders, it is said, he learned to make fish nets, which art he taught his people. He succeeded ill in trying to create the earth until the muskrat came to his rescue. Finally, his grave is shown by some of the Indians on Lake Superior.²⁰ But we learn elsewhere that he has gone to the east to abide, which saying suggests that he is a god of light.

The Great Rabbit god was chiefly noted as creator. The story is that when the waters covered the earth, the great rabbit was on a raft with other animals. They wanted dry land to abide on; so the great hare sent down successively the beaver and the otter, but without success. Finally, the female muskrat secured a bit of earth, from which the creator made the land. The great hare married the muskrat, and from their union came the human beings who inhabit the earth.²¹ There are several interesting things as to the creator's character to be noted in this story. He was a sort of demi-god, and both man and rabbit; he was the ancestor of men. He was not all-wise nor all-powerful. He failed in his attempt to create land until the muskrat helped him out. Another interesting feature is that the story represents animals, and water and earth beneath, as already existing. It does not tell us how they came into being. Some tribes say that this was only a second creation after a flood. The Montagnais of Canada told of an old forgotten deity, Atahocan, who originally created the world; they thought they recognized him in the Christian God.²² It is a usual thing for the Indian story of the creation to start out with a man or an animal already existing for the rest of life to start from. The Osages say that their race sprang from a snail, which turned into a man and married the daughter of a beaver.²³

²⁰ HENRY, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 213; cf. CHARLEVOIX, *Histoire et Journal* (Paris, 1744; 3 vols.), Vol. III, p. 281.

²¹ D. G. BRINTON, *American Hero-Myths*, pp. 39-42; N. PERROT, *Mémoires sur les mœurs*, etc. (Leipzig and Paris, 1864), p. 12; LE JEUNE, "Relation," 1633; translated in THWAITES, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, pp. 153-7.

²² LE JEUNE, "Relation," 1633; translated in THWAITES, Vol. V, p. 153; and "Relation," 1634, chap. iv, in THWAITES, Vol. VI.

²³ GREGG, *Commerce of the Prairies*, Vol. II, p. 236; DOMENECH, *Deserts*, Vol. II, p. 393; LEWIS AND CLARKE, *Expedition*, edited by ALLEN (Philadelphia, 1814; 2 vols.), Vol. I, p. 9.

It is a puzzle to find the creator-god in this story. The chief deity of the Thlinkets of western Canada was figured as a raven. He was the creator-god, but there were men on earth before him, and he was born of these earthly parents. These were in darkness and want before he came, and stole for them the sun and moon and other things.²⁴ In him is pictured an Indian type of hero—one who can steal successfully.

Some of the northern Indians say that the first person on earth was a woman; after her came a dog; later, a big man came who made the lakes and ponds, and filled them with water, and tore the dog to pieces to make other animals out of. Over these he gave control to the woman and her offspring. The big man figures here as creator; but the story does not tell who created the woman and dog.²⁵ The Tinneh in British America tell of a great ocean in the beginning, inhabited only by a huge bird. This bird by its touch on the waters created the earth and its inhabitants, except the Tinneh, who were created by a dog (to them a sacred animal).²⁶ Some of these travelers say that this bird was the Great Spirit. This is a later idea tacked on to the old story. It is interesting to note in this connection that some of the Indians speak of the chief deity as a great bird who flies through the air, the flapping of whose wings is thunder.²⁷ These ideas of the Deity as a great bird present striking analogies with biblical ideas. A story of the Iroquois and Hurons tells us that the human race sprang from a woman that fell from heaven and lighted on a turtle.²⁸ This is interesting as being

²⁴ WILLIAM H. DALL, *Alaska and its Resources* (Boston, 1870), pp. 421, 422; cf. JOHN RICHARDSON, *Arctic Searching Expedition* (London, 1851; 2 vols.), Vol. I, pp. 405, 406.

²⁵ SAMUEL HEARNE, *Journey from Prince of Wales Fort to Northern Ocean* (London, 1795), pp. 342, 343.

²⁶ JOHN DUNN, *History of Oregon Territory* (London, 1844), pp. 102, 103; H. R. SCHOOLCRAFT, *Indian Tribes*, Vol. V, p. 173; ALEXANDER MACKENZIE, *Voyages through North America*, 1801, p. cxviii; JOHN FRANKLIN, *Narrative of Journey to Polar Sea, 1819-22* (London, 1824; 2 vols.), Vol. I, pp. 249, 250.

²⁷ DOMENECH, *Deserts*, Vol. II, pp. 397, 398 (Columbians), and DUNN, *Oregon*, pp. 125, 126.

²⁸ BRINTON, *American Hero-Myths*, pp. 53-8; BREBEUF, on the Hurons, 1636, Part II, chap. i; translated in THWAITES, Vol. X, pp. 127-39.

similar to the idea found in Christian literature, that there were heavenly beings before the earth was created.

There are other stories that show even more than the preceding how incomplete were the wisdom and foresight attributed to the creator. Creation was accidental, according to one myth reported from the Sioux, which tells us that the Great Spirit, taking a stone to hurl at a serpent, suddenly changed his mind and transformed the stone to a man. The man was, however, fastened to the ground until a serpent perfected the creation by gnawing him loose.²⁹ This and several other myths show that the Indian creator was either not wise enough or not good enough to do his work just right. A Chinook chief of the early part of the last century told a traveler that one deity created man imperfectly, leaving him with closed eyes and mouth, and immovable hands and feet. A second and more kindly god opened his eyes and gave power of motion to his feet and hands; he taught him also to make tools.³⁰ Some of the California stories represent the coyote as creator; others have another creator-deity, but say that the coyote gave man gifts that the creator refused. Indeed, the coyote is more worshiped than the superior god.³¹

The creator-god of the Indians rarely receives much worship. He is a deity of long ago, an ancient father, an exalted being perhaps; but he takes no interest in the present affairs of men. Colonel Dodge, who lived among the Cheyennes and other Indians of the plains, once asked an Indian "who made the world?" "The Great Spirit," answered the Indian. "Which Great Spirit?" asked Dodge; "the good God, or the bad God?" "Oh, neither of them," replied the Indian; "the Great Spirit that made the world is dead long ago. He could not possibly have lived so long."³²

²⁹ DOMENECH, *Deserts*, Vol. II, p. 384.

³⁰ FRANCHÈRE, *Narrative of Voyages, 1811-14*; translated by REDFIELD (New York, 1854), p. 258; and DUNN, *Oregon*, p. 126.

³¹ STEPHEN POWERS, "Indian Tribes of California," *United States Geographical and Geological Survey; Contributions to North American Ethnology*, Vol. III, pp. 38, 39, 61.

³² R. I. DODGE, *Our Wild Indians* (Hartford, 1882), p. 112; cf. BANCROFT on Aleuts, in *Native Races of the Pacific States*, Vol. III, p. 144.

The creator-god is usually limited in space as well as in time. The tribal stories tell of the creation of that particular tribe only, or at most of the red men in general. The missionary Brainerd says of the Delawares that

after the coming of the white people, they seemed to suppose there were three deities and three only, because they saw people of three different kinds of complexion, viz. — English, Negroes, and Indians. It is a notion, he says, pretty generally prevailing among them that it was not the same God made them, who made us; but that they were made after the white people.³³

J. G. Swan says of the Makah Indians of Cape Flattery: "They will not believe that the white man's god is the same as their great chief;" and adds that they will not accept Christianity.³⁴ Perhaps their thought was like that of a New England Indian who said to a missionary: "Shall I throw away my thirty-seven gods for your one God?"³⁵ The Indians frequently urge that the white man's God is good for him, but that they have their own deities which serve them better.³⁶

Yet more common is the idea that the God of the white man is greater and better than the Indian's god. Colonel Dodge reports of Indians of recent times that many of them could not tell who made the world, but some answered: "The white man says his God made it, and I guess it is so. I don't know who else could have done it."³⁷ Possibly these Indians had had creation legends, but had forgotten them. It is quite possible, too, that they knew their own myths, but were ashamed to tell them to a white man. The Indian's god falls in his estimation, as he himself declines. When confronted by a people greater than themselves, the Indians were easily convinced that their deity also must be greater.³⁸ We find similar ideas among all uncivilized and semi-civilized peoples; when the people show

³³ *Memoirs*, p. 345.

³⁴ *Contributions to North American Ethnology*, Vol. XVI, p. 76.

³⁵ WHITFIELD, *Progress of the Gospel* (1651); Sabin's Reprints, No. III, p. 16.

³⁶ BREBEUF on Hurons (1635); in THWAITES, Vol. VIII, pp. 117, 119; and DORSEY in *Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XI, p. 378.

³⁷ DODGE, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

³⁸ See ROGER WILLIAMS, *Key to Indian Languages*, chap. xxi, and LE JEUNE, "Relation," 1633; THWAITES, Vol. V, p. 153.

great power it is evidence that their god is a powerful one. Thus Israel felt assured that Jehovah, or Yahveh, was greater than the gods of other peoples, because his people had conquered others under his banner.

But in all our investigation what place have we found for the Indian Great Spirit or supreme deity? It is interesting to note in two modern vocabularies that the word given for "Great Spirit" or "God" means in one case "half-white man,"³⁹ in another "white man above."⁴⁰ Add to this the idea of a Sauk chief who thought the "Great Spirit had a human form, was white, and wore a hat,"⁴¹ and we have some suggestions whence the Indian got his supreme deity, or "Great Spirit." A story very suggestive at this point comes from Sir John Franklin and relates to the Dog-Rib Indians, a northern tribe. The Indians were asked what they knew of a supreme being; they replied:

We believe that there is a Great Spirit who created everything, both us and the world for our use. We suppose he dwells in the lands from whence the white people come, that he is kind to the inhabitants of those lands, and that there are people there who never die; the winds that blow from that quarter are always warm. He does not know of the wretched state of our island, nor the pitiful condition in which we are.

To the question, "Whom do your medicine-men address when they conjure?" they said:

We do not think that they speak to the Master of life, for if they did, we should fare better than we do, and should not die. He does not inhabit our lands.⁴²

After these questions we can the better understand why the Indians in councils with the white men use the term "Great Spirit." They are apparently thinking of the white man's God, and have come to claim him for themselves also. Thus they often say that the Great Spirit gave them their land, and appeal to the laws of the Great Spirit as common to them and to the

³⁹ Arapahos; F. V. HAYDEN, *Indians of Missouri Valley* (Philadelphia, 1862), p. 337.

⁴⁰ Cheyennes; SCHOOLCRAFT, *Indian Tribes*, Vol. III, p. 446 (authority of J. S. Smith).

⁴¹ WILLIAM H. KEATING, *Narrative of Expedition* (London, 1825; 2 vols.), Vol. I, p. 216.

⁴² JOHN FRANKLIN, *Narrative of Second Expedition* (London, 1828), p. 295.

white people. In spite of the fact that the early Indians, as the first missionaries tell us, did not believe in a universal supreme deity, it is surprising how easily they accept the monotheistic ideas of Europeans. They like to think of this greater deity; but they do not wish to give up their old rites, to cease praying to the sun, the earth, the thunder. We find the Indian under Christian influence reconciling his religion with his new ideas by describing thunder as the voice of God, and the sun as his residence.⁴³

Reports from the Comanches state that they acknowledge a supreme ruler, whom they call the great spirit; but in their devotions address the sun and earth.⁴⁴ This means that the Comanches have accepted the Christian idea of a supreme ruler only in a very superficial way. We see the same phenomenon among Indians generally. They will make new stories about gods and adopt Christian ways of talking, but cling to their old ceremonies; they still believe at heart in the old religion. We have noted above that the Pueblo Indians supposedly converted to Catholicism still perform religious rites to the sun.

In looking over the Indian vocabularies, and supplementing them by the accounts of missionaries, one sees that some of the missionaries called the Indian god a devil, and provided another name for God for the use of the converted Indians. One will sometimes find that the so-called Bad Spirit of the Indians is simply the chief Indian god, while the Good Spirit is one he has borrowed from the whites. The word given for devil in a modern vocabulary of the Blackfeet is a compound of the word for sun.⁴⁵ Now the chief deity of the Blackfeet was the sun. It is apparently the white man that has made a devil out of him. A Jesuit writing of a god of the Canadian Indians, says:

⁴³ MRS. E. A. SMITH, *Myths of the Iroquois*, pp. 52, 53; DE SMET on Assiniboins, in *Western Missions and Missionaries*, pp. 138, 139; cf. DOMENECH, *Deserts*, Vol. II, pp. 397, 398, and DUNN, *Oregon*, p. 125.

⁴⁴ PARKER, in SCHOOLCRAFT, *Indian Tribes*, Vol. V, pp. 684, 685; and DOMENECH, *Deserts*, Vol. II, p. 387.

⁴⁵ Devil = *Gacople Natos*, according to J. B. MONCROVIE, in SCHOOLCRAFT, *Indian Tribes*, Vol. II, p. 494, while *Natos* is the word given for sun. Cf. PRINCE MAXIMILIAN, *Travels in North America* (translated; London, 1843), p. 260.

They call some divinity who is the author of evil, "Manitou" (this is the usual Algonkin Indian word for a super-human power or spirit), and fear him exceedingly. Beyond doubt it is the enemy of the human race, who extorts from some people divine honors and sacrifices.⁴⁶

This indicates one origin of the Bad Spirit or devil attributed to the Indian. The white man manufactured it for him.

We see a second source of the Indian's Bad Spirit and Good Spirit in the following words from the Jesuit Father Le Jeune:

The Montagnet Savages give the name Manitou to all nature superior to man, good or bad. This is why, when we speak of God, they sometimes call him the good Manitou; and where we speak of the Devil, they call him the bad Manitou.⁴⁷

Here the Indian manufactured his Bad Spirit from European material. Reports from several tribes tell us that the Indian's Bad Spirit or devil was an idea borrowed from the white men.⁴⁸ He had several deities of various evil characteristics, but none that were conceived as totally bad, before European influence.

Several of our early missionaries, in translating the Bible, used for God the word of their own tongue instead of an Indian term. Thus one Jesuit used the French *Dieu*, and John Eliot used our English word "God" in the midst of Massachusetts Indian words. "Each one," says an acute writer, "seems to think that God understands the languages of Europe better than those of America."

The limited power of the chief deity of the Indians is further shown by the fact that he was god only of the living. The future world is the abode of souls of the departed, a shadowy repetition of this world. The souls themselves rule there, or the disembodied tribe. There is sometimes a ghost chief, but he is a chief or God only in the land of ghosts; other deities deal with living men. The Delawares sacrifice to God for success while living, the missionary Brainerd tells us, but they do

⁴⁶ JOUVENCY, *Country and Manners of Canadians*, sec. iv; translation in THWAITES, Vol. I, p. 287.

⁴⁷ LE JEUNE, "Relation," 1637; in THWAITES, Vol. XII, p. 11.

⁴⁸ LOSKIEL, *Mission of the United Brethren* (London, 1794), p. 34 (Delawares and Iroquois); G. H. POND, in SCHOOLCRAFT, *Indian Tribes*, Vol. IV, pp. 642, 643 (Dakotas); DORSEY, "Siouan Cults," *Bureau of Ethnology*, Vol. XI, p. 371 (Omahas, Ponkas, Kansas, Osages).

not imagine that this will be of any avail for the future world.⁴⁹ The Indian soul makes its way to the land of souls by its own efforts, and gets in if it is strong enough and skilful enough to do so. Many infants and weak ones perish in the way. No judge awaits the spirits.

The chief deity of some tribes was the first ancestor; as such, his abode is the same as that of the souls of his descendants, but he does not play a prominent part in the myths of the future life.

Old Indian myths of visits to the other world tell of long and difficult journeys over swamps and through forests until the soul meets the souls of his people, who are sometimes presided over by a ghost chief. Modern stories from Indians who have been influenced by Christianity say that the Great Spirit or the Master of Life has charge of the souls. As they arrive at the world of spirits, he passes judgment on them, either directly or by some test of virtue in their way, such as attractive fruit, which he who eats is lost. These are Indian adaptations of Christian ideas.⁵⁰

To sum up, then, the Indian idea of God, we see: that they have many gods and are thorough believers in them; that these are gods of the various objects of nature—of sun, of earth, of thunder—or are represented by animals, including man; that some one of these deities may usually be singled out as greater than others, although by no means a universal omnipotent ruler; that the chief god rules over part of the world only, and does not extend his power to the future life; that he who created the earth is now out of service; finally, that the Great Spirit or Master of Life is a modern conception borrowed from Christians and adapted to Indian capacities; but is an acceptable idea to the Indians. They seem to be pleased with this thought of the universal divine fatherhood. It remains with us to recognize their brotherhood.

⁴⁹ *Memoirs*, p. 347.

⁵⁰ Compare the account of the future life in DE SMET, *Western Missions and Missionaries*, pp. 223–5, with that in the *Memoir* of BRAINERD, p. 347. Both refer to the Delawares. De Smet's account was written in 1855 and speaks of a good and a bad land of souls, with the Great Spirit ruling the good land. Brainerd's account, written in 1746, says that God has nothing to do with the future life — according to the Delawares.

THE INTERPRETATION OF THE PROPHECY OF HABAKKUK.

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SO MUCH attention has been directed to this little book during the past few years that it may seem almost presumptuous for anyone to suggest another interpretation. But in view of the facts that none of the views propounded have won general assent, and that resort has constantly been had to the doubtful expedient of more or less radical rearrangements of the text, it is worth while to make another attempt to ascertain the date and occasion of this prophecy.

We shall consider in the first instance the first and second chapters of the book, or more closely chaps. 1:2—2:5, for it is in this passage only that definite indications of the date and circumstances are to be found. This piece falls into two sections, viz., 1:2—11 and 1:12—2:5. In the first section the prophet complains of a condition of affairs in which oppression, strife, and violence are prevalent, and in which justice and law are powerless.¹ This condition is due to the fact that the wicked hold the righteous in subjection. To this complaint the prophet receives an answer which takes the form of a command addressed to him and to his associates, declaring that release from the present intolerable condition is to be secured through the intervention of the Chaldeans.² It is stated that, though this promise may seem incredible, it is nevertheless true, and then the

¹ The *torah* in vs. 3, in parallelism with *mishpat*, "justice, right," must refer to moral and social order. Without the article, it is certainly not "Deuteronomy," as BUDDE, *Ency. Bib.*, article "Habakkuk," col. 1294, and DAVIDSON, *Camb. Bible*, p. 67, hold.

² Many recent authorities would read בְּנִרִים for בְּנִרִים in vs. 5, in which case we have a warning addressed to the oppressors. This reading is attractive, especially as in this way we should have another use of בְּנִר, but inasmuch, as elsewhere in the prophecy, the answer to prayer and complaint comes to the prophet himself, it seems best to retain the traditional text.

future victorious career of the Chaldeans is described in vivid, but more or less general terms. This description reaches its climax in the assertion in vs. 11 that the result of the onset of the Chaldeans will be the overthrow and utter destruction of the proud oppressor who deifies his own strength. This furnishes a simple and natural interpretation for vs. 11, whatever view we may take as to the identity of the oppressor, and is absolutely essential to Budde's view that the oppressor is the Assyrian, as he has himself seen in his latest discussions of the subject.³ It is probable that, with Wellhausen and Budde, we should read **וְחַלְקָה**, and for **וְאִשָּׁם וְאִפְסָה** seems better than Wellhausen's **וְיִשָּׁם** or Budde's **אֲשׁוּר**. The verse would then be translated: "Then shall this one whose strength is his god pass away like the wind and vanish and become naught."⁴

The second section of the prophecy begins with 1:12 and extends through 2:5. While it has a character and a point of view of its own, still it is parallel to the first section. The oppressor is the same, for he deifies his own power (vs. 16). We have in vs. 13 the same opposition of the wicked and the righteous which we have met in vs. 4, and the prophet inquires whether this state of affairs is to continue forever, much as he has complained in vs. 2.⁵ In this section, however, appeal is made to the holiness and justice of Jehovah, and especially to his relation to the righteous complainant: He is "my holy one." It is claimed that the oppressor owes his existence and his power to Jehovah, "who has appointed him for judgment and ordained him for reproof" (vs. 12), but he has far exceeded his commission, and the prophet argues that Jehovah cannot allow him to continue on his career of cruelty and conquest. There-

³ *Expositor*, Fifth Series, Vol. I, p. 376, note 1; *Ency. Bib.*, *loc. cit.*, note 3.

⁴ The very change in construction produced by the introduction of the particle **אֲזַ** naturally suggests the change in subject. For parallels to the interpretation suggested for **וְחַלְקָה** and **עֵבֶר**, see for **וְחַלְקָה** Isa. 2:18; Ps. 90:5; Cant. 2:11 where **וְחַלְקָה** and **עֵבֶר** are connected as they are here; for **עֵבֶר** Jer. 8:20; Amos 8:5.

⁵ Read probably with Giesebrecht **וְהָעוֹלָם** in vs. 17. The objection of STEVENSON, *Expositor*, May, 1902, p. 391, note 1, that this change imports an element of complaint into the section is justified only on his theory that vs. 12 and 13 do not belong in this section. As they stand vs. 13-15 certainly contain clearly enough the element of complaint.

fore he determines to await an answer to his complaint. And just as in the first section the answer did not fail, so here the answer is not lacking, and incredible though it seems, and delayed though it may be in being fulfilled, yet it is a certain and inalienable promise of release.

This answer differs from that given in the first section in that without any indication of the means by which it is to be accomplished, the declaration is made that "the righteous shall live by or through his faithfulness, while the wicked, treacherous oppressor shall come to naught." The interpretation of the closing words of this section is of necessity doubtful on account of the condition of the text in vss. 4 and 5. Wellhausen's suggestion that in vs. 4 we should read, "Behold the wicked, not sure is his soul within him," is on the whole the most probable emendation. In vs. 5 we may with some confidence read, with Bredenkamp, Giesebrecht, and Budde, **וְאִפְסָ כְּאִין**, and probably with Wellhausen and Budde **יִרְדֵּה** for **יִנְדֵּה** and translate, "Then the treacherous, insatiate, haughty one shall become naught and cease to be," affording a striking parallel to the closing words of sec. I in 1:11. The second half of vs. 5 introduces a new element by indicating that the oppressor of the preceding verses has not only mistreated the righteous, but has also been tyrannical to other peoples as well. This thought marks the transition to the third and last section, the concluding portion of the second chapter, to which we must now direct our attention briefly. This section consists of a taunt-song which is put into the mouth of the victims of the oppressor as they see him compelled to drink the cup of Jehovah's vengeance. The crimes of the oppressor are in the main those mentioned in the second section, cruelty and inhumanity, which are described as being extended even to the cattle and, strangely enough, to the forest of Lebanon, and the religious element, described in both the first and second sections as deification of his own strength, is here treated as idolatry, the worship of the works of his own hands. That this song is substantially genuine is practically certain, though it is probable that it has been worked over and possibly enlarged by interpolation. But that is a question apart from the

main purpose of this paper. And if the substantial genuineness of the song as a whole is granted, our argument will not be affected by the answer which may be given to these matters of detail.

Having thus outlined the general course of thought, it is time to turn to the consideration of particular points. If our interpretation is correct, there can no longer be any question as to the significance of the Chaldeans. They cannot be regarded as in any sense the subject or occasion of the prophecy; they are simply the instruments in Jehovah's hands for the accomplishment of his purpose, the overthrow of the oppressor, the release of his righteous ones, and ultimately the rescue of all the nations whom the oppressor has enslaved. The Chaldeans, whose conquests lie still in the future, are not, it is true, the instruments whom man would naturally have chosen to perform such a mighty work, for mere human foresight is unwilling to accept the statement; but, for all that, they are Jehovah's instruments.

This interpretation enables us also to form a pretty clear picture of the oppressor. Called sometimes the "wicked," sometimes the "treacherous one," he is the same in all sections of the prophecy. His presence subverts the whole normal order of society. The words in 1:2-4 furnish a remarkably vivid and apt description of a state of society in which the ordinary course of affairs, the regular operation of law and justice, are interrupted through the arbitrary and oppressive interference of some external power. Chaps. 1:14, 15, and 2:5, 6, 11, give further details of this interference. The tyranny is by no means confined to Judah, but is felt by many nations. It is everywhere characterized by an utter disregard of the rights of men and of communities. The oppressors treat men like the fish of the sea, like so many unorganized hordes, to be moved hither and thither as policy or mere caprice may dictate, without reference to the simplest requirements of humanity. Who is this oppressor? We have already seen that he cannot be the Chaldean. It is equally impossible to hold that the reference is to a class in Jewish society. The vividness of the description and the passion of the denunciation render it impossible to suppose that the

Egyptian power is meant—an alternative which is suggested by George Adam Smith.⁶ By a simple process of exclusion we are shut up to one power, and one only, whose rule and cruelty could be described in the words of our prophet; and that one is Assyria. In this Budde is unquestionably right. The only serious objection to this interpretation is that Assyria is nowhere named in the prophecy itself. But this objection is by no means valid, for the description of the tyrant is such as to show that his presence was so definitely and vividly felt by the prophet, at least, and, as will be shown later, in all probability by the whole people, that there was no need of naming him. The whole body politic was quivering under the oppressor's lash; he needs no name; it is enough to say: "This one whose strength is his God."

Barring textual corruptions and a few probable interpolations, especially in the last section, we find that chaps. 1 and 2 of the prophecy of Habakkuk are a literary and artistic unity dealing with the immanent discomfiture of the Assyrian oppressor and the deliverance of the people of Jehovah and all other peoples whom the Assyrian has subjugated. Nor is it necessary to assume, as Budde has done, that 1:5-11 originally stood after 2:4. To make the description culminate in the glorification of any human power is to distort the picture and to misinterpret the religious philosophy of the prophet. His prediction of the overthrow of the tyrant is based upon his conception of the justice and righteousness of Jehovah, and upon a revelation that in this specific case, as in all others, right must ultimately triumph and wrong must be overthrown, and therefore steadfast adherence to Jehovah furnishes the only sure and unassailable defense. The human agency is not ignored, but it is properly given a subordinate place, and is introduced early so that it may not detract from the force of the conception of Jehovah's justice and power with which the prophecy culminates. And, further, it is introduced in such a way as to emphasize the truth that Jehovah can accomplish his work by unexpected and unusual means.

But the historical interpretation of prophecy demands that

⁶ *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, Vol. II, pp. 123, 124.

we find an occasion for the origin of our prophecy as we interpret it. Recognition of this principle is indispensable to sound criticism, and the failure to recognize it is largely responsible for much of the subjective literary criticism of the present day, which seems to regard the prophetic books as a congeries of fragments which the critic is at liberty to rearrange in any way he chooses, so long as the pieces which he produces make sense. In this case, therefore, in order to complete our task we are under obligation to seek for the circumstances in which our prophecy originated. And it is just here that our theory differs most decidedly from any of its predecessors. On our view of the direction of the prophecy against the Assyrians and of its attitude toward the Chaldeans, it is impossible to suppose that it could have originated at any time within the last quarter of the seventh century B. C. This is the weak point in Budde's theory. While giving him all honor for his brilliant discovery that the prophecy is directed against the Assyrians, yet we feel that he was too much influenced by the traditional placing of the book at the close of the seventh century to draw the necessary inference from his theory and seek a satisfactory occasion for the prophecy. This occasion, as we have already said, cannot be found after 626, for it is a sheer impossibility that the prediction with regard to the Chaldeans could have been made after Nabopolassar had definitely established himself as king of Babylon and had begun to reach out for his share in the heritage of the disintegrating Assyrian empire.⁷ This objection, which is decisive against Budde's view, is also fatal to the more popular view that the prophecy is directed in part at least, against the Chaldeans and that it originated after Carchemish. It is not enough to say, with Davidson,⁸ that "1: 5-11 is not a prophecy of the raising up of the Chaldeans except in form. It is a reference to the past, an explanation merely of their presence and meaning as instruments of Jehovah." This interpretation does such violence to the language of the prophet that it may be adopted only when all other

⁷ WINCKLER in SCHRADER'S *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*³ (= *K. A. T.*), pp. 104, 105.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 48.

resources fail. If the prophecy is directed against the Chaldeans, then there is no escape from the conclusion of Giesebrecht⁹ and Wellhausen¹⁰ that the passage 1: 5-11 is misplaced, and, whether from the same author or not, belongs in point of time before vss. 2-4. Again, the description of the Chaldean conquests in vss. 5-10, while regarded by some as so realistic as to favor the later date, in reality applies to the movements of a semi-barbaric horde filled with the lust of conquest, far better than to the orderly advance of the disciplined armies of Nebuchadnezzar or of his father Nabopolassar.¹¹ But even more serious, as against Budde's theory, is the description of the Assyrians throughout the prophecy. It seems almost incredible that anyone could employ such language with regard to them in the last quarter of the seventh century. It is true that we are not very fully informed with regard to the closing years of the Assyrian empire, but thus much seems certain, that during the later years of the reign of Assurbanipal, and more especially after his death in 626, Assyria was fully occupied in defending herself from outside attacks, and we have no evidence that she interfered in the remoter parts of the empire. In fact, it seems most probable that Josiah was practically independent during the latter half of his reign, and that Judah was left to manage her internal affairs very much as she chose.¹²

We are forced, therefore, to go farther back in the history to find the date and occasion of our prophecy. At first thought

⁹ *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, pp. 197 f.

¹⁰ *Die kleinen Propheten*, p. 162.

¹¹ This objection appeals so strongly to WINCKLER (*Geschichte Israels*, Vol. I, pp. 185, 186) that he suggests that the passage in question is an independent fragment referring to the Scythians.

¹² W. M. MÜLLER, *Ency. Bib.*, Vol. II, col. 1246, note 2, and more fully in *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1898, p. 163, and WINCKLER, *K. A. T.* 3, p. 105, are of the opinion that Josiah fought at Megiddo as a vassal of Assyria. But at the most it was only a nominal vassalage. It seems, however, more likely that he fought either alone or in connection with other Palestinian princes to prevent another foreign power from getting a foothold in Palestine; see GUTHIE, *Ency. Bib.*, Vol. II, col. 2247; CHEYNE, *ibid.*, col. 2611; PEAKE, in *HASTINGS's Dict. Bib.*, Vol. II, p. 789; MCCURDY, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, Vol. III, pp. 210-16; DUFF, *Theology and Ethics of the Hebrews*, pp. 152, 153.

one might be tempted to place the prophecy in connection with the rebellion against Asshurbanipal which was organized by his brother Shamash-shum-ukin, who had been established by his father as regent of Babylon under the suzerainty of Assyria. This rebellion began about 652, and continued for some years before it was finally crushed. It is highly probable that Judah and other Palestinian states shared in this rebellion and also in the punishment which followed. Against placing the prophecy of Habakkuk at this time, however, two decisive reasons may be urged. The first is that, in view of the unqualified condemnation of Manasseh and his reign on the part of the prophets, it is impossible to believe that a prophet could have referred to the Judean state at that time as even relatively righteous. The second reason against this date is that the Chaldeans played only a subordinate part in this great rebellion, and hence could not well be regarded as the special agents in relieving Judah from the pressure of the Assyrian power.

There is only one other period in which, so far as our knowledge of the history will permit us to reach any conclusion, the conditions of our problem are met, and that is the invasion of Sennacherib in 701 B. C. The horrors of that invasion, as they are indicated in the Scriptures and more fully outlined in Sennacherib's own annals, cannot be overstated. His record has become so familiar that it is only necessary to refer to it. In such a time this prophecy with its passionate earnestness might well have arisen. As we read the words of Habakkuk, we can see the stricken nation quivering under the lash of the cruel invader, just as it must have done when Sennacherib so humiliated it.

Again, it was just at this period in the history that the Chaldeans were more prominent than they seem to have been at any later time until they came forward to claim their share in the disintegrating Assyrian empire. The recent investigations of the Assyriologists have shown us that the Chaldeans first appear on the coast of the Persian Gulf about 1000 B. C., and from that time until their final conquest of Babylon and the establishment of the neo-Babylonian empire they were a constant

thorn in the side of Babylonians and Assyrians. But it was just at the close of the eighth century that their activity was especially marked. Merodach Baladan, a Chaldean chieftain, succeeded in maintaining himself as king of Babylon for a whole decade, from 720 until 709, when he was defeated by Sargon and forced to retire into Southern Babylonia. But when Sargon had been succeeded on the throne of Assyria by his son Sennacherib, we find Merodach Baladan once more coming to the front, this time probably inducing other dependencies of Assyria to join him in his rebellion. Among these dependencies must be included most of the little Palestinian principalities, with Hezekiah of Judah as their leader. Sennacherib's first act was to subdue Merodach Baladan, and then in the year 701 he turned his attention to Palestine, and in the course of the punishment of his rebellious subjects he inflicted upon Judah those crushing blows the records of which are preserved to us both in the Scriptures and in the Assyrian annals. But his campaign did not result as such campaigns of Assyrian monarchs usually ended. Though he shut up Hezekiah "in his royal city of Jerusalem like a bird in a cage," yet he did not capture the city, but was forced to raise the siege. The Assyriologists have brought to light the explanation of this strange act. While Sennacherib was occupied in the West, another great uprising in Babylonia occurred, in which all Babylon united its forces with those of the Chaldeans under Merodach Baladan in one desperate attempt to throw off the Assyrian yoke.¹³ This deliverance from the imminent danger through the report which came to Sennacherib of the uprising in Babylonia predicted by the prophet Habakkuk is identical with that mentioned by Isaiah, when in the name of Jehovah he said: "Be not afraid of the words . . . wherewith the servants of the king of Assyria have blasphemed me. Behold, I will put a spirit in him and he shall hear a

¹³ WINCKLER, *K.A.T.*, p. 80. The date of Hezekiah's sickness and the embassy of Merodach Baladan to Jerusalem (2 Kings, chap. 20; Isa., chaps. 38, 39), cannot be given with certainty. Notwithstanding the weight of the authorities on the other side, it still seems most likely that this event is to be placed after the accession of Sennacherib to the throne of Assyria, probably about 702; cf. ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, Vol. II, pp. 187, 188.

rumor (report) and shall return to his own land" (2 Kings 19:6, 7; Isa. 37:6, 7).

The great destruction of Sennacherib's army by the "angel of Jehovah," probably through some form of pestilence, must, then, be regarded as having taken place at a later date in connection with an invasion of Arabia and Egypt on the part of the Assyrian monarch. There are many strong arguments in favor of this view, one of them being that the biblical narrative refers to Tirhakah as engaged equally with Hezekiah in the attempt to oppose Sennacherib, and it is now known that Tirhakah did not come to the throne in Egypt until about 691.¹⁴ This view that Sennacherib made two expeditions to the West, and that his famous siege of Jerusalem occurred on the first expedition, while the marvelous destruction of his army is to be placed on the second, seems to have been first suggested by the Rawlinsons in their edition of Herodotus.¹⁵ Severely criticised and rejected by Schrader,¹⁶ it seems to have passed into forgetfulness until it was revived and elaborated by Winckler.¹⁷ It has been adopted by Guthe,¹⁸ Hommel,¹⁹ J. V. Prašek,²⁰ and W. E. Barnes,²¹ and is rejected by McCurdy,²² Rogers,²³ and Paton.²⁴ On this theory the most serious difficulties in the way of harmonizing the biblical records disappear, and the discrepancy supposed to be created by the mention of Tirhakah, as already stated, vanishes.

Having ascertained something of the actual course of events in connection with the siege of Jerusalem, we are better pre-

¹⁴ So MÜLLER, *Ency. Bib.*, Vol. II, col. 1245; CRUM in HASTINGS's *Dict. Bib.*, Vol. I, p. 663, gives 690.

¹⁵ RAWLINSONS, *Herodotus*³, 1875, Vol. I, pp. 485-7.

¹⁶ *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, Vol. I, pp. 305, 306.

¹⁷ *Alltest. Untersuchungen*, pp. 26 ff.; *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. I, pp. 97, 98.

¹⁸ *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, pp. 203-5; art. "Israel" in *Ency. Bib.*, Vol. II, col. 2244.

¹⁹ Art. "Assyria" in HASTINGS's *Dict. Bib.*, Vol. I, p. 188.

²⁰ *Expository Times*, Vol. XII, pp. 225 ff.; 405 ff. See also PRAŠEK's elaborate discussion, the first part of which has just appeared in *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* (1903), pp. 113 ff.; and F. PEISER, "Der Prophet Habakkuk," *ibid.*, pp. 1-38. Also add BUDGE, *History of Egypt*, Vol. VI, pp. 135-52, 191-95, to the list of the supporters of the second expedition of Sennacherib to the West.

²¹ *Churchman's Bible*, Isa. 1-30.

²² *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 203, 204.

²³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 239.

²⁴ *Syria and Palestine*, pp. 257-61.

pared to understand the significance of Habakkuk. As we interpret the prophecy and understand the history, Habakkuk was an associate of Isaiah in this great crisis of Jewish history, and just at the time when Isaiah was so vigorously asserting that Jerusalem should not fall into the hands of the Assyrians, Habakkuk comes forward with a similar assurance. And one of the means of deliverance which Isaiah hinted at as a rumor or report, Habakkuk declares positively to be the Chaldean uprising. Our view that Habakkuk is a pupil and associate of Isaiah furnishes the most satisfactory explanation of the remarkable similarity in thought and diction between his prophecy and many of the utterances of Isaiah. This similarity has been emphasized by Budde, especially as against Rothstein,²⁵ who has sought to maintain his thesis of the later date for the prophecy by citing parallels with Jeremiah. The parallels with Isaiah are numerous and striking, and cover practically the whole of the first and second chapters of the prophecy. With Habakkuk's description of the Chaldeans may be compared Isaiah's early account of the Assyrian army.²⁶ Habakkuk's conception of the Assyrians as the instrument in Jehovah's hands for reproof and correction is the same as that of Isaiah, and there is wonderful similarity in their descriptions of the real attitude of the Assyrians.²⁷ Furthermore, the song put by Habakkuk into the mouth of the delivered nations finds a parallel in the woes which Isaiah pronounces upon his own sinful nation, and even more closely in the song which Isaiah composed at the death of an Assyrian oppressor, probably Sargon.²⁸ Again, Habakkuk is, in part at least, a pupil of Isaiah in his theological and religious conceptions. They both had much the same concep-

²⁵ *Studien und Kritiken* (1894), pp. 51 ff.

²⁶ Hab. 1:5-10; Isa. 5:26-8.

²⁷ Hab. 1:12b; Isa. 7:20; Hab. 1:11, 15-17, 2:5-8; Isa. 10:6-15; 14:24-7.

²⁸ Hab. 2:6-20; Isa. 5:8-24; 10:1-4, and especially 14:4-21. This interpretation of Isa. 14:4-21 has been set forth fully by WINCKLER, *Geschichte Israels*, Vol. I, p. 183, *Altor. Forschungen*, Series I, pp. 193, 194; by COBB, *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XV, pp. 18-35. It seems to have been adopted by BARNES, *Churchman's Bible: Isa. 1-39*. It has not as yet won general acceptance, but it is probably correct. Winckler's final view that the reference is to Sargon seems more probable than the reference to Sennacherib.

tion of Jehovah;²⁹ both held to the inviolability of Jerusalem at the time of the siege and urged their fellow-citizens to assume an attitude of quiet trust in their God, and both predicted the withdrawal and ultimate overthrow of the tyrant.³⁰ We miss, it is true, the condemnation of the sin of his own people which is always so prominent in Isaiah's teaching, but when we recall that in all probability Habakkuk's brief prophecy was uttered in the face of a definite emergency, and at a time when the city of Jehovah seemed on the point of falling into the hands of blasphemous idolaters, this omission is not strange. And furthermore, notwithstanding the denunciations of Isaiah, and indeed, in part at least, in consequence of his strong efforts to secure reform, there was no time in the century preceding the reforms of Josiah when the term "righteous" could so fittingly be applied to Judah as in the reign of Hezekiah, who unquestionably introduced moral and ceremonial reforms of considerable importance.³¹

We might conclude our discussion at this point and submit our arguments in the hope that they are at least strong enough to lead to a reconsideration of the question as to the occasion and date of the prophecy. But inasmuch as we have suggested a new theory, it is only fair to ask how the third chapter is related to our theory. It is true that the third chapter is now generally denied to Habakkuk, and that largely because it belongs to the Psalm literature. This prayer is unquestionably a psalm, and it is not improbable that at one time it had its place in a collection of psalms and was used as a hymn in the public worship of temple or synagogue. Its title "a prayer" is found in the titles of several of the psalms. It is also provided with certain notes, indicating perhaps the kind of music to which it was to be

²⁹ Hab. 1:12a; 2:18-20; Isa. 2:18-21.

³⁰ Hab. 2:4b; Isa. 30:15. See further Hab. 2:2; Isa. 8:1-4; 30:8; Hab. 2:1-3; Isa. 8:16, 17.

³¹ It is true that these reforms are denied by many recent authorities, but the arguments do not seem to us convincing. The biblical account of Hezekiah's reforms furnishes the best explanation of the religious movements of the seventh century. Cf. STEUERNAGEL, *Das Deuteronomium*, p. xiv, in "Handkommentar zum Alten Testament," edited by NOWACK.

sung and the instruments by which it was to be accompanied, and the word *Selah*, elsewhere used only in the psalms, occurs three times. And Nestle has very plausibly suggested that the explanation of the curious phenomenon that the psalm has a musical notation at the end as well as at the beginning is to be found in the fact that, through an error of the copyist the beginning of the following psalm in the collection from which it was taken was copied with our psalm.³²

But to recognize that we have here a psalm does not by any means settle the question as to the authorship of this particular psalm, except perhaps for those whose theory denies the existence of any pre-exilic psalms. Nor is it sufficient, as Kuenen³³ has done, to find an argument for the later date of this piece in the evident tendency to assign anonymous psalms in the Psalter to well-known authors, as the LXX does, especially in the case of Haggai and Zechariah, for we have here precisely the opposite and entirely unique phenomenon, because the tradition of authorship was strong enough to remove the psalm from its place in some collection of songs and give it a place in the collected writings of its reputed author. If there are pre-exilic psalms, the question becomes, in the case at issue, first, whether there is any satisfactory objection to the early origin of this supposedly pre-exilic piece; and, secondly, whether this psalm can be satisfactorily explained out of the same historical circumstance as the rest of the prophecy. Stade,³⁴ who was the first to assign the psalm to the post-exilic period, did so largely on the basis of the language and the thought. But both of these criteria are extremely precarious in the absence of any fixed external standard. The pieces to which the psalm bears the most resemblance in form and style are the Song of Deborah (Judges, chap. 5) and the so-called Blessing of Moses (Deut. chap. 33). The antiquity of the Song of Deborah is universally admitted, and few critics would deny that the Blessing of Moses is, in part at least, older than the time of Isaiah. We may

³² *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Z. A. T. W.), Vol. XX, pp. 167, 168.

³³ *Boeken des ouden Verbonds*, Vol. II, pp. 389, 390.

³⁴ Z. A. T. W. (1884), pp. 157, 158.

therefore say that there is no satisfactory reason to be urged against the early date of the psalm. And in the next place we see no satisfactory reason for denying its reputed authorship. Apart from the extended description of the theophany, there are few, if any, ideas in the piece which are not to be found in the preceding chapters. Here as there it is not the community speaking, but the prophet in his own behalf, and that of the God-fearing community to which he belongs. Whatever arguments against its composition by Habakkuk may have been valid on the prevailing theory as to the date and occasion of the whole prophecy, have no weight as against the theory which we have been endeavoring to set forth. At the close of the seventh century, prophecy was seeking to lead people to submit to the inevitable catastrophe. We have to go back to the close of the eighth century to find the confident note which runs throughout this prayer; that no matter how dark the present is or how hopeless the future may seem, yet it is the purpose of Jehovah to deliver and not to destroy his sanctuary. The marvelous deliverance of Jerusalem undoubtedly called forth many psalms of praise, and it seems most reasonable that during the dark days of the siege a man whose lofty faith could lead him to utter such words of hope and confidence as we have seen in 1 : 11, 12 ; 2 : 4, 5, 20, as he thought of the redemptive work of Jehovah in the past history of his people, should pray that once again, "in the midst of the years," at a date so remote from those early crises of Israel's history, Jehovah should manifest himself in his saving power. And just as his previous prayers have been answered, so now for the third time an answer comes which is so astounding that it fills him with trembling and dread ; but yet he is enabled by the answer to exclaim : "I will rest waiting for the day of distress which is to come up against the people who are assailing us in troops" (vs. 16). The rendering of the word which we have translated "rest" is very uncertain. This is the translation suggested in the margin of R. V., and on the whole seems the most probable rendering of the present text. The rest of the clause may be translated as we have suggested, with perfect propriety, and it is certainly the most reasonable translation which has been

presented. It is essentially the rendering given by Wellhausen.³⁵ Thus rendered the verse indicates the character of the present distress from which the prophet has been praying for deliverance; it is an overwhelming invasion, and, as in the earlier part of the prophecy, so here, deliverance, however mediated, is looked for by the prophet as a result of the intervening and saving power of Jehovah. The distresses which are occasioned by this invasion are graphically described in the following verse. If there were no other reference to an invasion, one might conclude, with Davidson,³⁶ that the allusion here is to the misery occasioned by "severe natural calamities;" but when the invasion has already been mentioned, what more natural interpretation could be suggested for these striking words than to suppose that the effects of the invasion are being described? And how well these allusions apply to the state of affairs brought about by the invasion of Sennacherib needs only to be stated to be appreciated. The prophet-psalmist as he prayed was looking out from his watch-tower upon a land which the Assyrian army was literally stripping bare. But in the midst of this present misery he is again convinced that Jehovah will deliver his people, and in consequence he is able to look beyond the gloomy present, and to break out into the sublime words of confident praise with which the psalm closes.

We conclude that there is no incongruity in language or style, in thought or circumstances, between the psalm and the rest of prophecy, and furthermore that the circumstances from which we have supposed the rest of the prophecy to arise furnish exactly the occasion which we should expect would give rise to a psalm like this. We maintain, therefore, that the psalm is from the same hand and brain as the rest of the prophecy.³⁷

³⁵*Op. cit.*, p. 36.

³⁶*Op. cit.*, p. 93.

³⁷Two articles on the subject which have recently appeared deserve mention. One is the article by STEVENSON in the *Expositor*, May, 1902, already referred to, and the other is by KELLY, "The Strophic Structure of Habakkuk," *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Jan. 1902, pp. 94-119.

THE PAULINE MANUSCRIPTS F AND G.

A TEXT-CRITICAL STUDY.

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II.¹

WE might proceed indefinitely with this comparison ; such a work would easily swell into a volume. But we must not pass over the false division in 5 : 6, where G has ^{ut quid} Εἰς τι , but F Εἰ στί *ut quid*.

In vs. 9 we read

<i>multo</i> Πολλῷ	<i>magis</i> μαλλον	<i>justificati</i> δικαιωθεντες	<i>nunc in</i> νυν εν τῷ	<i>sanguine</i> αιματι
θανεν. Πολλῷ μαλλον δι		<i>us est. Multo magis justi</i>		
καιωθεντες νυν εν τῷαιμα		<i>ficati nunc insan</i>		

Is it not plain that F is following a model that is not G ? Else why was *θανεν* carried forward to the beginning of a new line ? Still more, why was *τι* likewise torn off and carried forward, the second line being closed with *αιμα* ? There is ample room in both cases for the detached syllables to close the lines naturally and in harmony with G.

At this point we may remark that this phenomenon of letters detached at the end or beginning of a line, where there is no apparent reason for detachment, and where *but for this detachment* the lines in F would match the lines in G precisely, beginning and ending alike — this phenomenon is conspicuous and constantly recurring, and of itself is decisive against the derivation theory of Hort and Zimmer. For we hold it to be psychologically impossible for F to have copied G into lines of slightly varying length, or number of letters, and yet to have been absolutely uninfluenced, in ending his lines, by the endings in G. When it was indifferent whether one or two letters more or less be placed in a line, the fact that the G-line lay there before him ending with a certain letter (or word) would infallibly have determined the copyist to end his line according to the pattern set before him. Now we have examined and noted all these endings, and we affirm there is no trace whatever in F of any adaptation of endings to the endings in G. Agreements do frequently occur, but no more

¹See this JOURNAL, Vol. VII, pp. 452-85, July, 1903.

frequently than from the law of probability we should naturally expect. On the other hand, disagreements by excess or defect of two or three letters, or even of a single letter, present themselves abundantly, and often so perversely as to be entirely unaccountable on the hypothesis that F is transcribing G. There is no way to see the full force of this argument except by direct vision of the two codices.

Resuming we find in vs. 10 in G ^{per mortem} δια του θανατου, but F omits του. In vs. 12 we find the inverse of the phenomenon in vs. 9: the line in G ends with ανου; but in F it is lengthened beyond the average by adding & torn away from δηλθεν, which is at the beginning of the next line in G.

In vs. 15 G has ^{si enim} Ει γαρ, but F has
i enim unius de ι γαρ τω του ενος παραπομα

Similarly in vs. 20, both N (from νομος) and L (from lex) have been omitted. Space has been left for N, in fact four spaces, which shows the absence of a capital, but none for L, whence it would appear that, in the original (F'), L had been written in the margin. So in vs. 18 both A (from απο) and I (from igitur) have been omitted, and spaces are left. None of these omissions are suggested by anything in G. It seems impossible to resist the conviction that F is here copying a model in which these divisions have already been made, from which the capitals have already been lost as already explained, and that he is copying with slavish fidelity, letter by letter, refusing to supply a single letter even where he *must* have known *certainly* what was omitted. To think of such servility as elsewhere supplying or omitting words and clauses, opening and closing wide chasms, and reconstructing sentences, appears preposterous.

In vs. 18 G has ^{per unius iustitiam} διενος το δικαιωμα, but F διενος και δικαιωμα (*per unius iustitiam*). No natural explanation can be given of this supplacement of το by και, if F be copied from G.

In the Augiensis this chapter (5) closes, and chap. 6 begins, thus:
 ημων ^{nostrum}

ιουν ερευμεν. επι μνω [Q]uid ergo dicemus *permane*
 The [Q] is *recentissima manu*. But in G the ημων closes a line and
^{quid ergo}
 the next line begins with Τι ουν, no space being left. Is it not visible that F is copying, but not copying G? Else why the blank? Why the omitted T and Q? Why the ημων placed in a line by itself,

when there is ample space in the line above of only 16 letters? Similar phenomena, sometimes even more striking, occur in nearly every page; as at 6:11; 6:18; 6:23; 7:4; 7:6; 7:20; 7:25; 8:12, *et passim*.

In 7:8, 9 there is in F before Υμω a mark Ζ. We do not know what it means, unless a blank in some ancestor, but there is nothing in G to suggest it.

In 8:17 G reads:

et c haeredes autem christi
καὶ κληρονομοὶ δὲ χρυ κ. τ. λ.

But F,

καὶ κληρονομοί.

δὲ χρυ.

et heredes. heredes quidem
di. coheredes autem xpi.

Here it is manifest that F has not been guided by G. But someone may say that he has left the blank to bring about correspondence with his Latin text. This we cannot, indeed, disprove, yet it is improbable. For at 1 Cor. 1:27 just such a case arises, where the Latin is fuller than the Greek. What does F do? Leave a blank? Not at all. He goes straight forward with the Greek, inserts the Latin words (about twenty) in the Latin lines, lengthening them considerably, indicates the insertion by the superposed marks ∙, ÷, :, and writes in the Greek margin *de est in greco*. We hold, then, that F represents his Greek prototype at 8:17.

In 8:20 we read:

vanitati enim creatura subjecta est non volens
Τῇ γὰρ ματαιότητὶ τῇ ἡκτισεὺς ὑπεταγῇ οὐ θελοῦσα
δεχεται. τῇ. γὰρ. ματαιότητ. *lat. Vanitati autem*

τῇ. ἡ. κατισεὺς. ὑπεταγῇ. οὐ *creatura subjecta est non*

It seems plain that F is groping his way with exceeding caution, but utterly in the dark. Neither he nor G understands what he is writing, but the former is lost as apparently is impossible with the latter to guide him. This fact comes out most broadly in ἡ. κατισεὺς, which

creatura
no one can derive from ἡκτισεὺς. Undoubtedly F had before him HKATICΘIC. Herein he recognized correctly the article H, though probably not *as* the article. The KA he perhaps thinks is for KAI; the rest he lets stand. But whence came the KA? We answer, it was the blunder of an earlier scribe, who mistook the simple K, perhaps accidentally written with a small down-stroke, Ḳ, for the tachygraphic

symbol K=KA. This explanation seems satisfactory, but our cause does not depend upon it or upon any other; we maintain merely that the passage in F is plainly not transcribed from G.

In 7:19 we read:

<i>volo facio bonum sed quod malum hoc ago si autem</i>	
Θελω ποιω. αγαθον Αλλο. κακον τουτο πρασσω	Ει δε
<i>qd volo facio bonum. sed quod</i>	Ο. θελω. ποιω αγαθον. αλλο
<i>odio malum illud ago</i>	μεισω. κακον. του. το πρασσω.

Whence comes the *μεισω*? Certainly not from G. True, F might have looked back a page, to vs. 15, and there found *αλλο μεισω τουτο* and *sed quod odio illud facio*. But it seems in the last degree unlikely that he would do so, and even unlikelier still that he would dare modify his Greek to suit his Latin. We recall the admission of Zimmer (p. 472) and the fact that nowhere can it be proved or made probable that F's Greek has been conformed to his Latin. The only natural supposition is that he is transcribing literally. That he is not following G is still further evident from the false division of *του.το*, which seems impossible to a reader of G, and that he is following some other prototype is seen in the position of *ο* at the beginning of a line in F, but at the end in G, *although* the preceding line in F is rather short than long.

In 9:9 there is in G a blank space, one-fourth of a line, before *λογιζεται*, but none in F. At 9:14 we read in G:

num quid iniquitas apud deum
Μη αδικεια παρα Θω

But in F,

<i>uid ergo dicemus. numquid iniqui</i>	Τι ουν. ερομεν. μη. αδικει.
<i>tas apud dm. absit</i>	απαρα. Θω. μη. γενοιτο. Τω.

We call especial attention to this instance. The deliberation with which the *α* is misplaced seems *absolutely impossible* in the presence of G. That F is following his pattern *exactly* is clear as noonday. That pattern began a paragraph at this point, as is proved by the *Q* dropped from *Quid*. Also the writer of the pattern knew that the *α* before *παρα* belonged to the preceding *αδικει*, as is proved by the fact that he has divided *iniqui-tas* to correspond to *αδικει-α*. That the Latin has been divided in correspondence to the Greek, and not conversely, is proved by the almost exact equality of the Greek lines and the notable inequality of the Latin. *But the F scribe understood none of these things*, hence his sense-destroying interpunctuation.

At 9:31 G has:

in legem non pervenit
 εἰς νομον. οὐκ ἐφθόχεν

But F,

In legem justitiae non

εἰς νομον + δικαιοσύνησ. οὐκ.

Whence the δικαιοσύνησ? Evidently it is an influx from the margin, as appears in the mark ÷ = *scilicet*. There it was an explanatory gloss. The only supposition that can save Zimmer's theory is that F* here deliberately introduces the word as a translation of his Latin *justitiae*. Against this we array F's dense ignorance of Greek, as vividly illustrated in vs. 14; also the admission of Zimmer already quoted (p. 472); also the indication in ÷ that the word has crept in from the margin; lastly, the fact that the addition is by no means peculiar to F, but is powerfully supported by a long list of authorities headed by \aleph FKL^p.

At 12:4 we read:

membra autem
 Τα δε μελη

omnia non eundem habet actum
 παντα οὐ την αὐτην ἐχει πραξιν κ. τ. λ.

παντα. μελη. οὐ την αὐτην.

omnia membra non eundem

πραξιν. ἐχει. Οὕτως. οἱ πολ

habent actum. Ita mul

Here the order of words in the two codices is twice opposed. It is extremely improbable that F has copied from G; for, since μελη ends the line in G, the scribe would naturally have put it down before noticing the παντα in the next line; his only motive for changing the Greek would have been the desire to conform it to the Latin—a motive which never swayed him (*teste* Zimmer), and which certainly was not in general felt. But even if he had felt it, he could easily have used the sigla /·, /·, as is actually done in the next line. Here the case is far clearer. For G's Greek does actually conform to the Latin order, but F's reverses it. Hence there can be no possible motive for F's reversal; it must have been a mere blunder. But such a blunder was most unlikely, as anyone must see on reading G. On the other hand, both the orders in F, especially the second, are sustained by highly respectable ancient authorities.

At 9:33 we read in G and F:

dali et qui crediderit in eo non confunditur
 δαλου Καὶ /ο. πιστευων επαυτω οὐ μὴ κατασχυνθη . . —

επιστευων. ἐπ. αὐτω. οὐ. μὴ.

qui crediderit in eum non

This case is one of the plainest and most convincing. In order to have produced F from G the scribe must have misread ο as ε, must have failed to note the breathing /, never over ε, must have overlooked the dot and the wide space following ο, and also the translation *qui* both in g and in the original of f. We hold such a concurrence of blunders to be practically impossible. To a transcriber of G there is no occasion for the least confusion. We do not dwell on the monster *επιστευων* further than to ask: Would the creator of such a prodigy, under such conditions, have attempted to improve a plain Greek text that he was copying? If now we inquire after the origin of this error, the answer comes instantly. The scribe saw before him ΙΟΤΤΙC *continuo scripta*. But the O was faint on the right, and so was mistaken, as so often happens, for Ε; hence the present F text. It seems very difficult, if not impossible, to doubt the correctness of this explanation.

At 15:9 the two texts are:

in gentibus et psallam et cantam. nomini tuo et iterum dicis
 εν. εθνεσιν και ψαλω. τω. ονοματι σου Και παλειν λεγει
et nomini tuo cantabo. σεις; Και. τω. ονοματι. σου. ψαλω

Of course, it is easy to say that F has changed the Greek order, but there is no scintilla of proof that he ever does so; the *evidence* is all the other way. Moreover, the semicolon (;), the capital K, and the bar over ω can none of them come from G, but all point to some other source.

At 15:22 the codices read:

impediebar multum et plurimum venire ad vos ex multis jam
 ενεκοπην πολλακτης του ελθειν προσ υμας. Απο πολλων
 *venire ad vos nunc*
 αιτων ωσανουν πορευομαι. του ελθειν υμας Νυν'
vero non ulterius locum habens in partibus tregionibus his
 ειδε μη', κετει τοπον εχων εν τοις κλημασιν τουτοις
desiderium autem habeo veniendi et venire ad vos a multis
 Επειποθειαν. δε εχω του ελθειν προσ υμας Απο πολ
tis annis praecedentibus sed eum proficiscar in hispaniam spe
 λων. αιτων ωσανουν πορευομαι εις την σπανιον Ελ
ro per circuiens videre, vos et a vobis
 πευζω διαπορευομενος Θεασασθαι υμας Και αφυμων

δι. ο. και ενεκοπην. πολλακτης.
 του. ελθειν. προσ. υμας. απο
 πολλων. αιτων. ωσανυν.
 νυν. ειδε. μη. κετειστοπον.
 εχων. εν. τοις. κλημασιν. τουτοις.

propter quod et impediēbar plurimum
venire ad vos ex
multis jam praecedentibus annis
nunc ergo ulterius locum non
habens in regionibus his

*desiderium autem habeo veniendi
ad vos. Sed cum proficiscar in
ispaniam spero in transitu
videre vos et a vobis*

επειθοειαν. δε. εχω. του. ελθειν.
προσ. υμας. πορευομαι. ες. την.
σπανιαν. ελπειω. δια. πορευο
μενος. θεασασθαι. υμας. καφυμων.

We note that G has deleted Απο π. α. ω. π., but F retains απο. π. α. ω. (with *νν* for *νον*); also G inserts του ελθειν υμας, but F omits πορευομαι τ. ε. ν.; also G inserts Απο. π. α. ω. before the second πορευομαι, but F omits them.

We pass over minor variations, though not unimportant (as Διο και δε. ο. και, και αφυμων and καφυμων), and ask: Is the likeness photographic? Is it probable that a scribe so ignorant of Greek would have departed so far from his original? Of course, one may always *assert* that F is adapting his Greek to his Latin, but the assertion can never be made even probable. In view of the facts already cited it is unprecedented and beyond belief that he would thus change the text before him, even had his Greek knowledge sufficed. It must be added that the Vulgate of the Codex Amiatinus differs from F at this point widely, so that there is still less reason for imagining the Greek altered to fit the Latin. Some late reviser has inserted the marks ↓, says Scrivener, *recentissime*.

We have noted only a few of the almost innumerable *indicia* of the non-derivation of F from G that present themselves in Romans; enough, however, to show that they exist, quite as numerous and important in the first as in the last of the epistles. We might here close this line of argument, but that Zimmer professes to have made a special study of Galatians and assures us that there is no sign to be found therein of derivation other than from G, unless perchance it be

“
the καμοι of F instead of καμοι in G (2 : 8). This instance he considers, and rightly finds inconclusive. Just here one is astonished at the punctilious conscientiousness of our critic. Surely such scrupulosity must have its reward, at least in our absolute confidence in his scientific fair-mindedness. But alack! on closer scrutiny our trust is rudely shaken. Firstly, it is not quite correct that F* has deviated one iota from G; it is only F** that has written the ι above the line. This, however, is the merest trifle, but it serves well to show how carefully Zimmer strains out a gnat—only to swallow a whole drove of camels. For grave discrepancies between F and G abound in Galatians, and it is these that Zimmer has forgot to mention.

A striking example is afforded by this very passage (2 : 8) :

cut petrus circumcissionis operatus est t mihi inter
θωσ πετροσ της περιτομης ενηργησεν καμοι εωσ

ασ. καθωσ. πετρο. περιτομης. εν.

sicut petro circumcissionis

ηργησεν. καμοι. εωσ. τα. εθνην

operatus est et mihi intergentes.

Here the correct form *πετρο(ω)* is given against the *πετροσ* of G; also *της* is omitted. Of course one can still *assert* that F is molding his Greek on his Latin last, but this remains *mere assertion*, neither will it explain the omission of *της*.

In 2:9 F has *τεσ. τυλοι* for G's *τεσ στυλοι*. The loss of the *σ* is easy to understand if F be copied from a MS., *continuo scripta*, since then the two *σ*'s would meet; but not if F be taken from G, where the *σ*'s are distinctly apart.

In 3:17 we find:

dei in christum quod post cccctos et xxx annos facta est lex

Θυ εωσ χρν ο. μετα υ, και α αιτη γεγονωσ. νο

Ο. μετα. υ. και. λ. αιτη. γεγωω quae post cccc et xxx annos facta

Here G has mistaken *λ* for *Α*; did F know enough about Greek notation to correct him? Did F know that *λ* stood for 30 in Greek? We cannot believe it.

In 3:23 G has *εωσ την* correctly and widely separated; but F has *εστιν*! Three variations and the sense annulled, in spite of the *in* written above! If F so cautiously and so often corrects his Greek by his Latin, why did he not let his Latin (*in eam fidem*) here keep him true to his original?

Immediately after *Θηναι* (vs. 23) F leaves a blank space of nearly a line, but G leaves none at all.

quam eius quae t habet

In 4:27 G has *ης της ερημου εχου*, but F omits *ερημου*; why? Because the Latin above is underscored? This seems an insufficient reason.

In 5:6 there stands:

neque praeputium sed fides per t ex caritatem

Ουτε ακροβυστια Αλλα πιστις δια αγαπησ

ουτε ακροβυστια

neque circumcisio aliquid va

let. Neque praeputium

αλλα. πιστις. δια. αγαπησ. ενερ

sed fides quae per caritatem ope

Here it seems evident that F is following his original. He is not adapting Greek to Latin, since the *ακροβυστια* corresponds, not to *circumcisio*, but to *praeputium*.

From 5 : 21 we may learn how and how far F does adapt his Greek and Latin to each other : he has dotted pairs of corresponding words.

In 5 : 23 F omits Θ at the beginning, but has correctly *spiritu ambulamus* $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\iota\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$; but G has $\pi\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\iota\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$. Can Zimmer explain the falling away of G's Θ or the transference of ϵ to the $\tau\omicron\iota\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$?

In 6 : 17 we find clear proof of two facts ; the interlineations are not, at least are not all, taken from G ; for the words *laboris mihi nemo exhibeat*, written over $\kappa\omicron\pi\delta\sigma\ .\ \mu\omicron\iota\ .\ \mu\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\ .\ \pi\alpha\rho\epsilon\chi\epsilon\tau\omega\ .$, are not in g, which agrees with f (*nemo mihi molestus sit*). Also the scribe has no thought of conforming Greek and Latin to each other, for we read :

$\tau\alpha\ .\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon\ .\ \kappa\upsilon\ .\ \eta\mu\omega\nu\ .\ \iota\upsilon\ .\ \chi\upsilon\ .\ \epsilon\nu\ .\ \tau\omega\ .\ \quad \quad \quad \overline{i\hbar u}\ in$

And again in vs. 18 $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \chi\upsilon$, but $\overline{d\eta\iota}$, while G has $\kappa\upsilon$. Here F *departs* from G and from *his own Latin* at the same time.

When to the foregoing we add the important variant in 5 : 10, already discussed, we see that the divergences between F and G, even in Galatians, are by no means inconsiderable, but indicate unmistakably that G is not the archetype of F. We are not afraid, then, to rest our case even on Galatians, where the discrepancies happen to be least ; nevertheless, as Zimmer has chosen this epistle, we too may make some choice ; let it be the immediately following Ephesians. Of course, we can notice only the more signal divergences.

In 1 : 11 G has *εκληθημεν*, but F *εκληθησαμεν*. The $\sigma\alpha$ has been deleted by dots, but that is not to the point, which is : How could F* insert the $\sigma\alpha$ if copying the G text ? We can imagine no answer, for there can be no question of eye-wandering, as there is no $\sigma\alpha$ in the neighborhood, and the G text is in the first line of its page. To be sure, one might ask : How could such a mistake be made in any case ? We answer that we cannot tell when, or where, or how it was made, whether by F* or F' or F'', because we do not know what appearance the originals presented to the copyist ; if we did, the explanation might be simple enough. What we do know is that such a blunder is quite unintelligible in transcribing the text of G.

futuro
In 1 : 21 G has *μελλοντι*. It would seem impossible for anyone to make any mistake, if exercising the least care. But F has *με αλλοντι*. It is inconceivable that anyone could have so transcribed the G text. The Latin written above positively forbids anyone to resolve the word into $\mu\epsilon$ and anything else. In this case, moreover, the mistake of F is perfectly comprehensible. The text before him was $\tau\omega\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\iota$.

He recognized and spaced off the TW, and thought he recognized also the ME, which accordingly he spaced off. The first Λ he mistook for A, as so often happens; but he seems almost instantly to have discovered his mistake and deleted the α; then he wrote off the other letters, doubtless not understanding them. The και, of course, he recognized and hence set off as a word.

In 2:1 G has τοις παραπτωμασιν, but F του.παραπτωμασιν. This solecism is interesting, as disclosing F's impenetrable ignorance of Greek; but how did it originate? Hardly from G, who writes τοις. But if the text before F read ΤΟΙC, then if the lower half of the C was a little dim, one might easily read ΤΟΥ.

In 2:2 we meet with an entirely different phenomenon:

his in
υποσ εν. κ.τ.λ.

huius spiritus. qui nunc opera
sur etc.

opera
εν εργο
τουτου. πνσ. του. νυν. ενεργον
το. κ.τ.λ.

How excessively unlikely that F should not copy down, but look away from the ο, at the end of the line in G, back to the υ at the beginning of the next line, and then combine these two letters, nearly a foot apart in G, into the one symbol χ, which is scarcely used! Especially as he was at the end of his own line! We need not dwell on his omission of the final C (in τος); that was perhaps due to confusion, the result of the proximity of C in the original to the following Ε.

In 2:5 G has:

gratia estis saluati et salvi facti
χαριτι εσται σεσωσμενοι.

From this unmistakable original how could F produce

τι. εσταισεωσμενοι. και. συν?

In 2:15, 16 there are several strange diversities on which we cannot dwell. At the close of vs. 18 the line is blank in F thus:

patrem

πατερα.

There is no blank in G.

In 2:19, 20 we find

sanctorum et
των. αγων και
οικειοι του Θυ εποι κοδομηθεντες επι τω θεμελιω

των. αγων. κ οικει. οιτχ. Θυ. εποικο
δομηθεντες. επι. των. θεμελω. scorum et domestici di super aedificati supra fundamentum

Here the omission of *v*, giving the impossible *τω*, is hard to understand from G, but not from F' (or F'), in which the word was doubtless written *Τῶ*; the stroke —' was merely forgotten, overlooked, or disregarded. And how shall we understand from G the misdivision in *οικει. ουτδ*? We pass by the *ι* for *η* and the *ι* omitted.

In 2:21 we have in G *αγιον*, but in F *αιων*, though *scm* in the Latin. G's *ΑΓΙΟΝ* is not easy to misgrasp, especially with *sanctum* above it, but the words *ΑΓΙΟΝ* and *ΑΙΩΝ* might be confounded in close or shorthand writing, though hardly, we think, by F*, but by some predecessor.

In 3:4 the *ολιπω* in F is hard to derive from the *ολιγω* in G. This chap. iii begins with *Τουτου* in G, but with *ουτου* in F—another omission of an initial, wholly inexplicable on Zimmer's hypothesis.

In 3:9 G has *αυωνων* *p. m.*, *αιωνων* *s. m.*, but F has *αιωνω*. Here the bar in F's original *ω* has been disregarded, correction being made afterward.

In 3:28 we read:

	<i>sic</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>virī</i>
	Ουτωσ	και οι.	ανδρεσ
<i>debent diligere</i>	<i>suas</i>	<i>uxores</i>	<i>ut</i>
οφιλουσιν. αγαπαν τασ	εαυτων	γυναικας	Ωσ τα
<i>lata. Ita et viri de</i>			μοσ. Ου τωσ. και οι. ανδρει. σοφι
<i>ben<i>i</i> delegere uxores</i>			λουσιν. αγαπαντας. εαυτων. γυ

Here the case seems clear as day. F has taken *ανδρει* for a word, he has prefixed the *σ* to *οφιλουσιν*, making the familiar syllable *σοφ*. This was perfectly natural, if his text was *ΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΦΙΛΟΥCΙΝ*, but it is all forever incomprehensible if G lay before him—both the false division, and the omission of the *ε*, and the transference of the *σ*.

With this we close our examination of Ephesians. The mind that is unmoved by this last example would hardly be moved by any other.

But there is not one epistle that does not present such phenomena. Thus, in Phil. 2:17:

<i>immolator supra sacrificium et servitutem t obsequium</i>	<i>fidei</i>
πενδομαι επι τη θυσια και λειτουργια της πιστεωσ	
<i>vestrae gaudeo et congratulor</i>	
υμων χαιρω και συγχαιρω κ.τ.λ.	
και. ει. σπενδομαι. επι. τη. θυ	<i>et si immolator supra sacrifici</i>
σια. και. λειτουργια. της. πιστε	<i>um et obsequium fidei</i>
ωσ. υμ. χαιρω. και. συν	<i>vestrae. gaudeo et con gratu</i>

Here we must note the wrong division in G, corrected in F; but even if F was equal to such a feat (which is impossible, since he has not comprehended the word, but has falsely divided it), how shall we explain the presence of the ρ in *τουργῖα*? F has not understood the rare word and naturally has misdivided it; why then did he, and *how then could he*, correct G's false spelling by inserting ρ ? Impossible! And why did he circumflex the ι , uncircumflexed in G? But this is not all. The contraction of *υμων* into $\overline{\upsilon\mu}$ seems very strange for F, so feeble in Greek, and in fact almost impossible, for the word is not elsewhere contracted; especially as there is no occasion whatever, the line being a short one. We must refer the contraction to some ancestor of F, in which the word occurred at the end of a line probably, and there was contracted, as is very common.

non quae

In Col. 3 : 2 G presents *μη τα*, but F has *.μεγα.* in spite of *non quae* in f. Such a mistake in copying G seems to press close on the bounds of the possible. However, MHTA might easily be misread as MHFA, if the left half of the horizontal bar was obscure, and the confusion of E and H is one of the most frequent of itacisms, made centuries before.

In 1 Thess. 1 : 1 we read :

<i>paulus et silvanus et timotheus</i>	
Παυλος και σιλβανος και τιμοθεος	
PAULUS et	Παυλος. και
	λ
<i>Silvanus</i>	σια βανος.
<i>et timotheus ecclesiae</i>	και. τιμωθεος. τη. εκκλησία

Here the false division and the mistake of λ for α appear downright impossible to a copyist of G; but not to one whose original was CIABANOC.

On the next page of F the confusion of ε and η is worse confounded than ever; there seems to be no explanation in G.

quam sancti

In 2 : 10 G has *Ωσ οσίωσ*, but F *προσ. αγίωσ*. If this be photographic likeness, the camera would seem to have been sadly out of focus.

In 2 : 14 F puts a comma at the close of the line, thus: *.των*, and then leaves half the next line vacant before *και. τον. κν. απεκτι*. There is nothing in G or in the Latin f to suggest or explain this blank; it must have been present in the original of F.

In 4:13, after a blank occupied by five >'s, G has

^{no}
Ου

^{imus}
θελομεν. F has no blank, but begins a line thus:

* *Nolumus autem vos ignorare* * Μυθελομεν. δε. ὑμας. αγνοειν

We cannot be sure how this confusion of O and M (or of ου and μη) originated, but everything seems done in F with deliberation, and the derivation from G seems impossible. Notice, too, the small π and μ; these were placed there as catch letters, showing what letters were to be filled in *after*. F has faithfully copied everything.

In 2 Thess. 2:1 a precisely similar case is seen; G has ^{rogamus} Ερωτωμεν, but F (at the beginning of a line) π Πρωτωμεν. The Ε of G could not be misread as Π. The source of the error cannot be found in G, but must be sought in F', which therefore is not G.

Similarly, in 3:1 we find Λαιπον in G, but in F the impossible π Ποιπον, in spite of *Decetere* in the Latin (f). Here again G is not the copy set before F.

In 1 Cor. 6:15 G has

faciam membra meretricis
Ποιησω μελη πορνησ.

^{absit} Μη γεν.αιτο before H. ^{an tollens ergo} αρα ουν, but those five words are omitted by F. The old evasion is that F is here adapting Greek to Latin, but there is no ground for this claim; in a thousand other cases they are left at variance.

At 6:6 G has ^{an t ant} H at the end of a line and ουκ οιδετε beginning the next. F writes Ηγκ.οιδετε.

At 9:6 G has:

^{non habemus}
βας ουκ εχομεν;

^{barna}
και. βαρνα

but F

^{ba}
κ. βαρνα. σ. ε. ζκ εχομεν εξον *et barnabas non habemus potesta*

How could anyone produce this in copying G? How overlook the βα in βασ, at the beginning of a line? Why put a period? Whence the ε? Is it not plain that the βα omitted points to some misunderstood contraction? that the ε has arisen from some confusion of C and O, between which uncials it stood? The symbol of contraction ξ was almost certainly present in F'.

^{neque murmuravunt}
In 1 Cor. 10:10 G has Μηδε γογγυζωμεν at the end of a line; but F has at the bottom of p. 2, folio 44:

perierunt. Neque murmurave

απωλοντο. Μη. δε. γογγυζω

and at the top of the next, p. 1, folio 45,

μεν. καθωσ. τεινεσ. αυτων.

ritis sicut quidam eorum

If F copied from G, then the scribe stopped needlessly at the bottom of the page, three letters from the end of a line in G, in the middle of a word, when there was ample space for *μεν* in his line, and then carried this *μεν* forward to the top of the next page! Is this in the lowest degree likely? Common-sense answers, No! It is psychologically almost impossible.

In 12:13 G has Αληνεσ, but F ^{greci} αληνεσ. Did a scribe so densely ignorant of Greek know and dare to correct his original thus? We cannot believe it. F** has written ^{greci} *greci* above, since *gentiles* appears in f. How shall we explain G's blunder? Most probably the A is for Λ and the E has been omitted, as so often, from the margin. We are thus carried back, not to G', but to G''. The clear indication is that F and G have not the same original.

In 15:35 we find:

	<i>mortui</i>
	οι νεκ
<i>qualis autem corpore veniunt insipiens tu quod</i>	
ροι. Ποιω δε σωματι ερχονται. Αφρων συ ο.	
<i>seminas non vivificatur nisi prius moriatur</i>	
σπειρεισ ου ζωοποιεται εαν μη πρωτον αποθανη	
<i>mortui. qualis autem corpore venient.</i>	κροι. ποιω. δε. σωματι. ερχονται
αφρων. συ. οσ. πειρεισ. ου ζωοποι	<i>insipiens tu quod seminas. non vivi</i>
ειται. εαν. μη. πρωτον. αποθανη	<i>ficatur. Nisi prius moriatur.</i>

Can any unbiased mind believe that F* would without any ground omit the κ at the end of the line and prefix it to the beginning of the next? That he could change the correct and unmistakable ο. σπειρεισ into the unmeaning οσ πειρεισ, in spite of the translation above? in spite of the period after ο? in spite of the fact that the ο and the σ are separated by nearly a foot?

In 15:49 we read:

igitur sicut portavimus
αρα Καθωσ εφορεσαμεν κ.τ.λ.

Αρα. καθωσ. εφορεσαμεν την. ικονα *Igitur sicut portavimus imaginem*

It is improbable and unprecedented that the ignorant scribe should transfer the Αρα from the margin into the text.

In 16:6 the texts stand :

pertransiero nam Macedoniam enim pertransibo

διελθὼ Μακαυδονίαν γὰρ διερχομαι κ.τ.λ.

ero. Nam macedoniam ptransibo

ὅω. Μακαυδονίαν. δε διερχομαι.

Here we have an entirely different reading, δε for γὰρ. All possibility of mistaking the last for the first is here positively excluded. Moreover, here at last the subterfuge, that F is adapting his Greek to his Latin, is wholly unavailable, for the Latin has *nam*, which may render the γὰρ of G, but not the δε of F. Neither, then, by accident nor by design can the F text be derived from G.

But someone may say that certainly at some time the variation originated, and why not as well when F was written as at any other date? We answer: This is not the place to discuss in general the subject of New Testament variants; it is enough to say that we may without great difficulty understand their origin at a much earlier period, when the scribes were themselves good Grecians; when they had their own independent opinions about grammar and logic, and even dogma and history; when they dared express such opinions, unawed by hoary tradition and theories of canonicity and verbal inspiration. But the case is altogether another in the midnight of the ninth century, when the scribes were deplorably ignorant of Greek, of its syntax, its inflections, its orthography; when they could not even divide it into words properly, and when the Holy Writ was shielded from profanation by the inviolable sanctity of centuries.

In 2 Cor. 1:1 the two codices read :

paulus apostolus iesu christi per voluntatem dei et

Παυλος αποστολος ῑω χ̄ν̄ δια θεληματος θ̄ν̄ και

Paulus Ap̄ls.

Παυλος. αποστολος.

per voluntatem Di

δια. Θεληματος. Θ̄ν̄.

Here the case is plain on its face. The omission of ῑω χ̄ν̄, whether by accident or by design, seems out of the question. Whatever we may say of F, the Latin (f) here certainly represents an old form, in our judgment most probably an older form than either of the others (with χ̄ν̄ ῑω and ῑω χ̄ν̄) that divide nearly equally the suffrages of authorities.

2 Cor. 2:1 begins thus:

statis iudicavi t statui autem hoc ipsum apud
εστηκατα. Εκρινα δε εμαντω με

hoc ipsum

τουτο. κ.τ.λ.

εστηκατα. Εκρινα. δε. εμᾱν̄

τω. το̄υτο. Το. μη. παλιν. εν. λυπη.

statis. Statui autem hoc ipsum

apud ut non intristicia ve

Here the splitting of *εμavτω* at the end of a line itself not full is unintelligible in copying from G, where the word ends the line. Notice also the breathings on the *v*'s, not in G—an evidence of the great painstaking of the scribe. The passage is also interesting as showing by its *me* what is otherwise abundantly evident, that the Greek in G was written before the Latin (g).

In 2 Cor. 5:12 G has *καυχηματος*, but F has *.κ.χηματος*, with *gloriandi* in f. Here it seems clear as noon that F is not copying from G, whose *αν* could not be mistaken, but from a MS. in which *καν* was abbreviated into K with some following slight mark which F did not understand. The interlinear *αν* is, of course, a subsequent correction.

In 2 Cor. 5:1 the MSS. read :

<i>huius habitationis desolatur quod habitaculum ex deo ha-</i>	
<i>του σκηνοσ καταλυθη. Οτι οικοδομην εκ θυ εχ</i>	
<i>bemus domum non manufactam aeternam in</i>	
<i>ομεν οικιαν ουκ αχιροποιητον. Αιωνιον εν. τοις</i>	
<i>solvatur. qd. aedificationem ex</i>	<i>Θη. οτι. οικοδομην. εκ. Θυ. εχ</i>
<i>dō habemus. domum non manufactam</i>	<i>μεν. οικιαν. ουκ. αχιρο, πι ητον</i>

Is this likeness "photographic?" Can any reason be assigned for the transposition of the *ο*? Is it not plain that the F scribe cannot read the splendid rare word *αχιροποιητον*?

In 2 Cor. 5:17 G has *Καινη κτισις* at the beginning of the line, at the top of the page, but F has :

<i>in xpō nova creatura. Ve</i>	<i>ειπεισ. εν. χρω. και. νηκτισις. τα.</i>
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Was such an amazing misconception possible to a copyist of G? Has not F* picked out his letters one by one from a MS. *continuo scripta* and fancied he has found the inevitable *και*?

In 1 Tim. 1:9 G has quite unmistakably *Αλλ ανομοιστε*; but F has *αλλανομοισ. τε*. It seems impossible for anyone to fail to observe that the *Αλλ* has been deleted in G both by dots and by the transverse stroke (here omitted).

The fund of examples like the foregoing seems almost inexhaustible; not so, however, the patience of the reader. We have taken specimens from every one of the thirteen epistles. Any one of more than a score seems to us practically decisive. If any mind remains yet unmoved by their collected force, such a mind is not sensible to considerations of such nature; it would find some means to smooth away

any discrepancies whatever between isolated passages in the codices, no matter how sharp or how numerous they might be. It would seem useless, therefore, to develop this phase of the investigation any further.

But even such an intelligence must, we think, yield to the strength of the evidence we are now about to bring forward—evidence of an entirely different character, derived not from any particular passage, but from the general structure of the codices as wholes. We now affirm :

That in their lineation the Greek and Latin (F and f) are adjusted to each other with the minutest accuracy, with punctilious care. This fact stares at us from every page, and almost from every line. The quotations already given have exemplified it a hundred times. Not only are the words matched line by line, but the syllables as well. When the Greek word is divided, so too is the Latin, almost invariably. Of course, the differences in the structure of the two languages, especially the absence of articles and the weaker verbal inflection in the Latin, render the *absolute* and *uniform* matching of the endings impossible. To test our assertion we throw F open at random, at fol. 22, p. 2, and give the words divided at the ends of lines, the dash denoting division :

recon-ciliationem, κα-ταλλαγή; *as-sumtio*, προ-λημψις; *in-seri* . . . εν-εκεν . . . ; *ra-dix*, ρει-ζα; *frac-ti sunt*, κλασ-θησαν; *in-serar*, εν-κεντρισθω; *incredu-litate*, απω-τεια; *altum-sapere*, υψη-λοφρονει; *ra-mis*, κλα-δων; *επιμεινω-σεν*, *permanse-rint*; ενκεντριω-θησονται, *inse-rentur*; *εξ-εκοπησ*, *ex-cisus es*; μαλ-λον, *ma-gis*; εν-κεν . . . , *in-serentur*; αγνο-ειν, *igno-rare*; *μυστηρει-ον*, *mysteri-um*; *πωρω-σεν*, *cae-citas*; *πλη-ρωμα*, *pleni-tudo*; *σωθησεται*, *salvus-erit*; Ηξ-ει, *veni-et*.

Twenty-one examples on two pages !

We have trusted our case to a random opening of the Codex; pages much more strikingly illustrative might be found, but these are conclusive in their testimony. We do not dwell on this proposition; anyone may easily test it for himself, and perhaps no one will dispute it. Either, then, the Latin lines have been adapted to the Greek, or the Greek have been adapted to the Latin. We affirm :

The Latin lines have been adapted to the Greek, and not the Greek to the Latin. This proposition is, on its face, very plausible; it would be strange if the original should be fitted to a translation, and not the translation to the original. That the Greek *leads* is shown by

the fact that it is placed *first* (on the left) on the first page of each folio. More than this, however; the proposition is proved incontestably by a variety of considerations. First, the Greek lines are in each column almost uniform in length; the slight variations are doubtless due in large measure to contractions and to the varying size of the letters in the ancestral MSS.; the number of letters line by line varies within narrow limits. Thus, opening *Augiensis* at random, fol. 75, p. 2, we find the longest line has twenty-five letters, the shortest has twenty-one; but the longest Latin line has thirty-four letters, the shortest has only fifteen. Everywhere, in fact, the Latin lines are most irregular. The number of letters vibrates between the widest extremes. There are many more striking examples than this afforded by our random choice, but this is quite sufficient. Indeed, a mere glance at almost any page must convince the unprejudiced mind that the Greek lines have been made of nearly uniform length, while the Latin fitted thereto are wholly irregular. No one will maintain that the Latin could have been independently chosen irregularly so as to give a regular result in Greek.

When we come to particular lines, the case appears, if possible, even stronger still. There are hosts of examples where it is preposterous to suppose the Latin determined the Greek. Thus, on the very next page, 1 of fol. 76, we find:

τα. του. κυ. ημων. ευ. χυ. εν. τω. *ihu. in*

—a normal Greek line, but a Latin one of only five letters. On the next page, as one of many:

rare omnia in *κεφελωσασθαι τα. παντα. εντω.*

On p. 183:

εκθρουσ. του. σταυρου. του. χρυ. *cos crucis xpi*

But on p. 185:

σα. προσ φειλη. οσα. ευφημα *quae cumque amabilia quae cūque bonae famae*

On p. 193:

σει. ουμενουσ. υπο. του. νοουσ *status sensu*

But on p. 199:

ρω. γαρ. αυτω. οτι. εχει. πολιν *um enim illi perhibeo qd̄ habeat multum*

On p. 231:

οβασιλευσ. των. βασιλευοντων *rex regum et*

But on p. 224 :

justificatum est in spir apparuit ange^[lis] ωθη. εν. πνι. ωφθη. αγγελουσ.

On p. 33 :

κεντρισθησονται. τη. ἰδεια
ελαια
serentur suae
olivae

This is of itself conclusive. There was plain reason for writing the Greek so ; the line was full—twenty-two letters ; there was no reason whatever for writing the Latin so, except to fit it to the Greek. There are scores of such instances. Thus on p. 12 :

Servi facti estis justi
τιαε
ει. δουλωθηται της δικαι
οσσυνη.

and on p. 209 :

αλληλουσ. εν. τοις. λογοις. του
τοις.
invicem. In verbis
istis

But on p. 7 :

ημων εν χρι δι ου νυν.
nrm ihm xpm per ihm xpm per quem^[nunc]

As secondary, the Latin is natural ; as primary, it is unimaginable. Such examples may be accumulated by the hundred ; on the other hand, there are no cases where any adaptation of the Greek to the Latin is clearly indicated. The length of the Latin lines is sometimes so excessive that unusual contractions and other devices become necessary, as on pp. 39, 69, 75. But perhaps the most curious illustration of this punctilious adjustment of Latin to Greek is found in Gal. 5 : 9 :

Θεσθαι. Η. πισμονη. ουκ. εκτοΥ
καλουντοσ. υμασ. Μικρα. ζυ
μη. ολον. το. φυραμα. ζυμοι.
ritis. Persuasio non est ex eo qui vo
cat vos. Modicum fermentum
totam massam corrumpit.

Here *tum* has been erased after *fermen* in the second line and placed at the beginning of the third. No other motive seems assignable than the desire to match the divided ζυ-μη with the divided *fermen-tum*.

The question now arises : Who has made this division of the Greek letters into lines of practically uniform length, and who has adapted thereto the division of the Latin letters and with such extreme care ? A positive answer may perhaps never be possible, but a negative one is even now certain : *it was not the F scribe*. For such a division of the Latin, to accord so exactly with the Greek, pre-supposes at least a respectable knowledge of the latter, a knowledge far transcending

what F* displays in dividing into words near the middle of the line. It cannot be that a scribe should show himself grossly ignorant of a tongue in the middle of the lines, but well-versed in it at the ends. Besides, the utter disregard of the Latin in writing the Greek is conspicuous on nearly every page. That F is not guided by his Latin in grouping his Greek letters is vivid in 2 Cor. 5:17:

in xpo nova creatura. Ve

ειπεσ. εν. xpw. και. νηκτισις. τα.

It seems impossible that he should not recognize the correspondence of *in xpo* to *εν. xpw*; also he must have known that *και* = *et*; hence he cannot have tried to divide *καινηκτισις* so as to translate *nova creatura*; and yet he must have known and felt that *nova creatura* represented *καινηκτισις*, if he was carrying along both Latin and Greek in his consciousness. The only way to understand the phenomenon is to suppose that he was picking out his Greek letters one by one from a MS. written continuously, and with little or no assistance from the Latin.

Moreover, the division of the Greek itself is in many cases inexplicable as the work of the F scribe. Thus, opening the codex at random at the fol. 75, p. 1, we find a line of twenty-one letters, shorter by three or four spaces than the adjacent lines:

κοινωνιτω. δε. ο. καταχουμε

communicet autem is qui catesisatur

Why was the final syllable *νοσ* carried forward to the next line, when it would merely have filled out the line itself? Turning back two leaves we find at Gal. 4:25:

εστιν. αγαρ. Το. γαρ. σινα. οροσ. εστιν

εν. τη. αραβια. η. συνστα.

Here the case lies open on the hand. The first line is full, having twenty-two letters, at *οροσ*; also, the line in G ends with *οροσ*. The next line is short, having only eighteen letters. Why then should *εστιν* be taken out of the next line in G and almost wedged into this line, raising the number of its letters to the excessive sum of twenty-seven, whereas had it been kept, as was so natural, on the next line, each would have had twenty-two (three)? The reason of the fact seems past finding out so long as we suppose F* himself making the divisions, and perversely inscrutable so long as we imagine him copying from G. But it is easy to understand, if we suppose the division made long centuries before, on the basis of a contracted form of the repeated *εστιν*. Such cases are without number, many of them more vivid than these

just considered. We must conclude, then, that the line-division is not original with F.

This conclusion is corroborated mightily, and, as it seems to us, beyond all possibility of debate, by the distribution into paragraphs. This latter has been carried out, at least in parts of F, with great minuteness and with considerable intelligence. Thus, in Romans, sure tokens of such paragraphy are found at 3:21; 4:1; 4:9; 5:1; 5:15^b; 5:18; 5:20; 6:1; 6:12; 6:15; 6:19; 7:1; 7:4; 7:7; 7:21; 7:25^b; 8:12; 8:26; 8:28; 8:31; 8:35; 8:37; 9:1; 9:6; and so on. In 1 Corinthians at 1:9; 4:1; 5:1; 6:1; 7:1; 7:25; 8:1; 8:9; 9:4; 9:24; 10:18; and so on. In 2 Corinthians at 2:12; 4:7; 6:11; 7:5; and elsewhere. In Galatians at least at 3:24. In Ephesians at 2:19; 3:1; 4:1; 6:23. In Philippians at 2:19; 4:4. In Colossians at 2:20; 3:12. In 1 Thessalonians at 4:1; 4:13; 5:1; 5:12. In 2 Thessalonians at 2:1; 3:6. In 1 Timothy at 1:8; 1:18; 3:8. In 2 Timothy at 1:10; 4:1; 4:17. In Titus at 2:1; 2:6; 3:1. In Philemon at vs. 17. There are many others, about which we may be confident, but not quite certain.

Now these divisions, be it observed in passing, do not at all correspond to the divisions in G, which are indicated by such marks as >>>. Hence it seems extremely unlikely that either codex should be copied from the other, or, in fact, that they should both have the same proximate original. Furthermore, it is superfluously manifest that F* is not the author of these divisions. For in a large number of cases the initial letter of the paragraph has been omitted in Greek or in Latin, or in both. In some cases space has been left for a capital. In a few cases this letter has been inserted in brackets by a much later hand. We have already discussed several examples of these phenomena, among the most important that arrest our attention in the study of this codex. To us the whole body of such facts appears quite incomprehensible, save only on the hypothesis that F has been copied (mediately or immediately) from a MS. in which these paragraphs were signaled by capitals written most probably in the margin, as in D, and perhaps ornately, in brilliant inks. Such letters would naturally be left unwritten at first, to be filled in afterward, and in some cases might be forgotten or overlooked and so might fall out altogether. Clear indications of such a course of events yet survive in our codex. In several cases a very small letter is found in the margin opposite the same letter capitalized in the text. Thus, to cite an instance not hitherto mentioned, at Phil. 2:19, as the last line of fol. 88, p. 1, we have:

These omissions of initials are of such deep significance and such vital consequence that it seems well to give a list of them, at least nearly complete:

Rom. 4: 9,	<i>B</i> from <i>Beatitudo</i> , no space left.
5: 15 ^b , <i>E</i> from <i>Et</i> ,	<i>S</i> from <i>Si</i> , no space left.
5: 18, <i>A</i> from <i>Αρα</i> ,	<i>I</i> from <i>Igitur</i> , space left.
6: 1, <i>T</i> from <i>Τι</i> , large space left, [Q] (<i>recentissima manu</i>).	
6: 12,	<i>N</i> from <i>Non</i> , space left.
6: 15,	<i>Q</i> from <i>Quid</i> , space left.
6: 19, <i>a</i> in space for <i>A</i> ,	<i>H</i> from <i>Humanum</i> , space left.
7: 1, <i>H</i> in margin (<i>secunda manu</i>) followed by space, <i>A</i> in (<i>An</i>), (<i>r. m.</i> ²).	
7: 4, <i>ω</i> in margin (<i>s. m.</i> ³),	<i>I</i> in [<i>I</i>]aque (<i>r. m.</i>).
8: 12 <i>A</i> from <i>Αρα</i> ,	<i>E</i> from <i>Ergo</i> , no space.
8: 26, (Ω) <i>rec. manu</i> ,	<i>S</i> from <i>Similiter</i> , space left.
8: 28, <i>O</i> from <i>Οιδαμεν</i> ,	<i>S</i> from <i>Scimus</i> , no space.
8: 31, <i>T</i> (<i>s. m.</i>),	<i>Q</i> from <i>Quid</i> , no space.
8: 35, <i>T</i> (<i>s. m.</i>),	<i>Q</i> from <i>Quis</i> , no space.
8: 37, <i>A</i> from <i>Αλλεν</i> ,	<i>S</i> from <i>Sed</i> , no space.
9: 1, <i>A</i> from <i>Αληθιας</i> , [V] (<i>r. m.</i>).	
9: 6, <i>O</i> from <i>Ουκ</i> ,	<i>N</i> from <i>Non</i> , no space.
9: 20, Ω in margin, an important confirmation.	
9: 19,	<i>D</i> from <i>Dicis</i> , no space.
9: 30, <i>T</i> in <i>Τι</i> (<i>s. m.</i>),	<i>Q</i> in [<i>Q</i>]uid (<i>s. m.</i>).
10: 1, <i>A</i> in <i>Αδελφοι</i> (<i>s. m.</i>),	<i>F</i> in [<i>F</i>]ratres (<i>s. m.</i>).
10: 14,	<i>Q</i> in [<i>Q</i>]uomodo (<i>s. m.</i>).
10: 19,	<i>S</i> in [<i>S</i>]ed (<i>s. m.</i>).
11: 7,	<i>Q</i> from <i>Quid</i> , no space.
11: 16,	<i>Q</i> from <i>Quod</i> , space left.
11: 22,	<i>V</i> from <i>Vide</i> , no space.
11: 25,	<i>N</i> from <i>Non</i> , no space.
11: 33. Ω in margin;	[O] (<i>recentissime</i>).
12: 1, <i>Π</i> from <i>Παρακαλω</i> ;	<i>O</i> in [O]bscuro (<i>recentissime</i>)
12: 16, <i>M</i> from <i>Μη</i> (<i>μ</i> in marg.);	<i>N</i> from <i>Nolite</i> , no space.
13: 1, <i>Π</i> from <i>Πασαις</i> (<i>π</i> in m., <i>s. m.</i>);	<i>O</i> in [O]mnibus (<i>r. m.</i>).
13: 8, <i>M</i> from <i>Μηδενι</i> (<i>μ</i> in m.);	<i>N</i> from <i>Nemini</i> , spaces.
14: 1, [T]ον (<i>τ</i> in m., <i>s. m.</i>);	<i>I</i> in [<i>I</i>]nfirum (<i>r. m.</i>).
14: 10,	<i>T</i> from <i>Tu</i> , no space.
15: 1, <i>O s. m.</i> ; <i>o</i> in marg., <i>p. m.</i> ;	<i>D</i> in [D]ebemus (<i>r. m.</i>).
15: 14, <i>Π</i> from <i>Πεπωμαι</i> , no space (<i>π</i> in m., <i>s. m.</i>);	<i>C</i> in [C]onfido (<i>s. m.</i>).
15: 25, <i>N</i> from <i>Νυν</i> , no space (<i>ν</i> in m.);	<i>N</i> in [N] (<i>r. m.</i>).
15: 30, <i>Π</i> from <i>Παρακαλω</i> , no space (<i>π</i> in m., <i>s. m.</i>);	<i>O</i> from <i>Obsecro</i> , space.

² *I. e.*, *recentissima manu*.

³ *I. e.*, *secunda manu*.

- 16: 1, Σ from Συ, no space (σ in m., s. m.); C in [C]ommendo (r. m.).
 16: 3, Α from Ασπασθαι (α in m., s. m.), no space; S from Salutate, no space.
 16: 17, ΙΙ from Παρακαλω (π in m., s. m.); R from Rogo, no space.
 1 Cor. 5: 1, O in [O]mnino (r. m.).
 6: 1, T from ΤΟλμα, no space; Videt for Audet.
 2 Cor. 10: 4, N in [N]am (r. m.).
 Eph. 3: 1, T from Τουτου, no space.
 1 Thess. 4: 1, Ποικον for Δοικον (π and δ in marg., φ. m.⁴).
 4: 13, Μυθολομεν for Ου θελομεν (π and μ in marg., φ. m.).
 2 Thess. 2: 1, Πρωτωμεν for Ερωτωμεν (π and R in marg., s. m.⁷).
 3: 1, Ποικον for Δοικον (π in marg., s. m.).
 2 Tim. 1: 13, T from ΤΠοτυπουσιν (both F and G).
 Tit. 1: 5, T from Τουτου, no space.
 2: 1, Σ from Συ, no space.
 2: 6, T from Τουσ, no space.
 3: 1, T from Τπομεμνησ, no space, A from Admone, space.
 Phil. vs. 4, E from Ευχαριστω, no space.
 vs. 17, E from Ει, no space.

Similar omissions are found in the Latin of *Hebrews*; as E from Et, 4: 15; Q from Qua propter, 6: 1; H from His, 7: 1.

Here is a very large body of very closely related facts; some general explanation must answer for all; in G there is no hint at any explanation of any. Inasmuch as the phenomena in Greek and Latin (F and f) are so exactly parallel, and inasmuch as the same are still present in *Hebrews*, where there is no Greek text, we seem irresistibly driven to assume the same kind of original for both F and f—an original widely different from G, and of which our present codex Augiensis is a practically exact copy. Hereby is established anew and on independent basis our previous conclusions that the Greek and Latin lines had been precisely and intelligently adjusted to each other in the archetype of our present codex. Therefore, that archetype was not G, in which no such adjustment whatever exists.

Even this is not all, however. We have yet another proof, entirely different, but equally decisive. The fact that F is copied line for line from its prototype is set in clear relief by the fact that occasionally whole lines have been omitted and then inserted at the foot of the page. Thus, at Rom. 11: 8, 9 we read:

ακουειν. εωσ. της. σημερον
 λεγει. γενηθητω. Η. τραπεζα.
 αυτων. εωσ. παγιδα. και. εωσ.

Audiant usque in hodie
 num diem Et david
 dicit fiat mensa

⁴ I. e., prima manu.

Then at the bottom of the page we find :

ἐθνῶν. πῶσω. μᾶλλον. το.

diminutio coram divitiis

/·

/·

ἡμερᾶς. καὶ δαυὶδ

gentium quanto magis

Here it seems that every shadow of doubt is excluded. The eye of the scribe wandered and skipped the Greek line *ἡμερᾶς. καὶ δαυὶδ*, but not the corresponding Latin, *num diem. Et david*. Hence through the rest of the page the Latin matches, not the Greek line, but the next above. At or before the end of the page the scribe discovers his mistake and inserts the omitted line at the bottom. Observe that the Latin and Greek flow on, each in its own channel and each undisturbed by the other, in Leibnitzian pre-established harmony. In G the omitted line appears precisely in the middle of a line, and there is no explanation for its omission in copying.

A similar phenomenon is met with at 2 Cor. 12 : 10 :

τοῦ $\overline{\chi\upsilon}$ Δι. ο. εὐδοκῶ. ἐν^β

$\overline{\chi\phi\iota}$. *Propter qd. placeo mihi**

ἐν. ἀν. γκαῖς. ἐν. διωγμοῖς.

in necessitatibus in persecutionibus

Then at the bottom of the page, separated in each of the two columns from what is above by a horizontal bar having the width of the column itself, we find :

ὁ ἀσθενῶ. μου. ἐν. ὑβρεσιν.

**in infirmitatibus in contumeliis*

Here the scribe seems first to have omitted the Greek line, but to have discovered his blunder before writing the corresponding Latin ; accordingly he has placed both lines at the bottom and so has preserved the correspondence throughout. The secret of both omissions is thus an open one. They demonstrate incontrovertibly, what is already twice proved, that the Græco-Latin alignment in the Augiensis was already present in the pattern that lay before the scribe. It should be added that half of the omitted line forms the end of one line, and half the beginning of the next in G, so that we cannot imagine how it could have been omitted by any wandering of the eye in copying from that MS.

Moreover, on the face of it the proposition seems extremely improbable that the densely ignorant F scribe should take his Greek from one MS., but his Latin from another, though the first MS. contained both Greek and Latin, and should then adjust these independent texts to each other, line by line, word by word, syllable by syllable, though he certainly did not understand the Greek text he was thus

dividing. Improbable, did we say? The proposition is more properly called incredible, and nothing less than perfectly apodeictic proof could recommend it to our acceptance. No semblance of such proof is forthcoming.

We must not close this discussion without some reference to Hort's citation of a most corrupt passage, 2 Tim. 1 : 13, in proof of the alleged dependence of F on G. He holds that it is impossible for *two* scribes to have produced the *same* monstrosity: Ποτυπουσιν εχει υγεισ εμων των λογων from the correct text: Υποτυπωσιν εχε υγαινοντων λογων; hence he infers that the one must have copied from the other. It seems amazing that such a past-master in criticism should perpetrate such a paralogism. Hort *assumes* that the text in the originals of F and G was the now *accepted* text, but this assumption is utterly baseless. It is practically certain that the corrupted text of F and G had already existed for centuries in the originals of those MSS. How the corruption originated it is not necessary to inquire. We venture to suggest, however, that the dropping of the Y is merely another example of the frequent loss of the initials and points back to a MS. in which the word began a paragraph, as does the capital Π, and that the υγεισ εμων represents an ancient variant, possibly υγει σεμων, the bar of course denoting omission. In any case, Hort's argument falls in ruin as soon as its false base is removed.

There is no escape then from the conclusion that the archetype of F offered the same division into lines as we now see in F itself. But that division is merely quantitative, into lines of about equal length, without any regard to words or sense; in particular, it is *not* stichometric. On the other hand, G presents a division, not denoted by lines, but by capitals, that is, not quantitative, but according to sense: that is, stichometric. We know of no other way to understand the capitalization in G. The stichometry may not be perfect, but it seems certainly to be present. So again the archetypes of the two codices are seen to go asunder. Apparently F would seem to represent the older tradition, but we have not space to follow up these indications. They are not negated by the coincidence of the larger gaps in the two MSS.; for there is no reason why such gaps should not be propagated through several generations of MSS.

There remain many other interesting, important, and difficult questions, which cannot be taken into consideration for the present. Among them one of the most puzzling concerns the original grouping

of the letters into words. It appears strange that anyone could make such atrocious blunders and yet so often be right. It seems certain that some of the errors in grouping reach far behind either F or G, behind even the Latin translations. Thus in 2 Tim. 2 : 17 we read : *et sermo eorum ut cancer serpit*, and this presupposes *και ο λογος αυτων ως γανγρα. ινα. νομην. εξει*, in particular, the misdivision *γανγρα. ινα* of both F and G. But on this we cannot enlarge. The object of this study is attained in the demonstration, with mathematical rigor, that the Codex Augiensis reproduces its archetype with servile fidelity, and that the archetype in question was not the Codex Boernerianus.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH. ✓

It is seldom that authors attain to the immortality which they hope for, and it is still more seldom that anonymous authors achieve this distinction. And yet it is just such a distinction that the authors of the book of Enoch have achieved. That such should be ultimately his lot was the deep-rooted expectation of one of this literary circle. He looked forward (civ, 11, 12) to the time when his writings would be translated into various languages, and become to the righteous "a cause of joy and uprightness and much wisdom." This hope was in a large degree realized in the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, when the currency of these apocalyptic works was very widespread on account of their distinctively religious and predictive contents. But from the fourth century of our era onward they fell into discredit, and under the ban of such authorities as Hilary, Jerome, and Augustine they gradually passed out of circulation and became lost to the knowledge of western Christendom till about a century ago. It was not, however, till recent years that the book of Enoch and similar works have begun to come into their own, not indeed on the ground of their intrinsic religious worth, but from their immeasurable value as being practically the only historical memorials of the religious development of Judaism during the two centuries which preceded the birth of Christianity, and particularly of the development of that side of Judaism to which historically Christendom in large measure owes its existence.

The first MSS. of Enoch were brought to Europe by Bruce, the great Abyssinian traveler, in 1773. From one of these MSS. now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Laurence made the first modern translation into English in 1821, and in 1838 issued a transcript of the MS. itself. Unfortunately I have not been able to see a copy of this last publication, but if the transcription is as accurately done as in other Ethiopic texts published by Laurence, then it may be taken as a very good representative of the MS. in question, and by no means deserving of the hostile criticism of Dillmann (*Liber Henoch aethiopice*, 1851, p. 1), who charged it with containing *permultos* . . .

errores typographicos. Moreover, if Laurence's edition of the MS. *a* were so faulty, was it right for Dillmann to trust to Laurence's work wholly for his knowledge of this MS.? I have recollated the first ten chapters of *a* in connection with Dillmann's text, and found no mistakes in chaps. i, ii, iii, iv, ix. In v, viii, and x I have found one each; in vii three, and in vi four. I hope to discover presently to whose account these should be set down.¹

The first real edition of the text was published in 1851 by Dillmann from five MSS. *abcde*, of which *ab* are in the Bodley, *c* in the Frankfort library, and *de* were the property of the well-known traveler, Robert Curzon. Of Dillmann's collations of *bcd* I have tested only that of *b* in the opening chapters, and found only one bad error, in chap. vii. These five MSS. are all of secondary value. The best of them is *a*. No further work on the Ethiopic text appeared till 1892, when Dillmann (*Sitzungsberichte d. kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1892, li–liii, pp. 1039–54, 1079–92) published some variants from three MSS. of M. d'Abbadie on the first thirty-two chapters of Enoch in connection with his edition of the fragmentary Greek version. Early in the following year my translation and commentary on the book of Enoch was issued by the Oxford University Press.* This translation was based on a drastic revision of Dillmann's text. Nine new MSS., which belong to the British Museum, were used, two of them, *gm*, being of primary importance and seven, *fhiklno*, being of only secondary. Of these MSS. I collated *m*, *fhiklno* on about three hundred passages; but *g* I collated throughout, on the whole accurately, but defectively, as I now find, in a relatively small number of passages. From 1893 I have from time to time been engaged on the further study of the Ethiopic and Greek versions of Enoch. The result of these studies is at present with the printers and will probably be published toward the close of this year by the Oxford Press. These texts would have appeared sooner but for the publication of Dr. Flemming's Ethiopic text in 1902.³ As this work gave a nomenclature to the

¹ I have just examined the Ethiopic text of Laurence above referred to, and find that Dillmann's censure is more than justified. The errors are as a rule easy to correct, but, even after the rejection of the obvious errors of the press, a considerable number remains, and the most of these have been reproduced in Dillmann's *apparatus criticus*, and from Dillmann's passed over into Flemming's. In chaps. v–x these errors are distributed as follows: one in v, 3; viii, 3; x, 1; three in vii, 1, 2, 5; four in vi, 1, 4, 7 (*bis*).

* *The Book of Enoch Translated from Professor Dillmann's Ethiopic Text.*

³ *Das Buch Henoch: Äthiopischer Text herausgegeben von JOH. FLEMMING.*

Berlin and French MSS. differing from that which I used in my Ethiopic text, I was obliged for the sake of my readers to bring my nomenclature into agreement with that of Dr. Flemming, who was first in the field. This was a task of no little difficulty. It was not, however, without its compensations, as it has contributed to the accuracy of my textual work and given me an exhaustive knowledge of Dr. Flemming's work. To the criticism of this work I will now turn.

Dr. Flemming's text is based on fourteen MSS., *abcdegmpqtuvwy*. To the first seven we have already referred. Of the remaining seven, *tuvw* belong to the collection made by M. d'Abbadie and are now in Paris, *q* is in Berlin, *y* in Munich, and *p* was the property of Lord Crawford. With the remaining twelve MSS. in Europe Flemming has directly or indirectly acquainted himself sufficiently to be able to assign them to his second class. Of the twenty-six Ethiopic MSS. in Europe only five, *gmqtu*, belong to the first class.

In the preparation of his text our editor has been at no little pains. Thus he has himself collated the first-class MSS. *gmq* and the second-class *py*. His knowledge of *tu* he owes to photographs taken by Professor Meyer in France, and of *vw* to collations of the same scholar. It was a fatal error on Dr. Flemming's part that he did not photograph *gmq*, or, at all events, revise his collations of them. The more a scholar works with MSS., the more distrustful he becomes of his own collations and of those of others. It is not unknown to some students of New Testament Greek MSS. that the successive collations of such scholars as Tischendorf, Scrivener, and Hort have failed to eliminate entirely the erroneous element in the representation of certain MSS. Hence one comes to regard photographic reproductions of the chief MSS. of a book as indispensable in his preparation of its text. The scholar must procure these; if not, he must revise his collations thoroughly, at least one or more times.

I have mentioned above that there are two classes of MSS., five of these belonging to the first class and twenty-one to the second. It is truer, indeed, to say that there are six; for in the great British Museum MS. *g* there is a duplicate version of chaps. xcvi, 6b—cviii, 10, which springs from a different type of text from that preserved in *g*. Hence for these eleven chapters we have six MSS., *ggmqtu*. These MSS. [= "Texte und Untersuchungen," N. F., VII, 1.]. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1902. xv+172 pages. M. 11.

This review will criticise also, though briefly, the German translation of this text by DR. FLEMMING, and the Greek Fragment, edited by DR. RADERMACHER, which were published in the year 1901, and reviewed in this JOURNAL, Vol. VI, pp. 147-9.

represent the old uncorrected text before it was submitted to any recension. Hence they abound in errors and irregularities of every description, but these do not daunt the student; even their most corrupt passages are of value; for it is generally possible, with a knowledge of the subject-matter and the kindred literature, to discover the true text underlying the corruption. These MSS. are of various degrees of worth: *g* stands head and shoulders above the rest, *q* comes next, *u*, so far as it exists, makes a good third, and then come *t* and *m*. *t* possesses also a peculiar value of its own. It represents in itself the older type of text, but on its margins, or between its lines, readings of the later type of text have been added by a later hand.

The second type of text is represented, as we have already remarked, by twenty-one MSS. in Europe.⁴ These, too, are of various values. By far the best is *n*, which, in two or more cases, attests single-handed the true text against all the other MSS. of both classes. Next in worth are *akvwy*. Dr. Flemming has used *avwy*, but not *kn*.

Flemming's text naturally constitutes an immeasurable advance on that of Dillmann and a considerable advance on Dillmann's text as emended in my commentary in 1893. With the help of the three new first-class MSS. *qtu*, this editor was able to point out a few passages⁵ where I followed mere idiosyncrasies of *g*, and also some others where I preferred the less trustworthy of the two texts *g* & *g* in chaps. xcvii, 6b—cviii, 10. I willingly admit my shortcomings in these respects. I could myself produce a much ampler catalogue than that adduced by Flemming, as will be manifest when my own text is made public.

On the whole, Dr. Flemming's text is good, as might be expected from so excellent an Ethiopic scholar. But he has not risen to the opportunity. With the materials already accessible, it was possible for a scholar to make a definitive edition, and possibly to go down to posterity on the shoulders of this anonymous immortal. But a definitive edition postulates an accuracy, a completeness (in respect to the first-class authorities), and a thorough knowledge of the subject-matter; and in all these qualities our editor shows himself defective.

In the subsequent criticism of Dr. Flemming's text I will deal first and most fully with chaps. i—xxxii, inasmuch as we have also the Greek version for this section. In the later chapters, where we have the Ethiopic version only, save in the case of a few verses, there is

⁴ There are two MSS. in America, according to Dr. Enno Littmann. One of these, of which he sent me a partial collation, belongs to the second class.

⁵ He cites three, *i. e.*, in xli, 9; lxix, 12; lxxxi, 6.

more room for subjective criticism, and reasonable difference of opinion. But in the earlier chapters, where textual evidence is so abundant and good, we shall be able to determine easily how far Dr. Flemming's text is accurate and his judgment sound.

I. CHAPTERS I-XXXII.

For the sake of brevity I will henceforth use E to designate the Ethiopic version, G^g the Greek version as found in the Gizeh fragments, and G^s the Greek version as found in George Syncellus, or simply G where there is no variation between these authorities. For the sake of clearness the criticism of the text will be dealt with under the following heads: (1) inaccurate and defective collation of the MSS.; (2) adoption of inferior readings into the text where the MSS. evidence for the true text is incontrovertible; (3) corrupt passages left in the text without any attempt to emend them or even to call attention to their viciousness; (4) corrupt passages wrongly explained or emended; (5) divergencies between G and E left unnoticed; (6) failure to use the Semitic background for purposes of emendation.

1. *Inaccurate and defective collation of the MSS.*—Under this head I will simply enumerate the pages and notes in which the MSS. are wrongly collated. Thus *g* is wrongly collated on pp. 3, note 2; 10, n. 12; 11, n. 2; 12, n. 13; 20, n. 4; 28, n. 13; 29, n. 12; 30, n. 17; 31, n. 6; 32, n. 1; 33, nn. 13 and 15; 34, n. 9. *m* is wrongly collated on pp. 7, n. 14; 8, n. 2; 13 nn. 1 (*bis*) and 15; 14, n. 15; 15, n. 5; 18, n. 8; 19, n. 15; 20, nn. 4 and 11; 22, nn. 3 and 7; 25, nn. 13 and 14; 26, n. 2; 27, n. 4; 28, n. 13; 29, nn. 3 and 10; 30, n. 1; 33, nn. 2 and 10; 35, nn. 1 and 3 and 11. *q* is wrongly collated on p. 3, n. 1; 9, n. 10; 14, n. 3; 18, n. 12; 20, nn. 6 and 8 and 14; 27, nn. 4 and 10 and 11; 29, n. 3; 30, n. 1; 31, nn. 6 and 15; 33, n. 9; 35, nn. 1 and 11. *t* is wrongly collated on pp. 7, n. 10; 8, n. 7; 31, n. 2. *u* is wrongly collated on pp. 8, n. 7; 20, n. 2; 33, n. 15. This list is not exhaustive in the case of any of the above MSS. The reader will observe that my criticism is limited to Flemming's collations of MSS. of the first class only. As regards defective quotation of these MSS. I cannot undertake to give even a partial catalogue of such deficiencies. They are too numerous, and yet there should not be any such, seeing that the method adopted by the editor is to mention in the critical notes *only such MSS. as exhibit readings divergent from those followed in the text*. Hence the reader is given to understand that all the other MSS. not enumerated in the notes attest the readings which appear in the text.

I will give a few examples: In viii, 3, according to the critical note only *tu* prefix *ω* before **ΛΓΟΥΕΝ**: in reality *gmtu* do so. In the note on x, 13, *tu* are said to read **ΩΡΥΘΩ**: whereas it should be *gmtu*. In note on xvi, 3, *tu* are said to read **ΛΥΤΩ**: whereas it should be *gmtu*. Again, in note on xv, 5, *qtu* are said to read **ΩΡΥ**: in reality *gmtu* do so. In note on xxv, 5, *gtu* are said to read **ΕΝ**: whereas it should be *gmtu*. Again, in note on xxii, 13, for *gu*, we should read *gmqu*: in note on xxx, 3, for *mu* we should read *gmtu*; and in note on xii, 4, where it is said that only *u* reads **ΑΓ**: we should read *gqu*. In note on xviii, 10, all MSS. are said to attest the corrupt reading **ΩΥ**: This is not so: *gq* of the first-class MSS. and *y* of the second rightly read **ΩΥ**: Finally we note on xxi, 7 (see German translation), all MSS. are said to be corrupt. This also is wrong. *u* reads rightly **ΩΡΥ**: a reading I conjectured in my edition of 1893 from the Greek *εικόσαι* before I knew of the existence of this MS. Flemming adopted the conjecture but did not mention its author.

Although we have by no means exhausted the list of errors under this heading, we have given enough to show that the *apparatus criticus* attached to this text gives a defective and erroneous representation of the five chief MSS.

2. *The adoption of inferior readings into the text where the MSS. evidence for the true text is incontrovertible.* These will be treated under divisions *α* and *β*.

α) In vi, 7, Flemming reads **ΗΩΛΤ**: (= *ὁς ἦν*) with *q* and omits to mention in his notes that *gmtu* read **ΗΥΤ**: **ΩΛΤ**: which is supported by G *οὗτος ἦν*. In vii, 1, the text reads: **ΩΤΕΛ**: **ΥΛΩ**: **ΩΘΩ**: **ΛΩΥ**: (= *ῥυτομίας καὶ (τομίας) τῶν βοτάνων ἐδήλωσαν αὐταῖς*). But for **ΩΘΩ**: *gqt* as well as two second-class MSS., *ny* read **ΩΘΩ**: which alone is right, as it is supported by G. Thus our text is an exact equivalent to G *ῥυτομίας καὶ τὰς βοτάνας ἐδήλωσαν αὐταῖς*. In the critical note on this passage Flemming thinks E too corrupt to be brought into harmony with G. If our editor had observed the readings of *gt*, as he has not, and further observed that **ΘΘ**: is occasionally used as a rendering of *βοτάνη*, the passage would have presented no difficulty. In vii, 4, the text reads **ΕΠΑΘΡΩ**: with *gmtu*. But we should read **ΩΕΠΑΘΡΩ**: with *q*, *ak* and G *καὶ κατήσθωσαν*. In x, 2, the text reads **ΕΥΥΑ**: This does not agree with G^s or Gⁱ, and Flemming does not mention any variant. But *m* has the true text but in an irregular form **ΕΥΥΑ**: (*i. e.*, **ΕΥΥΑ**:) = G^s *ἀπολείπει*. In x, 7, the text has **ΩΥΗΜΕΛ**: **ΗΑ**: Now as G^s has *ἐν τῇ*

μυστηρίῳ ὅλῳ, it is obvious that we should read (as I proposed in 1893) **ΑΝΘΗΜΕ : ΞΑ :** and as *q* reads **ΑΝΘΗΜΕ :** it was clearly right to read as above proposed. As a matter of fact *n* (a MS. not used by Flemming) reads **ΑΝΘΗΜΕ :** In x, 20, the text has **ΛΑΝΗΑ : ΕΗΑ :** But the **ΛΑΝ** should be omitted with *gm q u*. The phrase thus constitutes a nominative absolute and is resumed in the suffix attached to the following verb, and the text then is an equivalent of G^s πάσας τὰς καθαροσίας. In xiv, 1, the text reads **ΗΣΘΑΗΑ : ΦΑ : ΧΕΦ :** (= οὗτος ὁ βίβλος λόγος δικαιουσίνης). But Flemming should here with *q* have read **ΗΣΘΑΗΑ : ΦΑ : ΧΕΦ :** and brought his text into perfect harmony with G βίβλος λόγων δικαιουσίνης save that E prefixes the demonstrative pronoun. In xxii, 9, the text reads **ΗΣ : ΕΦΑΗΑ :** (= χωρίζειν). But we should with *q* read **ΗΣ : ΕΤΑΑΤ :** = G χωρίζεσθαι. In xxv, 6, the text reads **†ΕΠΩΑ : [ΑΤ :] ΣΟΗ<Φ> :** The editor adds **Φ** and brackets **ΑΤ :** as an interpolation, and obelizes the first word as corrupt for **ΕΠΩΑ :** as I suggested in 1893. But there is no need of the first two steps. The true text is preserved in *g q t*, i. e., **ΣΟΗ : ΑΤ :** which is rather an unusual rendering of αἱ δσμαι αὐτοῦ (see Dillmann's *Lexicon*, 23). In xxxii, 4, the text reads **ΩΕΠΑΗ :** on the evidence of *t*. But the word is clearly an interpolation. It is omitted in *q* and G. It first appears asyndetically in *gm u* as an ungrammatical addition in the form **Ε-ΠΑΗ :** Next the irregular subjunctive is changed into an indicative and **Ω** prefixed as in *t* and the second-class MSS.

I will now give a few more examples where the MSS. evidence, though not so overwhelming, is yet sufficiently strong to produce conviction.

In i, 9, the famous passage quoted in Jude, Flemming's text runs:

**ΩΣΦ : ΣΑΗΑ : ΗΣ : ΕΠΑΕ : ΕΤΑ : ΑΘΑΠΣ :
 ΩΕΥΤΑΠΣ : ΑΕΑΠΠ :
 ΩΕΗΑΕ : ΞΑ : ΗΠ :**

(= καὶ ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν (a) ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατ' αὐτῶν (read κατὰ πάντων)

(b) καὶ ἀπολέσαι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς

(c) καὶ ἐλέγξει (or ἐλέγξει) πᾶσαν σάρκα.

Here we ought to read **ΩΕΥΤΑΠΣ :** with *m q*, in *x y*, *a* and have the three verbs **ΕΠΑΕ :** and **ΕΥΤΑΠΣ :** and **ΕΗΑΕ :** in the subjunctive.

⁶ This is corrupt for **ΑΘΑ : ΞΑΠΣ :**

⁷ This can be either indicative or subjunctive accordingly as we regard it as belonging to conjugation I, 1 or I, 2.

ground that they give a transposed and corrupt order of words, although the right order is preserved in some of the MSS. of E and in G.

In i, 2, for **ΥΦΗ : ΩΕΘ** : we should with *u, bcd* and G (*εἶπεν Ἐνώχ*) read **ΩΕΘ : ΥΦΗ** : In vii, 3, for **ΟΝΡΤ : ΟΝΛ** : we should with *q, ak* and G (*οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐπιχορηγεῖν*) read **ΟΝΛ : ΟΝΡΤ** : In xiv, 8, for **ΗΣΘΗ : ΕΛΕ** : we must read **Ε''Η''** with *gmqtu, a*, and G! In xx, 3, for **ΛΡΥ : ΣΑ'' : ΦΞΛΝ** : we should with *mq u, ak* and G (*τῶν ἀγίων ἀγγέλων*) read **ΛΡΥΦΞΛΝ : ΣΑ''** : In xxi, 2, for **ΩΣΛΗ : ΟΥΡ** : we should read **ΩΟΥΡ : ΣΛΗ** : with *q, G* (*κακεῖ ἰθεασάμεν*). In xxv, 7, for **ΗΣΘΗ : ΛΟΝΛ** : we should with *g, n* and G (*ἀνθρώποις τὰ τοιαῦτα*) read **ΛΟΝΛ : ΗΣΘΗ** : In xxxii, 4, for **ΤΦ : ΨΣΕ** : we should with *gm tu* and G (*ἱλαροὶ λίαν*) read **ΨΣΕ : ΤΦ** : In xxxii, 6, for **ΣΑΛΗ : ΦΞΝ : Ε-ΕΛΑ** : we should with *q, G* (*Ἐφαῖλ ὁ ἄγιος ἀγγελος*) read **Ε-Ε'' : ΣΑ'' : ΦΞΝ** :

It is needless to point out the importance of the above passages as showing the agreement of E and G even in points of minute detail. Such evidence tends to inspire us with confidence in E in the larger sections where G is wanting.

3. *Corrupt passages are left in the text without any attempt to emend them or even to call attention to their viciousness.*—These corruptions are brought to light mainly through the help of G. The first passage which I shall notice is in xiv, 7: **ΛΝΗ : ΤΟΗΡ : ΩΛΤΤΣΓΓ : ΩΛ ΣΝΤΛ : ΣΛ : ΛΡΩΝΤ : ΣΧΗΦ : ΗΛΗΦΗ** : This text is meaningless even if we translate with Flemming: "Wie ihr auch dabei weint und (doch) nicht einmal ein Wort aus der Schrift, die ich geschrieben habe, vorbringt." Since E exactly reproduces G we may confine our attention to the latter. *Καὶ ὑμεῖς κλαίοντες καὶ μὴ λαλοῦντες πᾶν ῥῆμα ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς ἧς ἔγραψα*. If the participial construction is original then *μὴ* may be corrupt for *μὴν*. We should then render: "Though you weep and bring forward every petition from the writing which I have written." But if the negative is original *λαλοῦντες* must be corrupt, possibly for *λαχόντες*, and there was probably the substantive verb before the participle. We should then have: "Though you weep you shall not be granted a single request in the writing, etc."

Again in xiv, 8, **ΡΧΥΦΛ** : is rightly enough a translation of *ἐθορύβαζον* in G, but it has no intelligible meaning in its present context. It cannot be translated "trieben mich an" with Flemming, if these words mean "urged me onward." In fact the error lies in *ἐθορύβαζον* = **לְבַח**. But the Semitic word should here have been rendered *ῥάχυνον*.

In xiv, 25, E reads **ወእንሰ : ገጽ፣ ታሕተ : እነጽር :** and G **ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ πρόσωπόν μου κάτω ἔκυφον**, agreeing exactly save in the last word in each. Although **እነጽር :** can mean only **ἔβλεπον** Flemming ventures to translate E as follows: "ich aber schlug mein Antlitz zu Boden." Beer more wisely does not attempt to translate E, but follows G instead. In any case **እነጽር :** is impossible. Perhaps it is corrupt for **ጸጸ፡፡ = ἔκυφον**.

Two other such corrupt passages are to be found in xxi, 5; xxviii, 2. With the former we have already dealt. The latter is too complex for treatment here.

4. *Corrupt passages wrongly explained or emended.*—In ix, 4, as G shows, no further change has to be made beyond omitting the second **ወስቡሕ :** To insert **ወቡኑክ :** before the first **ወስቡሕ :** is quite unjustifiable. The insertion of **ወ** before **አመረ :** in ix, 7, in agreement with a bad emendation of Swete in the G^x, is against all the authorities G^x G^s E (see above). In x, 7, Flemming follows preceding editors (myself included) in the impossible view that the corrupt **ἑπάταξαν** which is rendered literally in E by **ቀተሉ :** is a corruption of **ἐπέτασαν**. This was Bouriant's suggestion, but **ἐπέτασαν** could not under any circumstances mean "disclosed" or "told." The error did not apparently originate in G^x, but in the Semitic MS. before the translator of G^x. Thus, since G^s has **ἔπον = 𐤍𐤒𐤍** and G^x **ἑπάταξαν = 𐤍𐤒𐤍**, the latter may be taken as a corruption of the former. We have an analogous and more difficult corruption in 2 Chron. 22 : 10, where the Massoretic **רַב־רַחֵם** is a corruption of **רַב־רַחֵם**. In xv, 11, E reads **ደመናተ : እለ : ደገፍቶ :** which unintelligible text is a literal rendering of the no less unintelligible **†νεφελας† ἀδικοῦντα** of G^x. As G^s has here **νεμόμενα ἀδικοῦντα** we can hardly accept **νεφελας** and **νεμόμενα** as corruptions of **Ναφηλείμ**—an emendation which Bouriant suggested and Radermacher and Flemming accepted. Besides there were three distinct orders of giants and the demonic agencies referred to in the text proceeded from all three classes and not from the **Ναφηλείμ** only. The solution of the difficulty, therefore, must be sought elsewhere, i. e., in the Semitic background.

5. *Divergencies between G and E left unnoticed.*—In i, 8, G has **εὐδοκίαν δώσει**, whereas E = **εὐοδίαν δώσει**. The same corruption is found in Sirach xliii, 26. In xix, 2, G has **αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τῶν παραβάτων ἀγγέλων**, whereas E = **αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν πλανήσασαι τοὺς ἀγγέλους**. But as E not only differs from G here, but also gives the wrong sense, it is

29 reads **ደመናተ : እለ : ደገፍቶ :** which is simply an error. It has all the other MSS. of E and also G^x against it.

clear that אֱלֹהִים is corrupt for אֱלֹהֵיךָ: With this emendation E is brought into exact agreement with G.

6. *Failure to use the Semitic background for purposes of emendation.*—Only twice are conjectures of this nature by other scholars referred to by Dr. Flemming. He makes no use of this means of restoring the text throughout the thirty-two chapters.

The Greek Version.

Before passing on from the criticism of these chapters to those that follow, it would be advisable to notice briefly the Greek version which is edited by Radermacher.⁷⁰ This text, on the whole, is well edited and forms some advance on preceding editions. But, unless I am greatly mistaken, Dr. Radermacher is not a Semitic scholar. This deficiency in his equipment proved a sore handicap in the task he undertook. How is a purely classical scholar to edit a Greek text which is Greek in vocabulary, but largely Semitic in idiom? To show that our text is of this character it will be sufficient to adduce the following passages: xxii, 9, ὃν ἡ πηγὴ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν αὐτῷ (בְּ אֵשֶׁר) = "in which there is the spring of water." xvii, 1, ἐν ᾧ οἱ ὄντες ἐκεῖ γίνονται (שָׁם אֵשֶׁר) = "where the dwellers become." Here, it is true, ἐκεῖ could be taken with οἱ ὄντες. xxxii, 3, ὃ ἐσθίουσιν ἀγίου τοῦ καρπὸν αὐτοῦ (פְּרִיר אֵשֶׁר) = "whose holy fruit they eat." The editor's failure to recognize this idiom in xvi, 1, has led him to emend the text in such a way as to obliterate wholly its original form. The unemended text runs: ἀπὸ ἡμέρας θανάτου ἀφ' ὧν τὰ πνεύματα ἐκπορευόμενα ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτῶν. This Semitic construction is supported by E though in a slightly corrupted form. Hence this must be preserved, though as I pointed out in 1893, there is according to E the loss of τῶν γιγάντων before ἀφ' ὧν. This very phrase, moreover, τῶν γιγάντων is found in G¹, though this version inserts after it a gloss (?) containing the names of the three orders of giants as they are given in the Targum of Jonathan on Gen. 6: 1-4.

The text and notes are accurately edited, but attention should be called to the following errors. In v, 6, Radermacher reads οἱ ἐμίαντοι as an emendation of the corrupt reading which he says is αμα|τοι and not αμαρτητα, as Bouriant and Lods stated. Bouriant and Lods were certainly wrong and Dillmann's edition and mine, which were neces-

⁷⁰ *Das Buch Henoch*. Herausgegeben im Auftrage der Kirchenväter-Commission der kgl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften von JOH. FLEMMING AND L. RADERMACHER [= "Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte"]. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. iv + 172 pages.

sarily based on the work of these scholars, shared in their error. The autotype reproduction of the text was not published till after the issue of these editions." But if Bouriant and Lods deciphered the MS. wrongly, so also has Radermacher. It reads *αμαρ|τοι*. The ρ is partially obliterated but it is unmistakable in the photographic reproduction of the MS. Hence we should emend *αμαρτοι* into *ἀμαρτ(ωλ)οί*. Thus the Christian origin of the words which I bracketed in 1893 becomes still more manifest: *Καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀμαρτ(ωλ)οὶ χαρήσονται, καὶ ἔσται αὐτοῖς λύσις ἀμαρτιῶν*, and internal evidence confirms the omission of these clauses by E. Again in x, 7 (G'), Radermacher by a strange error reads *γῆς . . . γῆν* for *πληγῆς . . . πληγὴν*;" in xxviii, 1, *ἐτι ἐκέθεν* for *καὶ ἐκέθεν*, and in xxix, 1, *καὶ ἐκέθεν* for *ἐτι ἐκέθεν*.

In vi, 8, *οὗτοί εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ αὐτῶν οἱ <ἐπὶ> δέκα* is a wrong emendation. This would mean, "These are their leaders who are over ten." But we require, "These are their leaders over *tens*." Possibly we might read (*ἐπὶ*) *δεκάδων*. But the corruption may have originated in the Semitic, though E is right. In viii, 3, for *Χωχίηλ* we should with E and G' E in vi, 7, read *Χωχ(αβ)ιήλ*. In xiv, 8, attention should have been called to *ἐθορύβαζον*, which does not become intelligible till it is retranslated into Semitic. In the same verse *ἀνεμοὶ . . . ἐξεπέρασάν με* can only be rendered "the winds'spread me out!" But we require "the winds carried me." Hence we should emend *ἐξεπέρασαν* into *ἐξεπέρασαν*. The same corruption is found in the Cod. Sarrav., in the LXX, Numb. 11:31. I have already called attention to Bouriant's very unsatisfactory emendation of *νεφέλας* into *Ναφηλεῖμ* which Radermacher has admitted into his text.

Notwithstanding these and other possible strictures on the text of this edition, we greet its publication with much satisfaction.

II. CHAPTERS XXXIII—CVIII.

This review has already grown to such great dimensions that I must confine myself to a few remarks under the first four heads enumerated on p. 693.

1. Throughout these chapters the chief MSS. are just as inaccurately and defectively cited in the notes as in the earlier chapters. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to point out the errors of this

"SWETE'S edition (1898) perpetuates the error.

"In the *Introduction* Radermacher expresses his obligations to Professor Gelzer for his fresh collations and emendations of the Syncellus Greek fragments. It is possible that these two changes may be due to this scholar; but if so, attention should have been drawn to this fact in the notes.

nature in one or more pages. Such errors are found, I believe, on every page. I will choose p. 67. It is neither the best nor the worst. In note 2 on this page *q* and *g* are wrongly cited. In note 7 *m* is twice wrongly cited. In note 11 *gqdy* are all wrongly quoted with reference to the same phrase; in note 13 *g*. Again on p. 152, in note 5, for *gtu* read *gqtu*. In note 7 for *ggtu* read *ggqtu*, and for *gt* read *ggqt*. In note 9 for *q* read *gqu*. In note 15 for *t* read *tu*. In note 16 *g* is wrongly cited; also for *mqu* read *mu*. In note 18 *g* and *m* are wrongly cited, and *t* in note 21.

2. As there is no space for the further discussion of important readings, I will only add that the order of the inferior MSS. is occasionally followed, although there is no reason, stated or apparent, for the rejection of the better attested order. Thus in lxxiv, 14; lxxxiii, 9; lxxxix, 10, the order of a few MSS. of the second class is followed against the evidence of all the first-class MSS. and most of the second class. In lxxv, 2; lxxix, 1; lxxxix, 2 the order of the second class is preferred to that of the first class—without any ostensible reason. Finally, in lxxvi, 13; lxxvii, 3, the readings of the inferior MSS. are given in the text, and those of the first class are not even mentioned in the notes.

3. A few passages will suffice under this head. In xlv, 3, E reads **ወየገፊ : ምገባሪሆሙ :** = "And he will choose their works." This clause occurs in the following connection: "On that day Thine Elect One will sit on the Throne of Glory and He will choose their works." Flemming, after the example of his predecessors, translates: "Wird Auswahl treffen unter ihren Werken." But this translation is no improvement. It is a mistranslation to boot, and would require **እምገባ**. If we retranslate we shall discover the source of the corruption. **የገፊ :** = *ἐκλέγεται* = **יבחר**, which may itself = *δοκιμάσει*, or else is a corruption of **יבחי**, which normally means "will try." Thus the text = "He (the Judge) will try their works."

In lxxxii, 7, **ኡርኤል : ዘእዘዙ : ሊተ : እገዚእ : . . . ለገይለ : ለማይ :** = "Uriel dem der Herr . . . für mich Befehl gegeben hatte über das Heer des Himmels." But Uriel was not set over the host of heaven on Enoch's account. There are two errors in the above text. We should read **ዘእዘዙ** : with *gmu*, *ady* and emend **ሊተ :** into **ሉቲ :** Then we have "Uriel, to whom the Lord has subjected the host of heaven." In lxxxix, 48, **ደኃራዊ : ለዝኩ : ሐርጊ :** (so *gqt*) is untranslatable. We have simply with the other MSS. to omit the **ለ** before **ዝኩ** : and the text agrees with the Greek fragment here *ὁ κυριὸς ὁ δεύτερος*.

In xciv, 5, ከመ : ይገባ፡ ጥበብ : እኩ፣ (which Flemming translates : "die Weisheit zu einer schlechten zu machen") is quite an impossible text. The Ethiopic translator here misunderstood κακοποιέιν. Hence we should translate, "to entreat wisdom evilly." The text should be obelized here.

4. One example will here suffice. In cii, 5, the souls of the righteous are exhorted as follows : "Seid nicht traurig, wenn eure Seele mit Kummer in das Totenreich hinabfährt . . . sondern (seid vielmehr traurig) über den Tag, da ihr zu Sündern wurdet, und über den Tag . . . des Strafgerichts." (አፋ : እንከ : በዕለት : እንተ : ባት : ከንከመ : ኃጥላን) The text is undoubtedly corrupt, but Flemming regards it as simply defective, and accordingly supplies the clause in brackets. But what a farrago of nonsense is the result ! The text clearly refers to the day of judgment, and to this day the righteous are bidden to look forward. There does not seem to be any loss of text, but two words seem corrupt. First omit ባት : with the best MSS. (g m q t). Then for እንከ : (= vielmehr) read ጽንሐ : = "wait ye" (cf. cviii, 2), and for ከንከመ : read ዘነኔ : and restore ለ for በ before ዕለት : Then we have, "Grieve not if your soul descended in grief into Sheol . . . but wait for the judgment day of sinners."

The German Translation.

This translation of the text just reviewed is good, and in some respects an improvement on earlier translations. (See lxxxix, 10, etc.) There are, of course, short-comings. Thus in viii, 1, as Flemming might have seen from G, he should have rendered "all kinds of costly and choice stones" (παντοίους λίθους ἐκλεκτοῖς), and not "das allerkostbarste und auserlesenste Gestein," though E can bear that meaning also. I have already drawn attention to the passages in xiv, 8, 25. Again in xvii, 7, he should render "*woher*" instead of "*wohin*" before "das Wasser . . . sich ergiesst." Cf. G τὴν ἑκχυσιν . . . ὑδάτων. In lviii, 6, his text cannot bear the rendering : "bis zu einer Grenze der Tage." It is simply : "to a number of the days." Since this gives no intelligible meaning, there is some corruption. In chap. lxxviii, 9, the translation does not represent Flemming's text, but that of Dillmann.

In regard to questions of grammar arising in the text, I must deprecate the dogmatic tone assumed by Dr. Flemming. Thus in a footnote on p. 109 of his translation, he says that the reading of *g* which I followed is a mere clerical error, particularly as the indicative *jahajēwū* after 'ahazū was "direct falsch." Now if Dr. Flemming will turn to

Dillmann's *Lexicon*, col. 767, he will find this construction acknowledged and seven instances cited. But he need not go so far afield. In his notes on the text of this very passage (the text came out a year after the translation) seven of the MSS. give the indicative form of the verb they support. Many of the best MSS. do so also in lxxxvi, 6; lxxxix, 28; lxxxix, 32, 43. It is found also in xc, 2, in Dillmann's text and frequently elsewhere. Again in note 4, on p. 68 of his text, he says that my conjecture is "hinfallig" because the subjunctive must follow *kama*. This is by no means always the case, and many instances could be adduced to the contrary; but the best means of carrying home conviction to my censor will be to cite an instance from his own text. Thus in lxxiv, 12, he reads **ከመ** : **አይበድኑ** : According to our editor this should be **አይበድኑ** :

Once more. In note 6, on page 5 of his text, he points out that the best MSS. in many passages read **እኸ** : where G has the relative *ὅς*. This he says is a proof that the translator of E had a participial construction before him and not the relative of a finite verb. Accordingly in a number of passages he rejects **እኸ** : and follows the inferior MSS. in reading **H**. Here again I must join issue with the editor. In many books **እኸ** : is used to render the Greek relative. If he refers to Dillmann's *Lexicon* under the word in question he will find sufficient instances to establish the legitimacy of this rendering.

Another feature to be reprehended in this work is the failure of its editor to acknowledge the felicitous emendations of previous scholars. Surely he ought to have mentioned the fact that Beer's happy emendation in lxxxix, 68 (*Apoc. und Pseud.*, Vol. II, p. 295), is actually confirmed by *u*.¹³ Halévi's emendation in ci, 4 is accepted both in the text and in the translation, but without acknowledgment of the author. In several cases I have the same complaint to urge.

However, faultfinding becomes irksome, and we would gladly conclude by drawing attention to the excellent points made by the editor in lxviii, 12; lxxix, 4; lxxxix, 10; civ, 6, and in expressing the hope that we may meet Dr. Flemming often in this department of research, in which he is fitted to achieve for himself a name, if he will but give himself the leisure for the task.

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¹³ Another manifestly right emendation of Beer in lxxx, 6, is confirmed by *q*. Strangely enough Dr. Flemming accepts this emendation, but has not discovered that it is a reading of *q*.

WHAT IS CHRISTIANITY?

If the tendency to state Christianity in its simplest forms means also a growing distrust of the differences which separate us into hostile camps, it would seem to indicate that an irenic temper is to be one of the distinctive characteristics of our new age. But it is too early to predict, especially as none of these simplifying efforts have succeeded in winning universal acceptance. The sweeping omissions and implied negatives, in spite of some real contributions to doctrinal analysis, have resulted in more distrust than assurance.

Every generation, however, needs these incisive inquiries, whether the answers prove wholly satisfactory or not. We are disposed, therefore, to welcome all such attempts as this one by Dr. Brown.¹ Indeed it could have been less introductory and even more broadly historical and decisively scientific than we find it.

The author calls his book a study in the history of definition. And he believes that in studying the historic definition of Christianity we are really retracing the rise and progress of the effort to conceive of Christianity scientifically. The book is therefore written in a historic spirit and for the purpose of emphasizing the scientific method in theology. His conception of what constitutes a scientific definition is very general. It is that which is open to universal test, that which is recognized as valid by large bodies of men, that which successive generations of Christians have found distinctive in the religion of Christ. He, therefore, thinks it cannot be too often insisted that the Christianity of which alone science is able to take cognizance is a historic religion. It is that historic religion which began at a definite time and place, has passed through certain specific stages and undergone certain definite changes, which science recognizes, and which it seeks to define.

The problem set before the church has been to discover the definite characteristics which separate Christianity from all other known religions. The author is, of course, well within bounds when he concludes that if we cannot discover what Christianity is it is hopeless to try to defend it. And he believes that not merely the scholar but the man on the street needs to know what Christianity is that he may be able to order his conduct accordingly. In other words, he wishes to get a definition which shall be valid for man as man. And because good men differ, we need an appeal to some wider standard. This he

¹ *The Essence of Christianity: A Study in the History of Definition.* By WILLIAM ADAMS BROWN. New York: Scribner, 1902. xi + 332 pp. \$1.50, net.

finds in the appeal to history, which, he says, must be final. Exactly why this should be true does not appear so evident, for the historic appeal has to rest back on those very differences of good men from which he says appeal must be taken. These statements will give the reader the principles on which the book has been written, and, I suppose, also by which it should be judged.

The book is largely made up of historical material, and is interesting and valuable for this reason. Especially is this true of the many footnotes, which not only fill out the text that would otherwise have been misinterpreted, but in some instances correct it. Yet, after all this has been said, it is still true that the method employed gives us only a study in history and not really the organic and fundamental development as a whole. This is particularly noticeable in the chapters on "The Ancient Church," and "The Reformation Period," where one is constantly surprised. For example, Barnabas has a place in Dr. Brown's book which the early history of the church hardly bears out. And one is not prepared for the selection of Zwingli, and the sweeping neglect and positive dethronement of Luther and Calvin. Evidently Barnabas and Zwingli play only an illustrative and pictorial part in the author's sketch. This is not saying that what is written in these two chapters is not interesting, but that it is far from being the historical and scientific method of treating the subject which Dr. Brown's correct conception of history and his own historical ability would lead us to expect.

Also what he says of the early church is hardly more than true as a broad generalization. Christianity, he says, is conceived physically rather than ethically, as a new divine nature, of which one becomes partaker through the sacrament and by the possession of which one is assured of a life of endless bliss hereafter. That the early conceptions were not purely ethical is certainly true, but it is also true that they cannot fairly be characterized as physical. The Christian ideal of Ignatius is not a mere physical life of endless bliss, but "attaining unto God." What Ignatius seems to emphasize is that we shall not possess death but live forever "in Jesus Christ," which even after a manner of speech could hardly be characterized as conceiving of Christianity physically. His new "divine life" is realistically spiritual if it is anything. The same may be said of the fundamental conceptions of Hippolytus, Athanasius, and others. I speak of this simply to note the fact that the author's positives are stronger than his negatives, which often are so sweeping and general as to misrepresent those whom he characterizes.

As to the Latin church, he thinks that at the root of varying Catholic conceptions lies a view of God as the Absolute which isolates him from the world as a purely transcendent Being, and as such conceives him as raised above the laws of human thought and experience, only to be known through the supernatural revelation which he has been pleased to impart to his church. And where this is the case, he declares it impossible to relate Christianity rationally to other forms of human thought and life. Between it and all other sides of human experience there is a great gulf fixed. This, of course, as a generalization may be true, but it is a sweeping generalization which the author would be the last to push. The reader will notice that it is more a trend or tendency, than the absolute definition of Catholicism which is being passed hurriedly in review. The author certainly cannot be giving a scientific and final proposition. Catholic Christianity, whatever else it may be, is distinctively and definitely a historical religion, too much so in the conception of the mass, which is the historical run mad.

After bringing together from Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin statements bearing on both sides of the question, he makes the sweeping assertion that

when all is said, it remains true that the Calvinist, as little as the Lutheran, attains to what is worthy to be called a truly historical conception of Christianity, and that with them all the point of departure is speculative and *a priori*; that the idea of true religion is constructed from Scripture, reason, and present experience, and thus carried back in principle to the beginning of time.

Here it is easy to understand the point which the author is seeking to make, but how can it be true, as he declares, that the Reformers had a speculative and *a priori* point of departure if they constructed their idea of true religion from Scripture and present experience? If ever a theology was not *a priori* that of the Reformers was not. It is time to challenge such sweeping generalizations. Luther and Calvin both emphasized the historical revelation in Jesus Christ, and they definitely sought to turn the interest away from the unrevealed will of God to the will of God revealed in the gospel of the historical Christ.

In a brief analysis of the Westminster Confession the author, in the same vein, finds that in it

God is both supreme substance and sovereign will. He is not only the Creator and Preserver of all things, but through His Bible, His Church, His Christ, He brings His greatness to bear directly upon the littleness of the

creature and makes it possible for finite man, even here and now, to attain to an experience of the Infinite.

This Dr. Brown does not approve of, and in an expository criticism he says :

Here we have a conception of God which is at once *a priori* and ontological. *A priori* because its essence is made to consist in abstract conceptions divorced from experience, ontological because the Absolute Being thus obtained is conceived as the supreme reality. God is at once removed from all rational tests known to the creature and yet at the same time is conceived as entering into his experience. . . . Question and denial are alike impious.

If it be granted that in this confession the historical Christ is not made fundamentally central but rather the Father, yet this is true also of the earliest confessions. Belief in God, the Father Almighty, was the first article in the first personal confessions used in the churches, of which we have any knowledge. And if we may believe the recorded account Jesus himself declared the first and greatest commandment to be, There is one God, and thou shalt love him with all thy heart. Can a confession of faith be said to be built up from an *a priori* point of view and from abstract conceptions when the contents are taken from the most ancient and authoritative records of a historical revelation, and when the Almighty is thought of not only as Creator but as Providence, and not only as the Father of Jesus Christ but as our Father, by whom, in the language of the confession, we are "pitied, protected, provided for, and chastened . . . as by a father" ? It looks here as if Dr. Brown were analyzing history from a point of view. Even here it is not his positives which will be objected to, but the sweeping implications of his negatives. Little standing place seems to be left for those who may not see the truth from the same point of view occupied by himself—which of course is farthest from Dr. Brown's purpose and temper. But divine personality, dominated by the ethical elements of fatherhood, must not be characterized as an abstract conception.

But these first chapters are hardly more than introductory. The strongest part of the book is the treatment of the modern period, covering the last hundred years (pp. 112-287). In the chapters "On the Critical Philosophy and the Awakening of the Historical Spirit ;" "The Definition of Schleiermacher ;" "The Hegelian Conception and New Hegelianism ;" "Ritschl and the Ritschlian School," the author has given us some fine analytical writing. The temper here also is admirable. There is not a false note.

For good or evil, he declares, it is through Kant that the new point of view becomes dominant in modern thought, and no phase of it he thinks is more true than in the case of religion. To the influence of Kant is due pre-eminently the fact that our modern study of religion deals so largely with psychological questions.

Side by side with the philosophical influence arose the historical spirit, or that effort to conceive of life as a whole and in all its parts, according to the principle of growth. Out of the discussions awakened by Lessing and Herder we see gradually emerging the question, What is essential Christianity? Does it include all that has come down to us under that name, or must it be confined to the teaching of Christ himself in distinction from his disciples?

His study of Schleiermacher, whom he terms the father of modern scientific theology, is one of the best in the book. Into the cold, abstract, rationalistic world of Kant came Schleiermacher with the gospel of the sovereignty of the religious feeling. Religion is neither doctrine nor ceremony; it is experience. It is the discovery of the infinite in the very midst of the finite as that on which it depends and in which it exists, which makes out the essence of the religious life. Because religion is so grounded in human nature, a scientific conception of any particular religion is possible, and dogmatics becomes a historic discipline.

In Ritschl we see German theology returning to the path marked out by Schleiermacher and from which it had been diverted for a time by the Hegelian movement. The author with true analytical insight indicates the agreements and differences of Schleiermacher and Ritschl. They both emphasize the world at hand in Christian experience, but Ritschl differs from Schleiermacher in his view of the nature of that experience. The taint of subjectivism in Schleiermacher's doctrine is repugnant to Ritschl, who comes to theology from a study of history, which gives to his work as a theologian an objectivity which the theology of Schleiermacher lacks. To Ritschl, says Dr. Brown, Christianity exists as an objective reality in history; and the peculiar character of the Christian experience, as distinct from that of the mystic, is that the former is called into being only through contact with this specific reality. In contrast with what he calls the emotional element emphasized by Schleiermacher, and the intellectual elements made prominent by Hegel, Ritschl insists on the ethical element in the Christian experience. To be a Christian means to him a life of active devotion and service to God.

Ritschl, in distinction from Schleiermacher and Hegel, maintains that it is not possible to construct an adequate definition of religion apart from Christianity. In Ritschl we get the basis for theological activity by attaching the terminology directly to the apostolic circle of ideas, and he considers it a mistaken purism when anyone prefers the less developed statement of Jesus to the form of apostolic thought. The author also gives Ritschl's definition of Christianity. Christianity is the monotheistic, completely spiritual and ethical religion which, based on the life of the author as redeemer and as founder of the kingdom of God, consists in the freedom of the children of God, includes the impulse to conduct from the motive of love, aims at the moral organization of mankind, and grounds blessedness on the realization of sonship to God, as well as on the kingdom of God.

He also gives enough attention to Ritschl's doctrine of *Werthurtheile* to declare that Ritschl is not guilty of such shallowness as careless critics have ascribed to him, as if God were a mere imagination invented by man in his need to console himself with the dream of deliverance.

And he declares that

taking the Absolute in the broad sense, as meaning the ultimate reality, no theologian of our day has a stronger sense of the absoluteness of Christianity than Ritschl.

He also calls attention to the energy with which Ritschl emphasizes the fact that the Christian experience is called forth by a certain definite object and the clearness with which he turns to define the nature of that object. But if to emphasize Christ as the definite object of a personal and conscious trust in him be that which lays Ritschl open to the charge of subjectivism, we should judge it well to have as much of such subjectivity as possible in theology and practice.

Of two representatives of the opposing tendencies coming from Ritschl, the author finds that Kaftan sees Christianity as essentially a supernatural religion in sharp contrast with all natural religions, having its only adequate explanation in a special divine revelation of wholly exceptional character; so that to understand Christianity is to experience it, and any proof which ignores this fact is bound to fail. Troeltsch, on the other hand, rejects the special supernaturalism and sees in Christianity but a chapter in the larger religious history. Religion is as wide as life, so that Troeltsch practically turns back to the earlier point of view of Schleiermacher and Hegel.

Dr. Brown surprises us by speaking of Lipsius, of all Ritschl's

contemporaries, as the one who stands on the whole closest to him. Of course it is true that in his later years Lipsius came gradually nearer to Ritschl's position, and placed the person of Christ above the consideration of the mere truth which he taught. He also emphasized the fact that *Werthurtheile* are not to be placed in contrast to *Seinurtheile*. Dr. Brown rightly places Kähler in an independent position, and not in the class with Ritschl as was done in Professor Orr's classification.

He concludes his historical survey with a sympathetic exposition of Harnack's *Essence of Christianity*, in which he does full justice to Harnack's positive views while omitting his negatives. Harnack conceives of Christianity as unique, adaptable, and universal. With him, to understand Christianity means to know Christ, who is the center of Christianity. The gospel presents eternal truth in historically changing forms, so that we are to find the common element in all the varying appearances of historical forms and test this by the gospel. Conversely also we must bring the principles of the gospel to the test of history. Both together will give us the truth. Dr. Brown thinks that here we see a broadening out which will make room for the truth for which Hegelianism stands.

In his closing chapter, which he calls "Retrospect and Prospect," he finds that there are two classes of definitions, according to the relative prominence which they give to the natural or the supernatural in their estimates of Christianity; so that the problem of getting a definition of Christianity that shall satisfy everybody is at bottom the problem of the reconciliation of these two divergent agents; of finding a conception which shall be at once supernatural and natural, and which shall exhibit the distinctive features of Christianity in their universal relation and significance. Much progress, he thinks, has been made, and he believes that the differences are now rather of emphasis and of proportion and not of a fundamental character.

He admits that thus far he has only indicated the conditions of the problem, but he believes that modern scholarship has brought us unexpected help to the answer; and that in restoring Jesus of Nazareth to his rightful place in Christian thought and life it has taken the greatest single step in the direction of a scientific definition of Christianity. With his supremacy in the religious life of humanity its claim to be the final religion stands or falls. Would we express in a sentence what makes out the genius of Christianity as a historic religion, we cannot do better, he declares, than by saying that it is the progressive realization in thought, as in life, of the supremacy of Christ. And in this idea

he thinks the two great conceptions of Christianity, whose conflict has so long engaged us, may well find their reconciliation; that, on the one hand, Hegel is right when he conceives of Christianity as a universal process in which all things minister to a single end; and, on the other, the attempt to destroy dogmatic Christianity is to give place to the fruitful effort to understand it. The noble spirit which animates the book as a whole is well seen when the author here concludes that what we need is the spirit of Christ; not denunciation, but insight; not polemic, but sympathy. He pleads for the turning from external differences and a concentration of thought in the direction of internal and fundamental agreement; that in all churches, as among those who stand outside of all, we may find the men who have been touched by the spirit of Jesus and in the forms natural to their day and place strive to realize the ends for which he gave his life. And he is sure that when we have done this we shall have found the essence of Christianity.

Dr. Brown here gives what he calls a summary, but leaves us in doubt whether it is put forth as his own goal:

Christianity, as modern Christian thought understands it, is the religion of divine sonship and human brotherhood revealed and realized through Jesus Christ. As such it is the fulfilment and completion of all the earlier forms of religion and the appointed means for the redemption of mankind through the realization of the Kingdom of God. Its central figure is Jesus Christ, who is not only the revelation of the divine ideal for man, but also, through the transforming influence which He exerts over His followers, the most powerful means of realizing that ideal among men. The possession in Christ of the supreme revelation of God's love and power constitutes the distinctive mark of Christianity and justifies its claim to be the final religion.

He admits, however, that he cannot tell what the new theology is to be. But of one thing he is sure; it will be a theology for the people. It will have its roots deep in life and will utter its message in language so simple and direct that the layman as well as the theologian can understand it. His closing sentence shows that the general trend of the book is homiletic rather than doctrinal.

Deeds count for more than words. In the world's high debate concerning Christianity, the missionary is the true apologist.

This is certainly true; but it is not the definite and scientific end we had been led to expect. The problem for the solving of which we have followed him is not to learn what constitutes the Christian, but Christianity. Christianity is not our experience, but that which pro-

duces our experience and justifies our estimate of it, and without which as rational beings we could not continue to have the experience. If theology is to be stated in terms of life rather than in terms of thought, it would seem to be an abandonment of his attempt to solve the problem. The two cannot be compared, and they are not to exist apart. We certainly can heartily agree that theology should be concrete and for our own age; but it should never be distressingly indistinct or elusive. It is always primarily theory and not practice, and needs no apology for it. It is enough that it be correct and scientific theory, and lead into wisely devoted life. And we hardly need to be reminded that life, after all, is not muscular but mental. To imply, therefore, that the scientific grasp of truth is of less importance than the practical activities of the every-day Christian, is the practical desertion of the theological field and the making of Christian sociology the goal of all our attempts to attain to the Christian idea of God and the world.

Dr. Brown does not mean this, but by going beyond his historical study, which is certainly a valuable one, and then failing to give something definite and conclusive, his book seems to run out into the mists and shadows. The only adequate explanation would seem to be that he has intended this volume simply as an introductory study, which he purposes to follow by another that shall settle all these questions from his own point of view. We need not assure Dr. Brown that we shall give such a book a hearty welcome.

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THE EXCAVATION OF NIPPUR.¹

In the concluding chapter of *Nippur*, published in 1897, are these words:

How successfully Mr. Haynes carried out the work which he had planned, in his long and arduous excavations, covering three years, . . . and what wonderful treasures he unearthed, he has related in another volume. (Vol. II, p. 372.)

The reference was to a volume by Dr. Haynes, the manuscript of which was reported at that time as complete, and which was announced by

¹ *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century*. By H. V. HILPRECHT, with the co-operation of LIC. DR. BENZINGER, PROF. DR. HOMMEL, PROF. DR. JENSEN, PROF. DR. STEINDORFF. Philadelphia: Holman & Co., 1903. xxiv + 793 pages. \$4.

Wattles & Co., of Philadelphia, the publishers of the *Sunday-School Times*, as about to be issued by them. This volume was for some reason withdrawn, and now, for the first time, in *Explorations in Bible Lands during the Nineteenth Century*, we have from Professor Hilprecht's pen, a general statement of the results of that expedition, and of Haynes's second expedition, 1899-1900, during the last two months of which Hilprecht took charge of the work in the field. In addition, Hilprecht's narrative undertakes to cover also the work previously done under my direction in 1888-90. In other words, this volume contains a résumé and general presentation of the work done at Nippur and the results achieved from 1888 to 1900. Dr. Hilprecht makes so severe a criticism of my work and that of Dr. Haynes that, before proceeding to discuss the archæological results achieved, I am obliged to consider his statements as to my methods, and also those of Dr. Haynes, the responsibility for those methods, and Dr. Hilprecht's own part in the expedition, its plans and its achievements.

I have related in my *Nippur* the inception of the undertaking, which took formal shape in a meeting held at the house of Provost Pepper, November 30, 1887. Dr. Hilprecht commences his story of the expedition with that meeting (pp. 297 ff.). My plans were of the simplest, since it seemed impossible to obtain funds for a larger enterprise until it had been shown that it was practicable, not only to excavate in Babylonia, but also to secure from the Turkish government a reasonable portion of the objects found. I had been trying for some years to arouse interest in excavation in Babylonia, and had encountered a general unwillingness to contribute money without a good prospect of "tangible results." We were doing pioneer work, and it was necessary to make a success on a small scale before we could hope to obtain large contributions.

My plans, as formulated and presented at that time, are not quite correctly represented in Dr. Hilprecht's volume, as can be seen by reference to my own statements in the work referred to above. Dr. Hilprecht claims to have opposed my plans as unscientific and proposed a more elaborate scheme. I have no recollection of such representations on his part at that meeting, and my recollections in this point are confirmed by others. Certainly Hilprecht played no evident part in the matter. A more elaborate plan was presented a little later, but until the appearance of the present volume I had supposed that it originated with Professor Haupt, of Baltimore. This more elaborate plan proposed a larger scientific staff, which was by no means unwelcome to

me, provided the funds for the purpose could be raised. On the larger staff which was ultimately adopted, Dr. R. F. Harper, then instructor in Yale University, was appointed Assyriologist. This was from no desire to slight Professor Hilprecht, who was at that time my colleague in the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania. It was entirely on my recommendation that he had been brought to this country a short time before, and it was naturally my interest that a person so recommended by me should receive due recognition. Dr. Pepper, then provost of the University of Pennsylvania, had assured me that Professor Hilprecht's health would not allow him to endure the hardships of a campaign in the field, and Dr. Pepper and I had planned for him a position of dignity and importance in connection with the work at home, first as secretary of the committee, and secondly as the person to whom should be assigned the work of publishing the cuneiform records obtained by the expedition. Somewhat later Dr. Pepper told me that Professor Hilprecht felt so chagrined at not being appointed on the staff of the expedition that he believed it would be worse for his health not to go than to go, and asked if we could not make a position for him. With the consent of Dr. Harper, Hilprecht was accordingly appointed on the field staff as a second Assyriologist (p. 300) and accompanied the first expedition, which conducted excavations for a period of about ten weeks.

On this first expedition, according to his own account, Hilprecht seems to have determined satisfactorily the topography of the mounds and to have identified the location of the library (pp. 306-9). I cannot help thinking that he has recollected forwards. At least neither I nor any of his other comrades with whom I have been able to communicate recollect any such identifications as he describes. Outside of the identification of the site of the *ziggurat*, which was made by all of us on the ground of the prominence and the curious cone shape of the hill called Bint el-Amir, the only topographical suggestion made by Professor Hilprecht which I clearly remember was a theory based on the results of our earliest trenches, namely: that the complex of mounds to the east of the great canal dividing the ruins constituted "the city of the living," and those to the west "the city of the dead." Like much of our early theorizing, this was soon proved to be false.

The "temple library" was finally found by Haynes, in 1899-1900, in the northeast corner of the isolated triangular mound at the extreme southern end of the eastern half of the city, hill No. IV, according to Hilprecht's lettering in the present volume (p. 305), No. V in my

Nippur and in Hilprecht's *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*.² Some chance trial trenches conducted by us, in the first expedition, in the extreme northwestern nose of that mound, not at Hilprecht's special request, as his memory now says, resulted in the discovery of a considerable number of tablets and fragments of tablets; but none of those were then identified by the Assyriologists connected with the expedition as possessing a literary character. They were reported to be contract tablets, partly of the Persian and neo-Babylonian period, and partly of the period of the first Babylonian dynasty, commonly called that of Hammurabi. It would seem from Hilprecht's statement that at a later date he discovered among these fragments some literary remains. This discovery must have been made, I should suppose, later than the date of Haynes's first expedition, and indeed Hilprecht's statement in the present volume is the first information I have received that there was such material in the discoveries of the first year. Writing to me under date of October 8, 1889, he says: "The only good things [discovered by us in the first campaign] are the text of Naram Sin (three lines) and the astronomical tablet;" neither of which, so far as we know, were discovered in that mound. The Ashur-etil-ilâni tablets, referred to by Hilprecht (p. 310) as found in the excavations in this hill and as possessing unusual historical interest, were also excavated in a different mound, No. VI in my *Nippur*, at the extreme north of the complex of mounds on the east side of the canal. Owing to the discovery of tablets in our first campaign, I conducted during the second campaign much more extensive excavations at various points in mound IV, finding, on the western side of the mound, along the edge of the great canal, a large number of tablets, almost entirely of a business character, dating from about 2500 B. C. on to the Persian period. Trenches in other parts of the mound produced no result. Among these tablets of the second year also, Hilprecht, with whom I was in constant communication with regard to the objects found, does not seem to have discovered any literary remains up to the close at least of Haynes's first expedition, and this hill was not, accordingly, included among the places especially recommended to Haynes for excavation during the years 1893-96. In the instructions which Hilprecht reports as given to Haynes for his second expedition, 1899-1900 (p. 430), the examination of this mound is included, and I suppose, therefore, that by that time Hilprecht had

²It is not clear to me why, in the present volume, Hilprecht has changed the et cetera formerly adopted, thus causing confusion in the comparison of results.

found, in examining the tablets, the literary material which he refers to in this volume. The deposit of tablets described as a "temple library" was actually found by Haynes, on his second expedition, near the northeast corner of this mound, as stated above, at a depth of from twenty to twenty-four feet below the surface. Haynes, temporarily unable to continue work in the temple, had placed his men at the nearest opposite point on this hill, and there discovered the tablets. The discovery was made at the very end of 1899, and the tablets containing the library had been excavated before Hilprecht's arrival, March 1, 1900.

Hilprecht regards this entire mound as constituting a temple library from the period of 2500 B. C. onward. It is not at all clear that this is the case. As already stated, the tablets found by me on the western edge of the mound along the canal were almost entirely of a business character, and nowhere was there any large deposit of tablets. There were no rooms in which the tablets had been arranged upon shelves. The only part of the mounds of which that is true is the small section in the northeast, opposite the temple gate, and at the time when Haynes stopped work at this place he seemed to have exhausted the "find" of tablets. Hilprecht speaks also of the discovery of a section of the "library" on the west side of this mound (p. 512), but his further statements as to Haynes's failure to keep records and the uncertainty as to the place in which objects supposed to belong to the library were actually found, raises a question about these discoveries until we have more certain data; which, as I read, we have at present only for the northeast corner.

It will be observed that in Hilprecht's present reconstruction of the topography of Nippur (p. 550) he holds that the two great walls, Imgur-Marduk and Nimit-Marduk, surrounded only the temple complex. These two walls he believes have been discovered in the great wall surrounding the immediate temple inclosure, and an outside wall surrounding the entire temple complex. Now, this latter wall includes only that portion of the ruins on the east side of the canal north of this library hill. It certainly seems strange that, if the buildings on this hill were the temple library and temple schools, they should have been left outside of the area inclosed within the outside temple walls; and also that they should have been separated from the temple by a broad canal. One naturally awaits with much interest the further examination of this mound, but the results so far obtained do not yet appear, I think, to justify Hilprecht's conclusion that the whole

thirteen acres of this mound constituted a temple library and temple schools.

But to return to my *apologia*. Hilprecht represents me as desiring on my second expedition to conduct the excavations alone, unhampered by expert advice, and as having no interest in any other work than the collection of portable material, especially tablets, without regard to constructions and the like (pp. 320, 321). The first year's work had ended in catastrophe, and was regarded, or appeared to be regarded by my comrades and by the world at large, as a failure. I have already quoted one paragraph from a letter from Professor Hilprecht regarding the paucity of the first year's results. In the same letter he says that everywhere among scholars he hears the report that the first year's expedition was a failure; and expresses his regret that I am to resume excavations at Nippur, which he had hoped would be abandoned in favor of another site, preferably Mughair (Ur). Every member of my staff had resigned, a large sum of money had been spent in excavating at Nippur³ with no tangible results, and the gentlemen of Philadelphia were naturally dissatisfied. I was recalled for consultation with the committee, and the first question asked me by the treasurer was, how much it would cost to settle the whole matter and end the expedition. Furthermore, it was very uncertain whether the Turkish government would allow us to return to Nippur at all. With this uncertainty and the difficulty of securing funds, resulting from our failure to produce results, it was natural that the committee should be unwilling to send a large staff into the field, which might spend months at Aleppo or some other place, waiting for permission to proceed, as we had done in the first campaign. It was not my desire to conduct the excavations alone, but the necessities of the situation, which made the committee conclude that it was undesirable to provide me with a staff. It was even against the written recommendation of the committee that I engaged Haynes for the second year in order to secure at least the advantage of photography. I had originally become the director of the expedition, because in that way only did it seem possible to secure the funds for the work which I wished to see prosecuted in the excavation of old Babylonian sites. I had originally gone out for one year only, but before the first year was up the committee had advised me that it was absolutely necessary

³ Hilprecht's statement of the amount expended (p. 318) is, however, some \$6,000 in excess of the actual amount, as can be seen by a reference to my *Nippur*, Vol. I, p. 296.

that I should continue in the field a second year; that otherwise the work would fail, as support could not be secured. After the failure of the first expedition I felt a personal responsibility to repay the faith and the expenditures of the committee, as it were, by turning failure into success. I felt keenly during the second campaign the lack of an expert architect or engineer, and it was that which led me to avail myself of the opportunity, to which Hilprecht refers (p. 344), to secure for a time the services of a Hungarian engineer, formerly in the employ of the Ottoman government.

In a note on p. 339 Hilprecht denies my statement that the committee in Philadelphia made a constant demand for objects. My account of my work in *Nippur* will show anyone who reads that book that Hilprecht's representation that my only thought was to search here, there, and everywhere for tablets is a misrepresentation. The bulk of my workmen were concentrated on the exploration of the temple construction, which certainly was not a search for tablets. Another considerable body were occupied during a great part of the time in the excavation of the next most interesting building found in the mounds, the Parthian palace on the west side of the canal. Gangs of selected workmen, as I have stated in my *Nippur*, were employed by me in search for tablets, though not quite in the method described by Dr. Hilprecht. I was, of course, very much interested in the discovery of tablets, both for themselves—for inscribed tablets are, after all, the most valuable discoveries made in Assyria and Babylonia—but also, and even more particularly, because the whole future work of excavation in Babylonia seemed to depend on my success in finding and obtaining for the museum in Philadelphia large quantities of inscribed material. Here is a quotation from a characteristic letter of the chairman of the committee, under date of February 10, 1890:

All depends upon this year's work. You must make large finds, and Hamdy Bey must make a liberal division of them, so that we can have important collections in hand before summer.

My hope was to make such a success of the second campaign as to place the enterprise of excavating Nippur on a secure foundation, so that I should have successors who could excavate completely all, at least, that was important in the mounds of Nippur. In the work on the temple, and, indeed, in general in the work of excavation, I was a pioneer. Our trenches in the first year were entirely tentative, and a large part of my work in the second year was of the same character. I was endeavoring to find where the remains were which should be

excavated, and above all to discover if there were important ancient remains underneath the late structures and the huge mass of late débris on the temple mound. It should be remembered also that it was very uncertain whether the work would be continued at all. I had, therefore, not only to prepare the work for the excavations which were to follow, but also so to excavate that, if the work were abandoned, we should, if possible, know something of an old Babylonian temple. I am not claiming that I did not make very serious mistakes. It would have been strange if a much wiser man than I should not have done so under the same circumstances. It would be strange, also, if, considering the character of the remains of the temple, unlike anything previously explored, as Hilprecht points out, and composed of unbaked brick, I did not destroy some things and fail to understand much more. I can, however, claim that I succeeded in discovering where the most important remains were to be found, and put my successors in the way of excavating them scientifically. For the proof of this I must refer my readers once more to my *Nippur*.

Hilprecht seems often to go out of his way to criticise my work, sometimes with rather ludicrous results. So, for instance, he blames me (p. 332) for my "endeavor to reach the older remains before the more recent strata had been investigated" by means of a diagonal trench cut through the center of the *ziggurat*.⁴ Now, it chanced that this particular trench was a part of that "systematic exploration of Bint el-Amir . . . undertaken in accordance with a plan prepared by the Assyriologists and the architect" (p. 308) in the first year; so that according to his own showing Professor Hilprecht was in this matter *particeps criminis*. The same is true of a tunnel beneath the large court of the Parthian palace on the west side of the canal, which he criticises in a similar manner (pp. 567 f.).

Having made a success of the second expedition, to the extent that I had proved that work could be conducted at Nippur and that the results to be obtained were very great, I felt that my part had been accomplished. I was urged to continue for a third year, but could not arrange to do so. The difficulty was to find someone to take up the work. I recommended Haynes, my lieutenant in the second expedition, for that purpose, and if it had been possible to

⁴ It should be said, by the way, that no later excavations would have been conducted at Nippur unless, by means of wells and shafts, I had first ascertained that underneath the immense accumulation of late material in the recent strata there lay older remains worth examining.

transport the objects found to Constantinople and secure a liberal portion of those objects within any reasonable time, the expedition would have been continued without interruption. Haynes did in fact remain at Baghdad for some time waiting for instructions from the committee. But the committee was unwilling to go on, and indeed felt itself unable to raise the money to do so, until it had some tangible results to show to the contributors. I left Nippur in May, 1890, but it was not until the close of the year 1891 that the objects assigned to us began to reach Philadelphia. The result of this long delay was that enthusiasm had cooled, and the expedition under the first *iraddé* was allowed to come to a close.

Then followed what was to me a very discouraging period. It was proposed to abandon the work at Nippur, which, from my point of view, had only just begun, and to confine ourselves to the study and publication of the material discovered. Money was needed for museum purposes, to send Hilprecht to Constantinople to study the objects retained there and to publish the material in proper form, and for a time it seemed as though no money could be obtained for the work in the field. It was not because I, or presumably the committee, felt that the best method of excavation was to have only one man in the field that Haynes was sent out alone in 1892. I believed then, as I believe now, that if we did not continue the work at Nippur at once, the greater part of what we had accomplished would be lost, not merely nor chiefly through illicit digging by the Arabs and the consequent destruction of the ruins, but by the loss of interest at home, which would have resulted in the complete abandonment of the enterprise. Haynes was the only available man to send. He was not the ideal man, but he had had a long experience in work, and no one else could be secured; for both at this time and later the greatest difficulty was found in obtaining anyone to send to conduct excavations at Nippur. With much misgiving, but believing it to be a necessity of the work, Haynes was sent out alone to do what no one had done before—to conduct excavations continuously, winter and summer. A peculiar responsibility was also laid upon me for the success of Haynes's work, which was undertaken largely at my urgency.

Hilprecht represents Haynes's work as having been a mere search for tablets, and holds partly Haynes and partly me responsible for this. The instructions which I drew up for Haynes, as reported in very brief form in Vol. II, pp. 371 f., of my *Nippur*, should show, I think, what was my attitude with regard to the excavations. Hilprecht

states (p. 353) that Haynes abandoned the work on the temple mound "and undertook to unearth a sufficient quantity of tablets to meet Peters's growing demands for inscribed material." This demand came not from me, but from the committee. Under date of September 2, 1894, I received a letter from the chairman of the committee which contains this statement :

The work done by Haynes, during the past few months, in excavating the ancient temple, is very interesting; but I would like to have some portable finds.

He goes on to add that he will write him to send a force of men to excavate for tablets. Haynes had written on June 30, asking permission to work for not exceeding two months on the temple, and that time was up. Hilprecht quotes (p. 370) from one of Haynes's reports about this time :

I should like to see systematic excavations undertaken on this temple enclosure, not to be excavated section by section, but carried down as a whole, to distinguish the different epochs of its history, each well-defined level to be thoroughly explored, sketched, photographed, and described, before the excavation of any part should be carried to a lower level. This method would be most satisfactory and less likely to lead to confusion of strata and levels.

To which Hilprecht adds :

We naturally ask in amazement : Though knowing the better method, why did he never adopt it at a time when he was in complete charge of the expedition in the field, and the committee at home ready to support him with all the necessary technical assistance?

The above letter, and others of a similar tenor, will explain at least the reason why he left the temple to search for tablets, and will show the attitude of the committee, of which Hilprecht was a member, at that time.

Haynes achieved most remarkable success in his search for tablets, and if the explorations of the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur are now established on a secure and scientific basis, it must be said that this is largely, if not chiefly, due to his success in that regard. At that time also Hilprecht appears to have regarded his work as scientific. So he writes at the close of Haynes's excavations in 1896⁵ that his work "is equal to that of Layard and Victor Place in Assyria and something without parallel in previous expeditions to Babylonia." Hilprecht was at that time aware—or should have been aware, for he had access to such reports as existed—of the nature of Haynes's work.

⁵ *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 9.

Haynes's position during that long and lonely period of this first expedition was an extremely trying one, physically, mentally, and morally. As Hilprecht has stated, he failed to make intelligible reports, or to keep records, so that it was impossible to determine what work he had done, what had been excavated, where the objects found had been discovered, etc. The strain and the climate had told upon him severely, he became morbid and suspicious, and when at last Duncan and Geere were sent out to Nippur he drove them away. These things, hitherto unpublished, Hilprecht has thought fit to reveal. But the revelation makes his own course in urging Haynes on the committee as director of the fourth expedition, and commending his methods as equal to those of Layard and Place, the more inexplicable. It was entirely through Hilprecht's urgency, against my earnest protest, that Haynes was sent out the second time (1899-1900). I resigned from the committee, and my knowledge of the results of the last expedition is, therefore, derived entirely, or almost entirely, from the statements contained in Professor Hilprecht's present volume. Hilprecht says that Haynes was more successful than ever in finding tablets, but that he kept no records, made no intelligible reports, and prevented the architects who had been sent with him from doing anything, so that it finally became necessary to send someone out to supersede him and bring order out of the chaos. The person sent was Dr. Hilprecht, who occupied the position of "scientific director" of this last expedition, and who spent a little more than two months, from March 1 to May 4, on this, his second visit to Nippur. I do not wish to minimize the excellent work which Dr. Hilprecht has done, but it does not seem fair that he should throw on Haynes's shoulders the burden of all failure and claim all success for himself.

So much for the narrative; and now for the statement of results achieved; and first some criticisms of comparatively minor details. The terra-cotta cones, to which Hilprecht refers on pp. 311, 312 as found in the first campaign along the base of the northwest wall of the *siggurra*, were in reality found along the base of an outer wall of brick at what appeared to be the extreme northern corner of the whole temple inclosure. This wall belonged to a series of brick buildings which were only partially excavated in the first and second years, and which do not seem to have been touched in the later campaigns of Haynes and Hilprecht. The place of discovery of these cones may be a matter of importance in determining the date and purpose of these structures. The place of finding the marble tablets containing a list of garments

presented to the temple, mentioned on p. 312, was, apparently, not the temple, as Hilprecht states,⁶ but an outlying mound some distance to the south of the temple. The place was not determined with absolute certainty, inasmuch as this tablet was among the objects recovered from tablet thieves. The objects found by me in my second campaign in the great trench to the southeast of the *siggurra* and the levels of those objects are incorrectly stated by Hilprecht (p. 333; see *Nippur*, Vol. II, p. 159).

The results of the later explorations, as interpreted by Dr. Hilprecht in this volume, reverse, in not a few particulars, theories put forth by me in *Nippur*, or by him in the volumes of *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*. Some of these reversals are, I think, clearly proved. Of others I am not so certain. Among the most interesting "finds" of my second campaign was the so-called "jeweler's shop," in a low line of mounds to the southeast of the temple inclosure. As all the objects found in this shop belonged to the later Cassite kings, I supposed that the buildings in which they were found were of that period also. Hilprecht now holds that these objects were part of the stock of a jeweler of the Parthian period, a man who gathered old fragments and converted them into beads and the like, and that, accordingly, the buildings in which these objects were found were Parthian and belonged to the last reconstruction of the buildings on the temple ruins. One or two similar collections he reports to have been found in the last expedition to Nippur and in the German expedition to Babylonia. His conclusion may be correct, but it should be observed that the collection found by me differs from the similar collections reported by him as found elsewhere (p. 335) in that, while those collections consisted of material from different ancient periods, the material found in my collection was all from one period, the later Cassite. Moreover, there were here blocks of crude material, lapis lazuli, magnesite, malachite, etc., which were entirely unworked, side by side with completed and half-completed objects made from the same material. One object was evidently in process of manufacture as a tablet with a Cassite inscription. It was a rough block of lapis lazuli, one side of which had been smoothed and polished. On this side an inscription had been incised, after which the manufacturer had begun to saw off the inscribed face as a tablet. It is noticeable that the box in which this collection had been inclosed was fastened with copper, not iron, nails, which again would seem more appropriate to the Cassite than to the Parthian period.

⁶He had correctly located this tablet in a former work.

The building about the court of columns on the west side of the canal, to which I devoted a chapter⁷ and which, with much uncertainty, I ascribed to the Cassite period, appears to have been fully or more fully explored under Professor Hilprecht's directions in the last expedition,⁸ and we have a ground plan of the entire structure on p. 567. Hilprecht seems to have determined satisfactorily, by coins found in a brick, that this building, which was only partially excavated by me,⁹ was Parthian and not Cassite.¹⁰ On examining the plan and accompanying description in Hilprecht's volume, I find myself somewhat embarrassed by the fact that there is nothing to show certainly whether the whole building was excavated and the walls found as given on the ground plan, or whether some parts of the plan are a speculative restoration. I found a deep gully covering a portion of the space occupied by this building on the northeast and southeast. Water had washed away the earth to a depth far below the foundations of the building. I should like, also, to know the grounds on which the very large round column before the court¹¹ is identified as an altar. In the room marked 16 on Hilprecht's plan, which is described thus:

a kind of anteroom formed a connecting link between the men's quarters, the servants' rooms, and the section reserved for the women,

I found a large store of burned barley. The whole room was full of it. The conditions of excavation and the exact facts with regard to the discoveries made in this interesting little building will doubtless be given in some future volume, with statements sufficiently detailed to enable us to check the plan presented, which it is impossible to do with the material contained in the present volume.

On p. 559 Hilprecht gives a plan of a Parthian fortress, which shows, so far as the actual excavation of the Parthian remains on the top of the temple mound are concerned, little advance on the work done by me in the second year, and shown on the plan of excavations facing p. 142 in Vol. II, of my *Nippur*. In fact, this is substantially my plan differently shaded. My plan also shows the excavations and the remains of constructions at lower levels, while Hilprecht's represents only the buildings at the highest level. In this case also he

⁷ Vol. II, chap. 6.

⁸ Cf. pp. 336 f., 563 ff.

⁹ See my plan, *Nippur*, Vol. II, p. 178.

¹⁰ His statement, by the way, of the grounds of my suggestion that the building was of the Cassite period, cannot fairly be said to represent the argument used by me, which can be found in the chapter referred to.

¹¹ No. 5, on Hilprecht's plan.

seems to have found satisfactory evidence of the date and purpose of the structure, which I did not." Hilprecht holds that this building was in occupancy as a fortress at least as late as the first Christian century, and adduces as proof a very interesting tomb found under one of the rooms on the outer wall of the fortress (p. 507), in which was a gold coin of the Emperor Tiberius. In general a tomb found among the remains of any construction is not an evidence that that construction was in use, but that it was in ruins, at that period. Two other brick tombs of a somewhat similar description were found by me among the ruins of the buildings of this latest reconstruction.

My excavations and those of Haynes had shown that there had been a destruction of temple property, and apparently of temple buildings, at a certain period, which period seemed to me to coincide with the period of the supremacy of Babylon. Furthermore, I found no evidence, in the way of inscribed bricks and the like, of the reconstruction of the temple by the kings of Babylon. In view of the rivalry existing between Bêl-Enlil of Nippur and Bêl-Marduk of Babylon, I therefore reached the conclusion that the destruction of these objects was due to the Babylonians.¹² Hilprecht, in his *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, attributes it to the Elamites about 2285 B. C. Later discoveries have shown that one Babylonian monarch at least did labor in the reconstruction of the temple of Bêl and has left inscribed bricks, and Hammurabi's code of laws, recently found by the French expedition at Susa, states distinctly that Hammurabi restored the temple. It would seem, therefore, that I was wrong, although it appears to be true that the temple of Bêl at Nippur was in general neglected during the period of the Hammurabi and Pashe dynasties of Babylon, and also during the time of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. A fuller examination of the strata in which the broken objects were found seems to show that they were destroyed long before the period of the Elamite conquest of the country, nearer 2600 than 2285 B. C. Hilprecht, therefore, suggests (pp. 378, 379) that there must have been an Elamite invasion and sack of Nippur at that period, of which we have as yet no other record.

Hilprecht, as was to be expected, holds to the early date of Sargon of Akkad, 3800 B. C. He has found, in a pavement intervening between the pavements of Ur-Gur and Naram-Sin, inscribed bricks

¹² His representation of my view is not a fair presentation of the opinion actually held by me (*Cf. Nippur*, Vol. II, p. 262).

¹³ *Cf. Nippur*, Vol. II, chap. 10.

with the short legend "Lugal-surzu, *patesi* of Nippur, priest of Bel" (p. 476). But with this exception the period between those monarchs is still a complete blank, and, according to Hilprecht's account, there is in general no, or at best very little, intervening material between their constructions. The evidence at hand, so far as Hilprecht's account of the excavations at Nippur is concerned, seems to me to favor rather the date of 2800 B. C. than the earlier date advocated by him.

Hilprecht promises us shortly

a special work entitled "Ekur, the Temple of Bel at Nippur," which will be fully illustrated and accompanied by large plans and diagrams prepared by the architects of the expedition according to my reconstructions and their own survey of the actual remains still existing (p. 450).

Until that book appears it is impossible to criticise intelligently his restoration of the temple. He seems to have shown that the temple consisted of two courts (plan on p. 470), in the inner of which stood the *siggurra*t and "the House of Bel,"¹⁴ while in the outer were the small shrine of Bur-Sin, and, probably, a number of other similar shrines. Two gates of the inner court have been discovered, but the dimensions of neither court are yet ascertained. I sought for a temple gate at precisely the point at which Hilprecht locates the gate of the outer court of the temple in the text (his location of it in the plan is different), but, although I conducted excavations at this point to a very low level, I could find nothing. The point at which the gate is located in the plan corresponds, not with the apparent gate-like opening in the outer line of mounds, as Hilprecht says in the text, but with a curious tower-like construction in those mounds. Just without the shrine of Bur-Sin there is a mote-like depression running the whole length of the temple, and descending much below the level at which that shrine stands, which would seem to indicate that the outer limit of that court was not where Hilprecht places it. From his own account of the excavations and from my own experience, it seems to me that the dimensions of the inner court must have been, at least on the southwest side, different from those suggested in his plan; that there must have been more space and probably also buildings between the *siggurra*t and the wall on that side. It may be that there is evidence, passed over in the description in the present volume, which will

¹⁴By the way, his method of exploring the latter building was precisely the same as my method of exploring the "Parthian palace," so severely condemned in this volume.

justify placing the southwest wall so close to the *ziggurat*. There are other points of which no notice is taken, like the great brick constructions at the north corner of the temple inclosure; and, indeed, it is evident, from Hilprecht's own account, that much work yet remains to be done before the temple can be reconstructed with any degree of certainty for any period of its history.

Hilprecht has discovered within the core of the *ziggurat* of Ur-Gur, the earliest which I discovered, a *ziggurat* of the time of the Sargonids, thus reversing his former view that *ziggurats* began with Ur-Gur. He believes himself to have found, also, evidence of a pre-Sargonic *ziggurat* (pp. 452 f.), which was "smaller than that of Naram-Sin and lay entirely within and largely below it." As he points out, from the fact that the names of the *ziggurat* and of the temple itself are Sumerian, we might expect to find the temple in existence in the pre-Sargonic period with a *ziggurat*, and it may be safe to conclude that temple and *ziggurat* both existed at that time, but it is not clear, from Hilprecht's account, that he has actually discovered a pre-Sargonic *ziggurat* in his excavations.

It seems that with the Sargonic period came a great change in the character of the temple, corresponding with a change in civilization and race. All the important structures yet discovered lie above the Naram-Sin pavement. Below that there is nothing but remains connected with the burning of the dead. And here we note a most striking change of custom, for the bodies of the dead, after the time of Sargon, were disposed of by burial, not by burning.¹⁵ It is worth while, by the way, to compare with this result the somewhat similar result obtained by Macalister in the excavation of Gezer. He found at the lowest levels a pre-Semitic population of an extremely simple civilization disposing of their dead by burning. These were succeeded, somewhere, according to his estimate, between 3000 and 2000 B. C., by a Semitic population which practised burial instead of burning. The pre-Semitic population at Nippur, however, would seem to have been by no means so primitive and barbarous as the pre-Semitic population whose remains were discovered by Macalister at Gezer. The latter were troglodytes and made use of stone implements, and their pottery was of the rudest. In the pre-Sargonic remains at Nippur, on the other hand, were found fragments of lacquered pottery, black and red, more ornamental, according to Haynes's account, than the pottery

¹⁵ Although, according to Hilprecht's account, the evidence for this at Nippur is negative rather than positive.

belonging to the later Semitic period (p. 406); as builders they had advanced so far as to understand the principle of the true arch, and during part of the period at least they practiced the art of writing.

The results of the discoveries in the pre-Sargonic period, as presented in this volume, are certainly most perplexing. Below the Sargon level, for a depth of thirty feet, there is nothing but remains of incinerations. The bodies of the dead were burned here and the ashes generally placed in jars, together with vessels containing food for the spirits of the dead. For men of greater importance, tomb chambers were built similar to those found by the German expedition at Zerghul and Hibba. There were wells, conduits, and drainage pipes to furnish water for the dead and drain the tombs and graves. What was supposed by Haynes to be an altar, Hilprecht now supposes to have been a sort of common pyre for the burning of the dead (pp. 395 and 453), but his arguments for this use are by no means conclusive. He suggests (pp. 459 f.) that the *siggurra*t itself was originally of the nature of a tomb, as well as of a house for the gods, and that the burning of the dead was in a peculiar way connected with the sanctuary. It should be observed, however, that the excavations conducted on the west side of the canal to the same low level show precisely the same conditions (pp. 403 f., 419, 533). Below the level of Sargon nothing appears but the remains of incinerations, and those extend to a great depth below the level of the plain. The cremation of the dead would seem, therefore, to have been in no exclusive way connected with the temple. Another perplexing feature of these pre-Sargonic discoveries is the level at which they are found. The desert level at the present time is from six to eight feet below the Sargon level. The original plain level Hilprecht assumes to have been from ten and a quarter to eleven feet below the Sargon level. Virgin soil was thirty feet below the Sargon level and water thirty-five. The pre-Sargonic remains descend to virgin soil, that is, to a depth of thirty feet below the Sargon level, and almost twenty feet below what was then the level of the plain (pp. 391, 402). According to the results of Haynes's excavations in the canal bed (pp. 420 f.), the city level at that date would have been ten feet below the bottom of the canal bed. Altogether these results are quite inexplicable, and we must wait for further excavations to understand their meaning or even to be sure of the actual facts. Hilprecht, without giving his grounds, declares that the burials ascribed by me to the Babylonian period are in fact Parthian. There are, according to him, no Semitic burials at Nippur.

We pass from the burnings of the pre-Sargonic period to the interments of the Parthian period, with nothing between. This sounds incredible.

One of the interesting discoveries made by Professor Hilprecht, not through excavation, but by interpretation of inscriptions, is the identification of the canal which divides Nippur into two parts, the great Shatt-en-Nil, which leaves the Euphrates at Babylon and joins it again in the neighborhood of Erech, with the river Chebar, by which the Jewish exiles were settled (p. 411); and he also suggests that Tel-Abib (or Tel Abub?) was at or in the neighborhood of the sand hills three or four miles to the northeast of Nippur.

Of the situation of the library I have already spoken. Hilprecht locates the business quarter along the canal on its west side (pp. 413, 414). I have already stated that a large number of business documents were found to the east of that canal in the southeast or "library" hill, while considerable numbers of tablets belonging to the temple were found at various points on the west of the canal, together with some literary documents. I do not think that, from the excavations so far conducted, it is possible to determine with any degree of certainty the topography of the city. The greater part of the west side of the canal is quite unexplored, and the same is true of the east side of the canal, outside of the temple mound, "Tablet Hill," and a part of the outer wall. It is to be hoped that the work of excavating Nippur will be carried forward to a real conclusion. Only a small part of its vast mounds has yet been examined, and no one part has been completely excavated. The results in our hands up to the present moment are, therefore, most fragmentary.

In the end, doubtless, the inscribed objects found will prove to be of the greatest value and of the greatest interest. Hilprecht, in his notice of objects found in the "library," has given a most fascinating picture of what the full decipherment of those tablets must yield in the educational line alone: school exercises, multiplication tables, and the like; the evidences of careful mental and manual discipline, the processes of education in the third millenium B. C.; a school of art; even an interest in archæology, represented by a little collection of valuable antiquities, including the fragments of a "ground plan of the environments of Nippur" (p. 548), which we hope may be more fully explained in a later work. But Hilprecht also points out that the texts so far found in the library are mathematical, astronomical, astrological, linguistic, grammatical, and, to some extent, religious, and

that the texts from Nippur, copied by the scribes of Ashurbanipal for his library, included just these categories, excluding the religious one. The question arises, therefore: Will the library finds at Nippur give us only material of these classes, or may we also expect literary material, such as the epic of Gilgamesh, including the flood legend, creation legends, etc.?

It is deeply to be regretted that the policy hitherto pursued has prevented a more speedy publication of the contents of inscribed tablets. Practically all these collections have been retained exclusively in the hands of Professor Hilprecht and his pupils. The result of such a course must be a long delay before the contents of the "library" and the other collections of tablets can be properly communicated to the world, the more so as only a portion of Professor Hilprecht's time, apparently, is to be henceforth devoted to the copying and decipherment of this material. It is to be hoped that the University of Pennsylvania will invite the co-operation of Assyriologists in the study and interpretation of the precious documents from Nippur.

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WHERE MAY CHRISTIAN CERTAINTY BE FOUND?

THE first of these two works,¹ whose author has since been called from Erlangen to succeed Luthardt in the chair of dogmatics at Leipzig, is a thoroughgoing treatment of its subject, the principal defect of which is a somewhat unnecessary prolixity of discussion. A pupil of Frank, and in general occupying the same dogmatic and confessional position, Professor Ihmels was early led to question whether in Frank's treatment of "Christian Certainty," the Scriptures received their due, and whether certainty as to the new birth should be made the central certainty of the Christian, as was done by Frank. The present work attempts to answer these queries.

One hundred and sixty-seven pages are devoted to "an historical orientation," in which Luther, the old-Lutheran dogmatics, the period from Pietism to Supranaturalism, Frank, and Herrmann are successively reviewed. The remaining portion is devoted to a connected

¹ *Die christliche Wahrheitsgewissheit, ihr letzter Grund und ihre Entstehung.* Von L. IHMELS. Leipzig: Deichert, 1901. vi+344 pages. M. 5.60.

Neue Grundlegung der Lehre von der christlichen Gewissheit. Von ALEXIS SCHWARZE. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. ii+189 pages. M. 3.80.

presentation of Ihmels's own results, and discusses in order the Christian certainty concerning the truth (1) as a certainty of experience and faith about the historical revelation of God, (2) as certainty concerning the word of God, (3) as certainty concerning the Scriptures, (4) in relation to our natural knowledge of truth, (5) to the possibility of self-deception, and finally (6) in its rise.

The movement for a new grounding of the Christian system which began with Schleiermacher, has culminated in the two works of Professor von Frank of Erlangen on *Christian Certainty* and *Christian Truth*. Schleiermacher reduced all religious experiences to the immediate consciousness of God gained by the soul in the feeling of absolute dependence when it surrenders itself freely to the influences of the universe upon it. From this ultimate experience he derives all religion and all theology. Frank came up out of the pantheism and the passivity of the soul which both infect and greatly injure Schleiermacher's presentation, to make the new birth, which on its purely human side is an activity of the soul, and in which the soul deals with a personal God, the ultimate fact of experience and the fountain both of certainty and of theology. Ihmels now proposes to change this somewhat. To what does the Christian immediately refer when asked for the ground of his certainty? To his experience. But to *what* experience? To his *present* experience, that is, to his present conscious fellowship with God (pp. 168 ff.). The emphasis is therefore transferred from the new birth, which in "acute" cases is a definitely limited and unique experience, to the general consciousness of fellowship which underlies, or rather comes to expression, in every act of Christian life, and not in any one alone. The question is at once suggested to the mind whether there is much real difference here from Frank. Ihmels later says: "The rise of the Christian's faith will be brought to consciousness with special clearness when his introduction to the Christian life was by means of an abrupt break with his past" (p. 220). It is for the sake of this "special clearness" that Frank seized upon the new birth as his point of departure. In a sense, the new birth is always a matter of present consciousness, since it is daily repeated, so far as renunciation of sin and voluntary obedience to God are concerned, which are daily experiences. As a matter of fact, in what it is and involves, it does contain "the single elements of the Christian system" (p. 171) in a remarkable degree—something which Ihmels disclaims for his own starting point—and in that fact it has advantages for Frank's purposes.

Communion with God is now said by Ihmels to be gained only through Christ (p. 175). We may abstract from this actual relation of affairs, however, the *fact* of present communion for purposes of discussion (p. 176). Communion is established when God draws nigh the soul, and so reveals himself that the soul, without question, commits itself to him by an act of faith, of trust, and of self-surrender, and thus comes into an experience of his existence and his fatherhood. It then *knows*.

This communion is, of course, within the fellowship of the Christian church, a historical body, founded by a certain person upon certain historical facts. Are these in any way embraced in the certainty gained in communion with God? In a way, replies Ihmels, Yes. But caution is necessary here, for, first, historical criticism, however it may give us facts, can never give us the certainty which the Christian needs for the basis of his religious life, "with which his entire personality stands or falls" (p. 192); nor, second, can such criticism give us the significance which attaches to such facts for religion. But, taking the resurrection of Christ as an example, we know that the "historical work of Christ . . . has, objectively considered, a present" (p. 197). The Christian experiences that present activity. But he is able to distinguish the influences which proceed from the exalted Lord as such only because the Scriptures teach him so. But how have the Scriptures any authority with him? Because "the Holy Spirit, through the word of revelation, brings the person of Christ so near to the individual that it becomes a present revelation of God to him" (p. 205). This is the point where Christian certainty, both of communion with God and of the Scriptures, takes its rise, and it is a miracle (*Wunder*, p. 215). The divine action of the Scriptures upon the soul therefore attests their divine character; and this character attests their truth, and the actuality of the history which is the condition and presupposition of the operation of the agencies which do operate in renewing man (p. 221).

Such certainty pertains to the Scriptures as the means of grace, and as a general record of Christian facts. Is there any farther certainty about the Bible as a book? This is gained by a process of inference. The Christian experience of communion with God gives certainty as to the central, or determinative, contents of the Bible—its doctrines of sin and grace. The remaining contents gain certainty in the same way. The Christian accepts the Bible and lets it freely operate upon him, and it proves itself true thereby. Thus scripture gives rise to certainty, and certainty confirms the Scriptures (p. 236). And even

the canon, the necessary product of the Christian church as a whole, and not of any individual, receives confirmation in the same way (p. 240).

With these discussions the contribution of the book to the general topic of Christian certainty is substantially exhausted. Without a fundamental departure from Frank, the effort has been made to bring certain difficult questions to a better solution than he was able to give. We do not think that Ihmels has been as successful in this particular as our own countryman, the late Professor L. F. Stearns, of Bangor Theological Seminary. In his *Evidence of Christian Experience* he has given a new and truly rational form to the argument for the Scriptures from the "witness of the Holy Spirit," in which he has been followed by the present writer's *Christian Life and Theology*. These scholars have sought to retain the definiteness of the starting-point adopted by Frank, and they have dispelled the "miracle" of God's approach to the soul by a more scriptural and philosophic explanation of its *modus*. The argument for the Scriptures themselves has been simplified and developed far beyond what Ihmels presents, though in substantial agreement with him.

Of the second book little needs to be said. It is very readable, and shows by its style the benefit of having to write regularly for the express purpose of being understood. It is also marked by strong common-sense and comprehensiveness. But these two excellences last mentioned defeat its purpose to be a "*new foundation*" for Christian certainty. Really there is nothing new in the book whatever. It does not even keep what may be fairly said to have been securely gained in theological circles. It divides certainty into three sorts, historical, rational, and ethico-religious. The latter is the kind of certainty chiefly considered, though both of the others have their place. The most important part of the work is where the "subject" of the certainty is discussed and the individual is exhibited in his relations to the "entire" subject, the whole Christian community. But of specifically Christian certainty the book knows nothing.

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THE LIFE OF DÖLLINGER.¹

PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH'S "Life of Döllinger" will long rank as one of the monumental biographies of the Christian church. It is

¹ *Ignaz von Döllinger. Sein Leben auf Grund seines schriftlichen Nachlasses dargestellt.* Von J. FRIEDRICH. Drei Teile. München: Beck, 1898-1901. Pp. x + 506; iv + 538; v + 732. M. 32; bound, M. 38.

loaded with historical information; it deals with a very great and influential man; and that man played the foremost part in one of the crises of church history. In the forces that impelled him and the forces that flooded and broke against him, we see the great tendencies of history massed and condensed to dramatic vividness and swiftness.

The book is not well made from a literary point of view. The chapters are long and often contain heterogeneous material. It is hard to find again any minor point that has slipped away in the pile. There are few pauses and summaries that would help the reader to look back and understand the territory through which he has traveled. Many portions, especially in the second volume, dealing with the internal affairs of Bavaria, of the university at Munich, and of Catholic administration, are too long for nine out of ten readers of the book. On the other hand, the last volume, especially the activity of Döllinger in connection with the Vatican Council and his literary work in the last two decades of his life, are dispatched too summarily. It looks as if the author had felt that he must finish up somehow for fear of a fourth volume. Thus the book is ill-proportioned. But it is honest work. There is no padding, no rhetoric, no forcing of conclusions. The author states what he knows in a plain, straightforward way, and if the reader has patience and ability enough to digest the material for himself, it is immensely instructive. Even the letters of insignificant and forgotten priests, the immature newspaper articles of Döllinger's idealistic youth, the cliques and speeches of the Bavarian diet, give one a realizing sense of the feelings and prejudices and habits of mind in the Catholic church in the earlier part of the century, and help us to understand to what extent the Vaticanum was an innovation and to what extent a necessary outcome of the past.

The book is meagerest on the personal side. When Döllinger died at the age of almost ninety-one, all who had known his youth were dead. He had no wife or child to treasure his personal recollections. That is one aspect of the loneliness of celibacy. Luise von Kobell has preserved some of his reminiscent talk in her *Erinnerungen*, and on the rather thin material of this book Friedrich had to draw largely. There is a good deal of information about his looks and habits scattered through the book, but nowhere is it grouped and accessible. The author was Döllinger's friend and collaborator; he stood with him in his excommunication, and gave him the sacraments at his death. But, from a fine instinct of modesty and self-repression, his personal relations are kept almost out of sight. And

his interest as a scholar and public man was concentrated on the work of Döllinger. There was no woman to reveal the personality and none to teach Professor Friedrich to see it. I should have given much to know what system Döllinger had for amassing written information. He had immense collections that grew in some cases through thirty or forty years, and that enabled him to write such a book as the *Janus*, with its overwhelming mass of information, within a few months. But I have found nothing in the book to instruct me on that point.

Döllinger got his intellect from his father. His grandfather had been a prominent physician; his father was the most eminent mind of the faculty of Würzburg, a great teacher, a master of clear language, a very modern man, a pioneer in embryology and the use of the microscope, who inspired men with a zest for personal research. When a student asked him for advice about purchasing a library, he advised him to get a microscope first, and a library if he had anything left. From him Döllinger inherited the lucidity of mind and speech, the scientific sanity and submission to facts, the wide range of his intellectual interests, and his love of knowledge for its own sake. The father never wrote for literary fame; he only wanted to know and to impart knowledge. The son's avidity for knowledge was so absorbing that in later years it was his greatest hindrance to literary production. The antiseptic influence of Döllinger's early contact with natural science and with this fine, live scientist cannot be rated too highly.

His piety he got from his mother. She used to pray in the church by the hour, and her favorite son was her companion. The dim religious light bathed his little soul. He found his father, who was so ready to answer all other questions, curiously ignorant on the religious questions that troubled him. When his father told him no one knew, he refused to believe it, and determined to become a priest and find out and then tell his father. It was the desire for knowledge that turned his mind toward the priesthood. For most students the study of theology is the way to the priesthood; for Döllinger the priesthood was the way to the study of theology. His ideal was a little country parish near the woods, with income enough to accumulate a library and with leisure to study. He was always first of all the scholar, the embodied intellect. Repeatedly the opportunity to become bishop or archbishop presented itself in later life, but he did not feel called *pompam facere*, but to mine for knowledge.

It is interesting to note that the Catholicism which laid hold of his youth was not from purely Roman sources, but was the idealized

Catholicism of the Protestant converts, Schlegel, Stolberg, and Winckelmann. He was early impressed by the *semper et ubique et ab omnibus* of Vincentius of Lerinum, and that ideal of the unity, antiquity, and universality of the Christian faith was his inward shield against Protestantism on the one side and the innovations of the Infallibilists on the other. The history of dogma was then a new science. Münscher's book, published in 1799, represented the history of dogma as a history of human intrigues, of vagaries and fluctuations. Catholic theologians felt that it undermined the conviction of unbroken tradition, which was the glory of the Catholic church. The desire to defend his church against that charge of mutability turned Döllinger decisively toward historical and patristic studies. He wanted to know the early centuries in order that he might prove that every dogma had been essentially held by the Fathers of the undivided church and had since been preserved intact. It is the profoundly tragic element in his life that his championship of this ideal of his church brought him into irreconcilable conflict with the actual forces and aims of his church. His church apostatized from him and its ideals.

During the tercentenary of the Reformation in 1817 Catholics maliciously republished one of Luther's last tracts, *Das Papsttum vom Teufel gestiftet*. Döllinger, then eighteen years of age, read it. It was his first acquaintance with Luther, and the violence of the book provoked him to corresponding antagonism. That impression was decisive for half of his life. During all his earlier years he was the militant Catholic, the representative of *catholicisme zélé*, anxious to help in giving the death-blow to Protestantism which he believed to be disintegrating and dying. That made him partisan in his public activities and even in his historical work. Aside from the natural partiality of every man for his own church, and beyond the timid reluctance of Catholic theologians to criticise their church, his polemical attitude toward Protestantism made him write as an attorney rather than a historian, especially in regard to the papacy.

From his university teachers Döllinger seems to have gained little. There were no Catholic church historians of any account, and he had to feel his own way. It was ten years before he knew what might with profit be studied. As a scholar and historian he was a self-made man.

In 1822 he became chaplain at Markt Scheinfeld. In the following year he was called to the seminary at Aschaffenburg as professor of church history and canon law. He was also compelled to teach dogmatics. He taught three courses and fifteen hours a week during

his first year. Yet he was able during his first three years to write a book on *Die Eucharistie in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, which won deserved recognition. When he was called to Munich, in 1826, as professor extraordinarius, he lectured nineteen hours a week and yet wrote the last volume of Hortig's church history in one year. He had an amazing capacity for hard work, due in part to his abstemious habits. Even in old age he rose at five and did a day's work before others were up. He breakfasted on a glass of water and supped on a glass of milk. He tasted beer only once in his life, took his wine at meals with three parts water, took long walks daily, and a vacation annually, in which he reveled in poetry. He was a lover of books always. As a boy he made a catalogue of the library of an old Scotch monastery at Würzburg, for no pay except the privilege to live among the English books. When he traveled in later years, he would immediately burrow into the great libraries, and, during the hours when they were closed, he would get his recreation by haunting the bookshops. He kept the dealers and his friends busy hunting for books that they had never heard of. A dealer in Milan watched him piling up a mass of books that he intended to buy, and at last asked him who in the world he might be. When he learned that he was a German from Munich, he said that he did not sell so many books among his people in a year.

Döllinger's scholastic work during the best years of his life was broken into by his public activity. At Munich he was a member of a circle of zealous Catholics who gathered about the great Görres; Baader, Ringseis, and Moy were members of it. With them he contributed to a periodical, *Eos*, and showed great journalistic ability; but this work consumed his energy and interest, and the polemical attitude of mind was not entirely wholesome for the historian. Among others he fell foul of Heinrich Heine, but Döllinger's sarcasm was no match for that past-master of vituperation. Heine wrote a poem on Döllinger which is very funny and very vitriolic (Vol. I, pp. 207-16). In 1845 he was sent to the lower house of the Bavarian diet, against his will. In the revolutionary year, 1848, he spent a year at Frankfurt as a member of the German parliament. Later he was a member for life of the upper house of the diet. He was chief librarian of the university, curator of all the royal scientific collections, and finally president of the Royal Academy. In his parliamentary career he showed rare gifts of extemporary speech. He was always entirely clear, in full control of all his information, incisive, often bitter, a Spanish blade to be feared. Von Sybel says that as a conversationalist

he ranked with Macaulay and Alexander von Humboldt, but unlike them he was also an excellent listener. Among the great men whom he had known Sybel had found equal pleasure only with Bismarck.

But this outside activity did not divert him from his teaching. In 1830 the university had 600 theological students, and Döllinger had 656 enrolled hearers. When he was forty-six, he was the senior of the faculty, most of the other professors were his pupils, and "where Döllinger was, there was the faculty." His fame was international and shed luster on his university and his city. His influence was steadily and powerfully exerted to raise the scientific standard in his church and country. In the eighteenth century it had dropped very low under the educational control of the Jesuits, and the general inclination in Catholic institutions seems to be to look for orthodoxy first and ability next. Döllinger was weary of the safe mediocrities and wanted men of first-class ability. And in the interest of science he was generous and catholic in his choice of them. He secured von Sybel and tried to get Thiersch; he succeeded in winning Möhler for Munich, though he had to give up church history to him and take dogmatics himself. He persistently opposed the tendency, favored by the hierarchy, of withdrawing the education of the Catholic clergy from the universities and shutting up the young priests in seminaries, safe from the dangerous influence of fresh air. There were from five hundred to eight hundred professors in the seminaries of Italy and France and Döllinger asserted that aside from text-books they produced nothing of scientific value.

Döllinger was early interested in the Tractarian movement and hoped great things from it. In 1836 he made his first visit to England, and from that time he was always partial to England and its history. He met many of the most eminent men. Gladstone was a frequent visitor and correspondent. A beautiful letter from Pusey is quoted (Vol. II, pp. 214 ff.); at one visit he left Pusey in tears. Manning was hostile to him. For many years he had a colony of young Englishmen boarding with him in order to be under his direction in their studies. Repeatedly he had invitations to take a professorship, or at least a lectureship, in some Catholic institution in England. It is interesting to imagine what course the Tractarian movement might have taken if the intellectual poverty of English Catholicism had been reinforced by the learning and ability of Döllinger.

Till 1854 Döllinger had the full confidence of the bishops. He was regarded in his own church as a hyperorthodox Catholic and by Protestants as an Ultramontane. His chief aim was still opposition to

Protestantism, especially the unveiling of what he regarded as the Protestant distortion of history. That dictated his partisan sketch of Luther and his collection of adverse testimony in the three volumes of his *Reformation*. Yet he repudiated the name of Ultramontane for himself, both in the earlier sense of one who insisted on ceremonial and churchly devoutness, and in the later sense of one who would foist an alien, Italian type of religion on the German national soul. What were his ecclesiastical ideals? He wanted the church to be freed from the hampering interference of the state everywhere. He was ready to grant equal religious liberty to Protestants and full emancipation to the Jews. He opposed the bureaucratic government of the church, which had made the bishops mere clerks and employees of the Curia. He always insisted that diocesan synods, which had fallen into complete disuse, were positively commanded by the church and would serve to bring the bishops into close and fatherly contact with their priests. In the great democratic and national uprising of 1848 he called aloud for the organization of a national German church, with diocesan and provincial synods and a national council, guided by the German archbishops and represented at Rome by a common representative. At a meeting of the German bishops at Würzburg in 1848 he was the intellectual leader, sweeping the meeting along to an espousal of his ideals and an indorsement of the whole plan. But Rome promptly brought her hand down on the whole thing, jealous for Roman supremacy and Italian control against any uprising of the national spirit, and of the high resolutions at Würzburg nothing at all was realized, not even diocesan synods.

One of the most instructive elements in the book is the frequent and unstudied evidence given of the repression of intellectual liberty and the timidity prevailing in the Catholic church. For instance, Hortig refused to complete his church history and left it to Döllinger, because insinuations of heresy frightened him. Döllinger's continuation of it was attacked because he had stated that in the Ninety-five Theses Luther was right. Only after repeated attempts could a single meeting of Catholic German theologians be convened for scientific discussion, and the slight amount of liberty there exercised stirred Rome so that most stringent conditions were laid down for any repetition of the meeting. Though the "Index" was not in full operation for Germany, the fear of it was always hanging over men. When Döllinger visited Rome for the first and last time, in 1857, the philosophers Günther and Frohschammer had just been put on the "Index." He

learned from the secretary of the Congregation of the "Index" that he and most others were ignorant of German, but if anyone in Germany denounced a book and sent in a translation of questionable passages, it was placed on the "Index" on the strength of that information. When Döllinger reminded him that passages torn from their connection might convey an incorrect impression, he only replied, "Sono le nostre regole," and the appeal to the hallowed routine of the Congregation settled the question. And after that fashion men in Italy decided what might be taught in Germany. It is the natural consequence of this repression of liberty that thought seeks underground channels. It is not an altogether pleasant feature in Döllinger's life that so much of his literary work was done under the cover of anonymity.

After 1854 the period of undisturbed influence and growing power ceased for Döllinger. He had long felt that the current was to be against him; he felt that Gallicanism was declining even in France and papalism was coming. He had even wished for his own sake that he might adopt the coming system and had overhauled his historical knowledge from that point of view. The influence of the Jesuits was increasing. In 1854 the dogma of the immaculate conception was declared; in 1864 Pius IX. published the "Syllabus," which attempts to reverse the course of four centuries; in 1868 the call for the Vatican Council was issued, and Cardinal Antonelli unwisely published a program of what the Council was expected to do, showing that the dogma of infallibility was to be proclaimed "by acclamation." And while his church was thus veering farther and farther away from the ideals for which in her name he had contended all his life, he had himself gone deeper and deeper into the history of that papal system which was rising to its culmination. In 1853 he published his *Hippolytus und Kallistus*, proving by masterly historical criticism that the *Philosophoumena* were by the celebrated Hippolytus, and that the dark picture of the popes Zephyrinus and Kallistus, and of the condition of the Roman churches, was by a Roman presbyter eminent enough to have claimed the papacy. In 1867 he wrote on the Council of Trent; he had come to the conclusion that it was merely a *conciliabulum*, a petty and unfree council of Italian bishops. He was collecting material on the history of the Jesuits, and the farther he went into it, the darker became his view of their influence. The *Civiltà Cattolica* spoke of the Inquisition as "a sublime spectacle of social perfection;" Pius lauded it in an allocution and canonized Arbues, the Spanish inquisitor. Döllinger wrote

a series of articles on "Rome and the Inquisition," anonymously. He wrote an article against the "Syllabus" so severe that not even a liberal daily was willing to publish it, and Reusch found the unpublished manuscript among Döllinger's papers. But perhaps the profoundest impression was made on Döllinger when he realized the extent and importance of historical forgeries in the upbuilding of the papal system. He had formerly taught that the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals had merely codified and given legal sanction to rights and privileges already in full force and operation at the time of the forgery, so that the course of history would have gone on practically in the same way without them. He now realized that they had effected a revolutionary innovation and had been deeply influential in molding subsequent events. Further, in following up the claims of papal infallibility through history, he found that Thomas Aquinas had been the first to make them. When he investigated what had led Thomas to depart from the position of the earlier scholastics, he found that he had used a catena containing forged quotations from Greek councils and Fathers. This Pseudo-Cyrillus had been written by a Dominican, played into the hands of Pope Urban IV., and by him furnished to Aquinas, and on that basis of forgeries the great scholastic had introduced into Catholic theology the two assertions that the pope is the infallible teacher of the world and the absolute ruler of the church. This discovery was quite overwhelming for Döllinger and for other Catholic scholars to whom he communicated it. The *Janus* was practically complete in his mind in 1863. When his publisher asked him to republish and complete his church history, he replied that he would not be able to leave a line of it intact.

Thus the church was driving in one direction and simultaneously his studies were pushing Döllinger in the opposite direction. Another important antagonism was created by the opposition of Italian to German theology. Döllinger represented the historical school; at Rome the neo-scholasticism of the Jesuits had control. The Germanizing of theology was considered its supreme danger. The Italians were subtle in ethics and canon law, but were untouched by modern historical methods, and so the German mind was uncanny to them, an incommensurable quantity. Yet the Italian theologians were sure that the deposit of faith was especially with them and that the Italian people were to the new covenant what Israel was to the old. From 1850 to 1870 the neo-scholasticism of the church became aggressive in Germany; it was expressed in the "Syllabus;" the pupils of the Jesuits

and of the Collegium Germanicum at Rome were pushed into teaching positions in Germany, and both philosophy and history, "the two eyes of science," were threatened with extinction. Döllinger, on the other hand, had a high and proud consciousness of the great achievements of German thought, of its immense superiority to that semi-mediæval system that was thrusting it aside, and of its mission for the world. In his opening address at the congress of Catholic theologians, to which reference has been made, and in his inaugural address as rector magnificus of the university, he delivered splendid panegyrics on the German universities and people. There was thus a conflict between the new science and the old, embodied in the German and Italian people, and sharpened by the national differences. Döllinger incarnated the one principle; one might say that Pius IX. expressed the other. The thirteenth paragraph of the "Syllabus of Errors" condemns an assertion of Döllinger: "The method and principles by which the scholastic teachers cultivated theology are not at all adapted to the needs of our age and the progress of the sciences."

The events of the Vatican Council and Döllinger's opposition through the *Janus* and the *Letters from Rome* are well known. He opposed the dogma of papal infallibility because it was a revolutionary innovation, unknown to the Fathers for twelve centuries, and begotten in forgeries. Döllinger held that the church could not create new dogmas, but merely declare and define what had always been held. If conditions demanded it, the church assembled in council could ascertain by free inquiry what had always and everywhere been held by the church as the revealed and deposited Christian faith, and then formulate that as a dogma. That faith was constant, and in uttering it the church was infallible. But to assert that God always made one Italian infallible was not a completion of the old position of the church, but a reversal of it, just as revolutionary as a change from a democracy to absolutism.

Döllinger's career as a university teacher practically ended with his excommunication. He now had leisure for literary work. But his passion for knowledge, his unwillingness to call a thing finished while there was any dark region unexplored or any possible source unconsulted, led him on from question to question, and he would probably have merely increased his notes endlessly and fruitlessly, if he had not been compelled to production by two circumstances. The king appointed him president of the Royal Academy, and Döllinger introduced the practice of opening the semi-annual sessions by a historical address.

which was always a model of ripe and broad historical knowledge and showed him growing to the very end. The other circumstance was the collaboration of Reusch. When Reusch finished his history of the "Index" in 1885, he offered Döllinger his help in getting out his unfinished material. Reusch was a rapid and efficient worker, and he pushed Döllinger as he had never been pushed before. From 1887 to 1890 they published the *Autobiography of Bellarmine*, the *Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten*, and the *Geschichte der gnostisch-manichäischen Sekten*.

During the larger part of his life Döllinger was a zealous Catholic, a defender of ideal Catholicism, and a vigorous opponent of Protestantism. Then he saw evil forces gaining control of his church. At the same time the facts of history unsealed his eyes. By living in history he repeated in his personal life the experiences that carried Europe from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century. His attitude toward the papacy and toward Protestantism changed. But his ideal of the church remained the same. When he no longer saw the union of Christendom realized in the Roman Catholic church, he sought it in more spiritual ways, as his addresses on "The Reunion of the Christian Churches" testify.

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THE RELIGION OF THE ROMANS.

THE appearance of Wissowa's long-expected book¹ marks a distinct epoch in the study of Roman religion. The increasing interest in this field has manifested itself of late years in a number of publications, dealing with different aspects of the subject, *e. g.*, De'Marchi's *Il Culto Privato di Roma Antica*, Fowler's *Roman Festivals*, Samter's *Familienfeste*; but until the completion of this book by Wissowa we have had no treatment of the whole subject sufficiently comprehensive to include the results of that modern research work of which Wissowa himself has been so great a part. With its skilful handling of ancient and modern literature, its command of epigraphical and monumental sources, and its abundance of suggestion, the work stands as one of the most brilliant contributions of contemporary German scholarship; and even if American readers will sometimes shy at the length of the

¹ *Religion und Kultur der Römer*. Von GEORG WISSOWA. München: Beck, 1902. xii + 534 pages. M. 8.

periods and the weight of the vocabulary, they will not on that account be slow to recognize the very unusual merit of the exposition.

In the introduction (pp. 1-14) Wissowa takes up the sources of our information, afterwards giving a sketch of the work done in the subject by modern scholars. Then, in what constitutes the first part of the treatment (pp. 15-90), we have a survey of the historical development; after this, in the second part (pp. 91-317), an account of the gods, indigenous and foreign; and in the third part (pp. 318-475), the forms of worship.

In the historical sketch the salient characteristics of the different periods and the turning-points in the development of religious beliefs, are brought out with singular perspicuity. In the earliest period we find that the religious conceptions were in a marked degree simple, reflecting little else than the interests of a community engaged in agriculture and the breeding of cattle on the one hand, and in warfare on the other. It is noticeable that there are no traces of a direct worship of the forces and phenomena of nature, there being no cult of the sun or moon, of the sea or of the forest. Neither do we find any deified personifications of ethical ideas. The large number of abstractions, such as Virtue, Honor, Safety, and so forth, which found a place in later periods of religious development in Rome, and which are so often referred to as essentially characteristic of Roman religion, were in this first stage wholly lacking. The divinities of the early Romans were eminently practical, exerting their powers in all those things with which an agricultural community had to do: the local *milieu* in which its members moved, and the different activities which claimed their attention. The provinces of the various gods were clearly defined. It was Jupiter who sent rain and sunshine, each in its own time, promoting the productiveness of the fields and especially of the vineyards; he too by thunder and lightning gave signs of approval and disapproval, and so guided the deliberations of the people met in assembly. In the case of other gods the tendency to specialization is still more noticeable. In the house Janus presided over the door, Vesta over the hearth. The Lares watched over the fields, Faunus over the forest, Pales over pasture land. Fons was the divinity of springs, Volturnus of running streams. Saturn had to do with sowing, Ceres with growth, Flora with blossom, Pomona with fruit, Consus and Ops with harvest. The year's cycle had its representation in Anna Perenna. At birth as at death specific deities were active: Mater Matuta and Carmenta, Larenta, Carna, and Veiovis. The importance of war in the life of the

community, still young enough to be forced to fight for its existence, is made plain by the fact that we have a double worship of the war-god in the cults of Mars and Quirinus. The festivals held in honor of Mars show us that a campaign was as regular each year as sowing and harvesting. Yet Mars was not worshiped only as the god who led the Roman armies to victory; as the devastator of the fields he was petitioned to remain far from Roman territory. Throughout the whole of this period there was no plastic or painted representation of any of the gods. Neither were there temples, in the later sense of the word; open altars for the most part sufficed. Only Vesta's sanctuary was covered with a roof.

The building of the Capitoline temple marks the beginning of the second period, which in Wissowa's division lasts till the time of the second Punic war. The old triad, Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, has lost its pre-eminence, and in its place is the new combination of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, probably of Greek origin, but coming to Rome by way of Etruria. To them was built a temple on the Capitol. Ancient tradition is unanimous in assigning this foundation to the dynasty of the Tarquins, and it seems likely that several other important innovations are to be attributed to the same kings, namely the building of the sanctuary of Diana on the Aventine and the organization of the festival of the Latin league, the acquisition of the Sibylline books and the institution of a *collegium* to take charge of them, the first building of the circus, and the introduction of the Roman games and of the triumphal ceremonial. To which particular reign each one of these institutions belongs cannot be accurately determined, but that they are all to be placed in about the same period seems fairly certain from both external and internal evidence. Approximately contemporaneous also was the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on Mount Alba, the sanctuary of all Latium, which was, for religious purposes at any rate, united under the leadership of Rome. The form of religion for the period as a whole was determined by the fact that the state's dominion had now grown far beyond its original boundaries, and with this extended sway there was a corresponding increase in the number of the gods. One cause of the increase was the custom of accepting the divinities of conquered peoples, their worship being carried on under Roman direction in their original districts, or where there was an influx of that particular people, in Rome itself. There was, too, recruiting from within, brought about by a more complex life, and not infrequently taking the form of closer specialization, different aspects of the same god being now

worshipped as separate divinities *e. g.*, Jupiter Feretrius and Jupiter Stator, Juno Moneta and Juno Lucina, and many others. We find, too, deified personifications of special qualities, *e. g.*, Fides. For the direct importation of Greek gods the bringing of the Sibylline books to Rome paved the way. Of these the first was Apollo, although no temple was built to him till 433 B. C. In 493 we have a temple to Ceres, Liber and Libera, who were, under Latin names, the Greek divinities Demeter, Dionysus, and Kore; in 495, one to Mercury, the Greek Hermes. The latter was the god of traders, and the introduction of his worship in Rome is significant of commercial relations with the Greek cities of southern Italy. With the founding of the temple we find the organization of a *collegium mercatorum*. The building of the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera is to be related in a similar manner to the import of grain from Sicily to Rome, but this sanctuary has still further importance as a center of plebeian political activity, the archives of the plebeian ædiles being there. The Roman designations of these gods are typical; in the case of Mercury we have a Latin name drawn from the function of the god; while the Greek triade Demeter, Dionysus, and Kore has been identified with old Roman divinities. The cult of Poseidon, identified with Neptune, was also introduced at some uncertain date within this same period. Then after a long interval we have in 293 the establishment of the cult of Asclepius of Epidauros, the provenience of this god, it will be noted, being now beyond the bounds of southern Italy; in 249 the institution of the *Ara Ditis*; in 238 the *ludi Florales*. From the beginning of this period, as has already been implied, there were temples and in them statues of gods, made, it need hardly be added, with close adherence to Greek models.

In the third period (from the Hannibalic war to the end of the republic) the Hellenization of Roman religion became still more marked, consisting, however, not so much in the introduction of new Greek divinities as in the adoption of the *græcus ritus* even in old Roman cults. The festival of Saturn, for example, underwent a complete transformation, the reorganization following Greek lines. An important passage in Livy (XXII, 10, 9) tells of a *lectisternium* held in 217 B. C. in honor of Jupiter and Juno, Neptune and Minerva, Mars and Venus, Apollo and Diana, Vulcan and Vesta, Mercury and Ceres. Here we have the recognition of a new order of twelve great gods, *di consentes*, ranged side by side without reference to their origin or antiquity, and the old distinction between *di indigetes* and *di noven-*

sides has passed away. A further innovation is seen in the act that Greek cults were no longer kept outside the *pomoerium*. In 215 temples of Mars and of Venus Erycina were dedicated on the Capitoline hill. There were, moreover, other alien influences at work. In 204, in accordance with an oracle of the Sibylline books, the cult of Cybele was introduced into Rome from Pessinus in Galatia, her temple (*aedes Matris Deum Magnae Idaeae*) being erected some years later on the Palatine hill, in the very center of the old Roman city—a foundation of great importance as marking the first official recognition of those orgiastic cults of the Orient which from this time on were so large a factor in Roman religious history. With the direct importation of Greek and other forms of worship and the remodeling of indigenous ceremonial in conformity with foreign rituals the Hellenizing tendencies of certain branches of Roman literature co-operated in bringing about the decay of the old religion. The extent of the decadence can hardly be exaggerated. The priesthoods became disorganized, or, where they were kept up, served political purposes only. The great mass of the people were wholly in the dark as to the significance of the old ceremonies, even where the old ceremonies were still in practice. The cultured class, under the influence of the study of Greek philosophy, which was the fashion of the day, were skeptical or indifferent. Nothing can be more significant than the fact that Varro, whose purpose in his *Antiquitates Divinae* was to save the old beliefs from the oblivion into which they had fallen, could find no more suitable classification of the gods than that into *di certi*—that is, those about whom something definite was still known—and *di incerti*, about whom nothing positive could be asserted.

The fourth period is that of the empire, and at the very outset we have to deal with the reforms of Augustus, who attempted to revivify the moribund religious institutions of the republic, not, it is to be noted, going back to the earliest forms, but adhering to the later *græcus ritus*. He reorganized priesthoods, restored or rebuilt temples, and revived many ceremonial observances that had long since passed into desuetude. His work, however, was not simply one of restoration. Changes, too, were introduced. One noticeable feature of the Roman religion of his day is the prominence given to the worship of Apollo. To him was built a temple on the Palatine; it was he who was in the foreground in the celebration of the *ludi sæculares*. Epoch-marking also is the building of the temple of Julius Cæsar in the forum, and the initiation of the cult of Augustus's *genius*, placed in sculptured or

painted representation between the *Lares compitales*, for here we see the beginning of the worship of the emperors. In the centuries that followed this deification of the emperors, past and present, and the prevalence of oriental cults formed the two most distinctive features of popular worship. The latter—*sacra peregrina*, as they were called, in contrast to the religious forms of indigenous or Greek provenience—constituted one of the chief difficulties in the work of conversion carried on by the early Christians.

Of the treatment of individual gods and cults, to which the greater part of the book is devoted, it is impossible to speak in detail, but a few points may be touched upon. We find, for example, that in the section on Mars the author reiterates the opinion, previously expressed in his treatise *De Feriis Anni Romani*, that this god was never anything but a war-god to the Romans. He insists that all the details of the cult indicate the military sphere only: his symbols are the spears (*hastae Martis*) kept in the Regia, and the shields (*ancilia*) that were said to have fallen from heaven; it was these that the leader of the Roman army shook before setting out on a campaign, and with them the *Salii*, priests of Mars, equipped themselves on the recurrence of their rites twice each year; the month of March was sacred to him because it was then that the year's campaign began, just as the ceremonies in his honor in October marked the end of the fighting season. Yet these and similar arguments hardly establish the thesis that the original conception of Mars was as a war-god only. It seems more likely that he was in the first place, as Mannhardt and others have held, a god of vegetation, and that as such he was in the forefront of the gods of an agricultural people. His assignment to the military sphere came later as a result of that specializing tendency in Roman religion of which mention has already been made. His original place in Roman theology seems to be indicated by certain ceremonies that show signs of great antiquity. It was he that was appealed to in the old chant of the Arval brethren, and at the Ambarvalia and similar festivals it was to him that the sacrifice was offered. Wissowa's explanation that he was on these occasions petitioned, as the god who devastated fields, to keep far away from Roman territory, is not in any way convincing. The same may be said of his argument that the festivals of March and October marked the beginning and the end of the annual campaign. The connection of these months with agricultural processes is much more probable.

Exception, too, may be taken to the treatment of the Lares, in which

special emphasis is laid upon the local designations of the different classes of Lares. We never find, he argues, Lares of persons, but only of places. This is true; but these different classes of Lares are comparatively late, and they are not a safe guide in attempting to reach the original signification of the cult.

Further, on the question of human sacrifice, Wissowa's views will hardly be accepted *in toto*. According to him human sacrifice was not practiced prior to the introduction of Greek rites. As a protest against the tendency, noticeable in so many writers, of explaining all doubtful symbols as significant of an original human sacrifice, this opinion has encouraging aspects, but it cannot be seriously claimed that Wissowa has made out his case, and his theory is certainly *a priori* improbable.

But that there should be in so comprehensive a work much that is open to question goes without saying, and, as we see from the preface, no one is more alive to this fact than the author himself. His aim is not to give a dogmatic treatment of the subject, for in a great majority of the topics with which he has to deal there is no place for dogmatism, but to lay the foundations for further research. It is in order to do this more surely that he refrains entirely from entering the field of comparative religion. That his purpose has been brilliantly accomplished will be the universal opinion, and it may be fairly said that the study of Roman religion has been put on a new basis.

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GORDON J. LAING.

THE TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD AND KINDRED LITERATURE.

THE so-called *Testament of Our Lord* was introduced to the readers of this JOURNAL immediately after the appearance of the Syriac edition, in 1899.¹ Not long afterward a thorough investigation into the *Testament* and its kindred literature was published by Professor F. X. Funk, of Tübingen,² and it is strange that this book escaped the notice of the learned editors of the English translation,³ to which it is now my privilege to call attention.

Under the modest title of "Introduction and Notes" is hidden the completed comparison of the *Testament* with the kindred literature;

¹ See Vol. IV, pp. 844-6, of this JOURNAL.

² See Vol. V, pp. 788-90.

³ *The Testament of Our Lord*. Translated into English from the Syriac. With Introduction and Notes by JAMES COOPER AND ARTHUR JOHN MACLEAN. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribner, 1902. xiv + 269 pages. \$3, net.

and it may be a service to not a few if we try to give a survey of this field.

I must, however, state at the outset that I cannot speak as one who has made this extended field of a most intricate literature the special object of lifelong studies; it is only with some parts of it that I am more intimately acquainted because they are written or preserved in Syriac like the *Testament*; of others I cannot even read the languages. Anew we feel the loss Christian science has suffered by the death of Paul de Lagarde, the only scholar able to survey this whole literature in its original languages, and at the same time the first, who, now fifty years ago, made part of it accessible, only to find that no one even took notice of it, since even now secular newspapers speak of the *Testament* as of an important recent discovery, although Lagarde had published it from a much better codex (in part, at least) in 1854, and translated twice into its original Greek in 1856.⁴

I am convinced that I will serve the interests of readers better by a general survey than by a minute discussion of single points. Concerning the present book it is sufficient to say that the translation and the greater part of the introduction and notes are the work of Canon Maclean, "whose long residence in the East," as the preface states, "on the staff of the archbishop of Canterbury's mission to the Assyrian Christians, his knowledge of Syriac, and his experience as the editor of the Syrian *Liturgy of Adai and Mari* combined to give him special fitness for the task." I have not made a thorough comparison of the translation with the original. Occasionally I have noticed some flaws—but whose works are free from them? Not even those of Lagarde. On some passages I think I shall be able to throw a little more light; but I will mention only a few examples.⁵

⁴I have just come across another example of the general neglect into which these studies of Lagarde have fallen. A. Harnack, who is unrivaled in his knowledge of the history and literature of the ancient church, printed in his latest book, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, a special excursus on a council of the apostles, said to have been held at Antioch, and republished its *Canones*, because, as far as he believed, they had not been reprinted since their first publication by Bickell, and states regarding a biblical quotation occurring in them that it has not been verified as yet. Yet they had been published from the very manuscript used by Bickell, by LAGARDE in his *Reliquiae juris ecclesiastici antiquissimae graece* (1856) as the third document of this important collection (pp. 18–20), and the quotation, too, is there recognized as from Ps. 16 (17): 14; and in 1864 these canons were repeated by PITRA in his *Juris ecclesiastici Graecorum historia ac monumenta*. Tomus I, pp. 89–95 (on the fourth place).

⁵On pp. 90, n. 3; 97, n. 3; 105, n. 9, a Syriac expression formed from the infinitive

But now to the *Testament* itself and its kindred literature. The *Testament*, as is stated in the preface, "is one, and not the least interesting, of a series of writings, whereof the *Didaché* or 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' is the first, and the so-called *Apostolic Constitutions* one of the last. Their aim seems to have been to provide the clergy of the early church with a manual of their duties and especially with directions for the proper fulfilment of the office of public worship." This is true; the *Testament* belongs to the handbooks for the clergy; is part of the manuals of ecclesiastical life, law, and ethics, and has, as § 3 of the introduction informs us, many parallels in "Church Orders." A full, yet compendious description of them—"the best that has yet appeared"—may be found, we are told (p. 8), in the newly published *Ministry of Grace*, by John Wordsworth. Section 5 discusses the "Theology and Characteristics of the Testament," and § 6 its "Date." The latter question is said to be made extremely difficult by its almost complete dependence on internal evidence. "We need not wonder, then, that different writers have ascribed it to different ages." Mgr. Rahmani considers that it belongs to the age of Irenæus, the end of the second century. But no other scholar follows him in it. Dr. Zahn assigns it to about 350 A. D.; Dom Morin dates it not later than that

of the Greek aorist is explained as if it came from the participle. Expressions like "I shall elect," "I shall be elected," are given in Syriac by "I do *χειροτονησαι*," "I am *χειροτονηθηναι*." (Some striking examples for "I do *καθαρισαι*," "I am *καθαριεσθηναι*" are found in the *Letters of Severus*, just published by E. W. Brooks, 50, 4; 91, 2; 138, 3, 12; 170, 9; 171, 16; 172, 4, 19; 174, 12.) At the beginning of I, 39, we must translate "if anyone becomes martyr or confessor *by being in prison*" (not: confess, *that* he was in bonds). At II, 4 (p. 124), we must certainly read *קִרְוָא* "*preserver* of our lives," instead of *קִרְוָא* rendered "*real presence* of our lives." At the end it is said, "John and Peter and Matthew wrote this Testament and sent it in copies from Jerusalem by *Dositheus* and *Silas and Magnus* and *Aquila*, whom they chose to send (them) to all dioceses." In the notes, page 240, the names are discussed, but without success. Especially on Magnus it is avowed that no probable conjecture appears to have been made. Now, when we compare "the teachings of the Apostles through Addai," as published by Lagarde in his *Rel. Syr.*, p. 45, from the same manuscript from which he gave us the first knowledge of the *Testament*, and republished by CURETON, *Documents*, pp. 35, 173, there can be no doubt that this *מַגְנָס* "Magnus" is *מַגְנָס*, mentioned there along with *Aquila* and *אַרְסֶטוֹס* or *אַרְיֶסְטוֹס*, as one of the first disciples of Paul, i. e., *Manaen* of Acts 13:1, and then also "Dositheus" may be Erastus or Aristarchus. This passage, by the way, has first been mentioned by Bickell in his *Geschichte des Kirchenrechts* (1843), Vol. I, pp. 184 ff. from a communication of Zenker "Mista (?) von Lystra und *Mennus*." Instead of "Tertullus" Zenker read "Tarbates," completely misunderstanding the passage. Such performances we must notice if we wish to judge rightly of the merits of Lagarde.

year; Bishop Wordsworth ascribes it to the school of Appollinarius, and names about 400 A. D., with which date on other grounds Harnack agrees; M. Batiffol thinks it is not earlier than the fifth century and may be later; and Dr. Funk, in general, agrees with this. The present editors decide to date it about 350, in the reign of Julian, shortly after 356.⁶

Now, it is dangerous for an outsider like me to enter into discussion with such authorities as these. But I must mention one fact, which seems to have been completely overlooked in all these discussions, owing apparently to the separate publication of the *Testament* by Rahmani, viz., that the *Testament* is handed down to us only as part of a larger work, the "Syriac Octateuch," as it was called by Lagarde. Now, though it may be difficult to come to a decision on the age of the *Testament* on the ground of the evidence afforded by the *Testament* alone, it will be easy to fix the date of this Octateuch. When we look at the contents of the Octateuch, nay, even already, when we hear its name, we are at once reminded of the eight books of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, on which this Syriac Octateuch is evidently built up. As early as 1856 a description of its contents has been published by Lagarde in his *Reliquiae Graecae*, p. xvii, and he has also shown there its connection with the Egyptian Heptateuch. Another description of it is⁷ to be found in the (old) *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts of Cambridge*, while the new *Syriac Catalogue* by Wright and Cook (1901, p. 1042) refers to an account of these books, which is to be expected from the hand of Dr. Arendzen, of Christ's College. Cooper and Maclean say in the present work, p. 13:

Both the Syriac Octateuch and the Egyptian Heptateuch are probably derived from the *Apostolic Constitutions* (=AC) and treat the matter dealt with in the *Testament* and "Egyptian Church Orders," respectively, twice over, though in different ways, in their early books giving those works, and in the later reproducing the divergent treatment of the same material in AC VIII.

⁶ No mention is made in this list of the date ascribed to the *Testament* by one of the few scholars who took notice of its first publication by Lagarde. In Vol. VIII, Nos. 20-23 of the *Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben* (Berlin, 1857), Dr. E. Boehmer gives a long notice of Lagarde's *Reliquiae* and discusses the date of the *Testament* assigning its apocalyptic prelude to the time of Valerian and Marcian, comparing it with the *Carmen apologeticum* of Commodian. Whether in reviews of Bunsen's *Christianity and Mankind* (V, VI) (= *Analecta Antenicana*, I, II), any notice of it has been taken, I cannot say. This work is so rare in our parts that I sought it in vain at the Royal Library of Stuttgart.

⁷ On account of its occurrence in the "Buchanan Bible."

But before we can approach this question we must give a survey of the pieces of this literature that existed or are supposed to have existed at one time in the various parts of the church. We follow the arrangement of Cooper and Maclean. With Wordsworth's *Ministry of Grace*, Cooper and Maclean mention

1. Church Orders of the same form with the *Testament*:

a) *Lost Church Order*, representing the usage of the early Roman church.

b) *The Canons of Hippolytus* (CH), representing perhaps the Roman Church Order of the first part of the third century.

c) *The Egyptian Church Order* (Eg. CO), being the second book of the Egyptian Heptateuch.

d) *The Ethiopic Church Order* (Eth. CO), being the second part of the Ethiopic Statutes, the first part of which statutes is the "Apostolic Church Order."

e) *The Latin Verona Fragments* published by Hauler (H), containing the Didascalia, Apostolic Church Order, and a Church Order, which forms "a connecting link" with the *Testament* and the rest, and may "with some confidence" be considered "to be a direct source of the former."

f) *The Testament of our Lord*.

g) *The Arabic Didascalia*, §§ 35-9 (Ar. D), "either the immediate source or the immediate descendant of the parallel portions in the *Testament*."

h) *The Constitutions through Hippolytus* (Const. H), usually thought to be a first draft of the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and reproducing part of the "Lost Church Order."

i) *The Apostolic Constitutions* (AC), in Book VIII, also reproducing large parts of the "Lost Church Order."

2. Other Church Orders:

a) *The Didaché* or *Teaching of the Apostles*.

b) *The Apostolic Church Order*, or *Canones ecclesiastici sanctorum apostolorum*, putting the moral and liturgical contents of the *Didaché* into the mouth of each of the twelve apostles and enumerating Peter and Cephas as different apostles, preserved in at least six languages.

3. *The Didascalia*, preserved in Syriac, partially in Latin, Arabic, and Ethiopic, forming the basis of Books I-VI of the *Apostolic Constitutions*.

4. Compilations:

a) *The Syrian Octateuch*.

b) *The Egyptian Heptateuch*, or "Sahidic Ecclesiastical Canons."

c) Hauler's *Verona Latin Fragments*.

d) *The Apostolic Constitutions*.

5. Other Illustrative Literature:

a) Serapion's *Prayerbook*.

b) *The Pilgrimage of Silvia* (so-called).

c) *The Catechetical Lectures* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem.

Omitting the last division, we count not less than sixteen, or, as the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the *Verona Latin Fragments* are entered under different sections, fourteen separate entries of Church Orders. This bewildering mass will be clearer by eliminating those which have no independent value. For instance, the Arabic *Didascalia* is certainly nothing but a translation of the Syriac *Octateuch*. An interesting manuscript of the Arabic in the university library of Breslau has been described as early as 1821 by J. A. Theiner. It is a manuscript of the New Testament, but between the epistles of Paul and the Revelation it contains the *Apostolic Canons* and this *Octateuch*. Again, the *Testament* has had, so far as we are aware, no existence independent from this Syriac *Octateuch* and ought to have been treated everywhere as part of it. Again, Book III of this *Octateuch* is identical with the "Apostolic Church Order," while Books IV–VIII correspond, not to the eighth book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* itself and the *Apostolic Canons*, as stated on p. 12, but apparently to those parallel texts of AC VIII, styled AC VIII *b*, by Funk, and mentioned by Cooper-Maclean under the *Constitutions through Hippolytus*, and considered by Brightman⁸ as a preliminary draft of the eighth book by the hand of the compiler himself, or an excerpt from such a form. But I do not know whether on the whole it is not better to see in them with Funk merely a reworking of the *Constitutions* and an extract from them. It is a slight drawback that the important publication⁹ of this scholar seems to have escaped the notice of the editors. It is clear that if the views of Professor Funk are adopted, the whole question is changed. What is considered by Achelis and his followers the oldest piece in this literature, the *Canons of Hippolytus* and the *Egyptian Church Order* takes now the last place; and it seems to me that the occurrence of these parallel texts in the Syrian *Octateuch* lends great weight to the views of Professor Funk. However, it does not fall within the limits of this paper to enter into discussion of this question; but I hope to earn the thanks of some readers by putting together some of the literature connected with the *Testament*:

⁸ *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, pp. xvii–xxiv.

⁹ *Das Testament unseres Herrn und die verwandten Schriften*. Mainz: Kirchheim, 1901. xii + 316 pages. It appeared as Parts I and II of the second volume of the *Forschungen zur christlichen Litteratur- und Dogmengeschichte*, edited by A. EHRRHARDT AND J. P. KIRSCH. Beside this, compare FUNK's article treating expressly of the eighth book of the *Constitutions*, "Zum achten Buch der apostolischen Konstitutionen und den verwandten Schriften," *Theologische Quartalschrift* (1890), pp. 223–36.

First publication (in part, from Codex 38 San Germanensis in Paris, now 62 in Zotenberg's *Catalogues*) by P. de Lagarde in his *Reliquiae iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimae syriace*, Vindob., 1856, pp. 1-19; translated into Greek in the *Reliquiae . . . graece*, pp. 80-89, and in Bunsen's *Analecta Antenicana*. See E. Boehmer, in *Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben*, Berlin (1857), Nos. 20-23.

Second publication (in full) by Rahmani (1899); see above.

Articles on Rahmani's publication by :

H. Achelis, in *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, 1899, cols. 704-6.¹⁰

P. Batiffol, in *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, Vol. II, pp. 51-7; and *Revue biblique*, Vol. IX, pp. 258-60.

A. Baumstark, "Ueberlieferung und Bezeugung der διαθηκη," in *Römische Quartalschrift* (Freiburg), Vol. XIV, Heft 1-2; "Die arabischen Texte der διαθηκη," *ibid.*, Heft 4.

U. Benigni, in *Bessarione*, Vol. VII (1900), pp. 33-41.

J. Brucker, in *Etudes publiées par les frères de la compagnie de Jésus*, Vol. 81 (1899), pp. 527-35.

P. Drews, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Vol. 74 (1901), pp. 141-70.

F. X. Funk, in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Vol. 82 (1900), pp. 161-74; *Der Katholik*, Vol. 80, pp. 1-14.

O. v. Gebhardt, in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* (1899), pp. 538 f.

A. Harnack, in *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie* (1899), pp. 878-91.

H. De Jongh, "Le testament, et les écrits apparentés. A propos d'un récent ouvrage de M. le Dr. F. X. Funk," *Revue de l'histoire ecclésiastique*, Juillet 1902.

W. H. Kent, in *Dublin Review* (1900), pp. 254-74.

P. Kohout, in *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift* (Linz), Vol. LIII (1900), pp. 200-208.

G. Morin, in *Revue Bénédictine*, Maredsous, Vol. XVII (1900), pp. 10-28.

Parisot, in *Journal Asiatique*, March, 1900.

W. Riedel, in *Theologisches Literaturblatt* (1900), cols. 193-7; 201-5.

J. Wordsworth, in *Revue internationale de théologie* (Bern), Vol. VIII (1900), pp. 452-72.

Th. Zahn, in *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*, Vol. XI (1900), pp. 438-50.

A new text of the apocalyptic part of the *Testament* has been published from an independent Syriac version by P. Arendzen in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, Vol. II, pp. 401-16, and by F. Nau in the *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. XV (1900), pp. 233-56; also published separately, Paris: Leroux, 28 pages.

A very convenient survey will be found in A. Ehrhardt, *Die altchristliche Literatur und ihre Erforschung, von 1884-1900* (Freiburg, 1900; erster

¹⁰ *Theologische Rundschau* (1902), 199 ff.

Supplementband zu "Strassburger theologische Studien," § 87): "die ältesten Kirchenordnungen," pp. 532-9.

On the Didascalia see the literature in Ehrhardt, pp. 523-8 and add:

F. X. Funk, "La date de la didascalie des apôtres," *Revue de l'histoire ecclésiastique* (Louvain), Vol. II, pp. 798-809.

C. Holzhey, "Dionysius von Alexandria und die *Didascalia apostolorum*," *Theologisch-praktische Monatsschrift*, Vol. XI, pp. 515-23.

The latest editions and translations are:

F. Nau, *Ancienne littérature canonique Syriacque*. Fascicule I: "La didascalie, c'est-à-dire l'enseignement catholique des douze apôtres et des saints disciples de notre Sauveur." Traduite du Syriac pour la première fois. (Extrait du *Canoniste contemporain*, février 1901 à mai 1902). Paris, 1902; 172 pages.

And last, not least:

Horae Semiticae, No. I: "The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac."

Edited from a Mesopotamian manuscript with various readings and collations of other MSS. by Margaret Dunlop Gibson. London: C. J. Clay and Sons, 1903. x + 236 pages.

Horae Semiticae, No. II: "The *Diadascalia apostolorum* in English," translated from the Syriac. *Ibid.*, xviii + 113 pages.

The latest addition is:

Funk, "Ein Fragment zu den apostolischen Konstitutionen," *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 1903, pp. 195-202. On the fragment printed by Cotelier, Grabe (*Spicil.*, 1700, I, 54), Hilgenfeld (*Nov. Test. extra can.*, IV), Pitra (1,301), Jacoby, 1902.

EB. NESTLE.

MAULBRONN, GERMANY.

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY.¹

THIS is practically a rewritten book. Its two volumes are each nearly equal in dimensions to the entire original work. And the rewriting was well worth while. Our age certainly demands above all things, of those who undertake to interpret Scripture, that they shall give to biblical writings their historic setting. Exegesis must be historical or nothing. None appreciate this demand of the times better than Pfeiderer. Few have done more than he, especially in the study of Paul, to illuminate the text by the depiction of the historic conditions and contemporary thought. Hence his *Urchristenthum* was

¹ *Das Urchristenthum; seine Schriften und Lehren, in geschichtlichem Zusammenhang*, beschrieben von OTTO PFLEIDERER. Zweite, neubearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage. Berlin: Keimer, 1902. Band I, viii + 696 pages; Band II, v + 714 pages. M. 24.

already in 1887 a great and stimulating work, in spite of a sometimes extreme radicalism. It is proportionately better in 1902. There is something of the genius of Baur in the comprehensiveness of the conception and treatment of the subject. And the spirit of Baur is continually felt, sometimes for the worse, more often for the better.

The first division of Vol. I naturally deals with the apostle Paul, his personality, training, conversion, and call, his letters,* and his theology. Here we cannot too highly commend the chapter on Paul's Græco-Jewish training. Paul was, indeed, no direct disciple of the Stoics, whose great seat of learning was his native town. But long since, Lightfoot, in his admirable dissertation on *Seneca and St. Paul* showed that, consciously or unconsciously, the controlling ideas of Paul's life were ideas which he shared with the great Stoic moralists of his day. In fact, they had already penetrated Judaism by two openings, the philosophy of Philo and the Pharisean ethics and religion of the book of Wisdom. Of the influence of the latter there is indisputable proof in the letters of Paul. He himself may have been unconscious of the preparation he was undergoing to interpret the religious ideas of the Semitic to the Aryan world; he may have had as little sympathy with the broadly receptive spirit of his teacher Gamaliel toward the writings of the Greeks, as he had with Gamaliel's tolerant attitude toward the Christians. But Paul's great conceptions of the antithesis of flesh and spirit, Messiah as a *θεὸς σωτὴρ*, the inworking of God in man, both to will and to do, his mysticism, his pleroma doctrine of the "heavenly," "spiritual" man who is "the head of every man," in whom all distinctions of bond and free, Jew and gentile, male and female, disappear, cannot be fully appreciated without the realization that Paul *knew* the thought and religious aspiration of the Greek world, even if in his youthful days he may have viewed it with hostility, just as he *knew* the beliefs and hopes of the Christians whom he persecuted, and afterward found them the key to his own soul's problems.

Personally the present writer cannot but feel that Pfeiderer fails (pp. 60-73) to do justice to the value of Romans, chap. 7, as a historical source. Paul's conversion was not due to misgivings as to his logic. He could not have ascribed it so directly to God if it had been. The crisis was primarily moral, not intellectual. The collapse of his Pharisaism was due to his sense of the hopelessness of the struggle against

*Only 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians, and the pastoral epistles being treated as mainly spurious.

the "law of sin in his members," so long as he was bound to that "body of death," the flesh. The experience described in the great autobiographic chapter is *made* general; but its note is too keen and anguished not to come originally from Paul's most vital experience; and that experience is one whose closest affinities are with Stoicism, not Pharisaism, though Paul may very well have failed to realize this.

A more distinctive feature, however, of Pfeiderer's present treatment of the narrative is his frank adoption of the theory that the Jerusalem conference of Acts, chap. 15, Gal. 2: 1-10, belongs chronologically *before* Acts, chaps. 13, 14. His chief reason is Paul's description of the scene of his earlier missionary activity in Gal. 1: 2, as "the regions of Syria and Cilicia," with no mention of the important provinces evangelized on the "first missionary journey." It might be added that the "Jerusalem decrees" are also addressed to the Christians of "Antioch, *Syria and Cilicia*," the compiler of Acts manifestly stretching his sources when in 16: 4 he makes Paul and Silas deliver them also to the Galatian churches.

The theory is a somewhat radical departure, and those who defend the invariable accuracy of Luke will be justified in strongly urging the manifest intention of Acts to group together the missionary enterprise of chaps. 13, 14, winding up, as it does, with the report of the missionaries of how God "had opened the door of faith to the gentiles," with the effort of the reactionary party in Jerusalem to impose the yoke of the law. Moreover, Paul's statement of his motive for steadfast resistance in Jerusalem "that the truth of the gospel might abide with you" (Gal. 2: 5), certainly is more significant on the view of Zahn. Still, if the first missionary journey be placed, with Pfeiderer, between the Jerusalem conference and Peter's coming to Antioch, there would seem to be no insuperable objection. This early dating of the Jerusalem council implies, however, too great and radical changes in accepted conceptions of events to be easily admitted. It must for the present be regarded as *sub lite*.

On the other hand, Pfeiderer's representation (p. 86) of Peter's conduct at Antioch can fairly be declared behind the times. Baur's view of Peter as a direct antagonist of Paul, a leader of the Judaizers, is definitively superseded. Peter cannot be supposed at Antioch to have been deliberately false to the pledge so frankly and cordially given at Jerusalem. And Barnabas! Would Barnabas, after having won his case along with Paul at the decisive session in Jerusalem, be now carried away with a "dissimulation" which had no greater backing than

a few "delegates from James"? Of course, the question raised at Antioch must have been a new question. Gentile freedom from the Law was a settled issue. But the context is perfectly explicit regarding the real point in debate. The vacillation of Peter "and the rest of the Jews" was not caused by misgivings as to gentile laxity, but as to their own. They were in doubt as to *their* duty in the matter of "eating with the gentiles." They did, from Paul's point of view, by withdrawing, "compel the gentiles to Judaize" to the extent of purging the tables of "pollutions." But they were not consciously false to their pledge. They were making no propaganda of legalism. They might even have replied to Paul that *he*, by insisting that they should eat, "asking no questions for conscience' sake" as to the legal purity of the food, was really the violator of the agreement, and was "compelling the Jews to heathenize." Thus the issue between Peter and Paul was not one of principle, but only of the application of the Jerusalem agreement. At first Peter gave it Paul's interpretation. Jews among gentiles were to be "as without the law." When the delegation came "from James" he took the view of James embodied in the four decrees, which from their contents are clearly drawn (of course subsequent to Peter's visit to Antioch) to meet precisely this issue.³ The conduct of Barnabas is inexplicable on any other understanding of the case. In view of the fundamental importance of a right conception of the issue it is unfortunate that Pfeiderer's representation should seem to imply that Peter and even Barnabas were now actually renewing the demand of the legalists, although these had just met, at their own hands, a complete and signal overthrow.

We may pass more rapidly over Pfeiderer's treatment of the historical books. His well-known very late dating of Matthew is less in opposition to accepted views than might appear. For Pfeiderer himself admits the circulation of an earlier form of the gospel, and his opponents on their part tend more and more to admit the lateness of some of its editorial features. That it was unknown in its present form to Luke is a contention in which Pfeiderer will have constantly increasing support.

We find ourselves fully in accord with Pfeiderer's increasingly positive demand (p. 400) for some measure of return to the *Urevangelium* theory by way of supplement to the overworked "two-document" idea.

³ Even the warning against "fornication" has the same bearing as those against "polluted" foods. *Clem. Hom.* explains that "fornication and adultery are unlike all other sins, in that they defile not only those guilty, but also *those who eat or associate with them.*"

The relation of Luke to Mark, especially in the story of the passion, cannot be explained—Johannes Weiss is the latest to reiterate the fact—by anything short of a fundamental common source, call we it the *Ur-Markus*, or Lucan Special Source. But Pfeiderer makes too little of his own principles, and too much of the inventiveness of our third evangelist, when he conceives him, *e. g.*, as developing the temptation story, Luke 4: 1-13, out of the mere allusion of Mark 1: 12, 13, or the Baptist's preaching, Luke 3: 10-14, from his own inner consciousness.

His historical criticism is open to more serious objection. To say that in the transactions of the upper room there is no prospect of death and that the Last Supper itself reflects only *Siegesgewissheit* (!) in the confident expectation of an earthly kingdom (p. 388) is to make the whole story of Gethsemane incomprehensible. Even if we suppose Luke 22: 35-8 to reflect the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, without any coloration due to the evangelist's desire to find a fulfilment of the Scripture, "He was reckoned with the transgressors," in the arrest itself, instead of subsequent time in general, as the context and the parallel in John 15: 16-16: 4, would indicate, still Jesus' unwillingness to perish by the dagger of a midnight assassin in the pay of Annas will not prove that he still cherished at this time the expectation of temporal success. In reality the saying has far more to do with the contrasted conditions under which the Twelve are henceforth to do their service in preaching the kingdom, than with Jesus' own present danger.

We may say in general that, in attributing the spiritualization of Jewish messianism to Jesus' followers rather than to himself, even denying to Jesus personally any application to himself of the title "Son of man," Pfeiderer is carrying a justifiable principle of criticism to an unjustifiable extreme. Doubtless the tragedy of Calvary had incomparable effect in transforming the crude messianism of the disciples into a religious faith. It is well to emphasize this neglected fact. But without the previous vain efforts of Jesus, on which all the gospels so persistently dwell, to effect this transformation, the reaction from despair to faith would never have come. If Jesus had never applied to himself the prophecy, if not the title, of the "Son of man," or pointed to a victory even over the power of Sheol itself, the tragedy of Calvary would have been the final obliteration of his life-work. To attribute to Jesus' followers rather than to himself the transfiguration of mere Jewish messianism into germinant Christianity, accomplished as it was in the flaming crucible of suffering and disaster, but impossible without

a heroic faith in God and a sublime insight of spirituality to be learned from him alone, is to seek the source of day in mere paltry satellites. The beginning of the faith was that Jesus' disciples "remembered" that he had thus taught them.

The second volume includes a third division on Hellenism and Gnosticism, a fourth on "Ecclesiastical Literature, of Doctrine and Exhortation," and a fifth on "Proto-Christian Apologetics." The classification is significant. Before passing from the Palestinian type of thought represented by the synoptic writers and in some degree by Paul, we are given an insight—and a very illuminating and helpful one, into the conditions of religious thought and practice in the Hellenic world which Christianity is about to invade, undergoing itself change and assimilative development in the process.

Here, however, we must again dissent. The keen analysis of criticism can detect real differences between the Paulinism of the period before and after the Cæsarean imprisonment, though perhaps not greater than between the eschatology of 1 Corinthians and Philippians; but it is helpless in face of the task of accounting for the so-called deutero-Paulinism of Ephesians-Colossians, without another Paul. That Paul in the interim between Romans and Philemon should have passed to new and larger conceptions of the Christ whom he was resolved to know spiritually only and not after the flesh, and that with the receding of the legalistic question from the chief focus of battle in favor of new controversies against tendencies of Greek and Hellenistic rather than pharisaic type, and should develop a logos doctrine in all but the name, and a *pleroma* doctrine complete, is less incredible than any theory hitherto advanced for the non-Pauline origin and influence of Colossians and Ephesians. The fact is, it is just this personality of Paul which explains the transition of Christianity from a spiritualized type of Jewish messianism to a world-religion satisfactory both to the instincts of individual religion now expressing themselves in the "mysteries" and cults of the thiasi, and at the same time to the speculative logic of philosophy as exploited by Gnostics and Theosophists. If we had not the record of just this unique personality, we should have to postulate it. The admittedly genuine Pauline epistles go far beyond the point of development of synoptic tradition, taken as a whole. Chronologically earlier, they contain a far more universalized, Hellenized type of Christianity. In the same way the christological epistles go beyond their time. The genius of Paul explains them better than mere imitation by a later and more developed age.

It is all the more needless for Pfeiderer to give up as interpolated the passage, Phil. 2: 6, 7, which in the former edition (pp. 150, 218) he rightly interpreted as a contrast with Gen., chap. 9, and to carry down the discussion of Colossians and Ephesians until after his admirable review of Hellenism and Gnosticism, that in this very review he corroborates so much of Friedländer's argument for the pre-Christian origin of some New Testament types of Gnosticism, *e. g.*, the Cainites (p. 53). His exhibition of the Persian and Babylonian elements in current syncretistic theosophy and ritual is in line with Gunkel's and Cumont's researches, and has recently been supplemented by Grill.⁴ To place these alongside of the relics of early Gnosticism in apocryphal acts and gospels, which exhibit the popular form of these speculative systems, is a good arrangement for interpretative purposes. The writings in question may be late relics of the type of thought they represent; but some knowledge of this type of thought should precede interpretation of the writings of the Pauline school, and still more the Johannine.

It is surely a sign of promise for ultimate agreement in questions of New Testament criticism, that critics of all schools are now so closely in agreement, not only with one another, but with the positive and unequivocal statement of second-century tradition on the question of the date of Revelation. Doubtless Pfeiderer is right in declaring this book, despite the immense progress of the last two decades of criticism and interpretation, "still the most obscure of the whole New Testament." Nevertheless, to have reached a practically unanimous result of so vital a kind, involving the complete abandonment of one of the strongholds of Tübingen, may well encourage us. Moreover, the agreement as to the composite character of the work, involving the incorporation of older Jewish or Jewish-Christian apocalypse, is scarcely less complete. Perhaps there may never be agreement as to details of documentary analysis; but with recognition of Ephesus as the *milieu*, 95 A. D. as the approximate date, and adapted Jewish or Jewish-Christian apocalypse as the material, we have the essential factors of the problem. Its solution becomes now simply a question of advancing knowledge of conditions in proconsular Asia at this date, and of the class of literature to which the book belongs.

It may seem strange, in view of the almost invariable practice of apocalyptic writers, that Pfeiderer does not raise the question of pseu-

⁴ *Die persische Mysterienreligion im römischen Reich und das Christenthum.* Tübingen: Mohr, 1903.

donymity in the case of Revelation, but takes instead the easy course of dismissing the "prophet John" as a character of no importance. Certainly he is right in declaring (p. 420) that "the whole Johannine problem in recent times among us has been switched onto a siding without issue, by the manner in which the presbyter John with his fellows has been padded out to the dimensions of a historical factor." Pfeleiderer seeks to account for the authoritative attitude of the "John" of Revelation toward the Seven Churches of Asia by the prophetic spirit which inspired him, but Philadelphia, Sardis, Thyatira, and the rest will also have had their prophets. What makes "John" so important a character that a prophecy coming through him should have predominant authority? For "John to the Seven Churches of Asia" is not the same as "the Spirit to the Churches." Recognize, as all must who have given critical scrutiny to the facts, that there is no evidence whatsoever for any presbyter John *in Asia*, and the only alternatives for Revelation are complete authenticity, or pseudonymity like that of practically all other writings of the class. Here is the dividing line for the question so fundamental for the Ephesian canon called "Johannine," whether the second-century tradition of the son of Zebedee in Asia rests upon the early acceptance of Revelation, or whether it has genuine historical foundation. Revelation, if not genuine, could scarcely have been so heartily and gladly accepted by men like Papias and Justin, appearing as it did almost within the recollection of these men, if not within the very lifetime of the apostle himself, had John lived in Asia "until the times of Trajan." The churches of Asia, if John were still living among them, must have known whether the work was authentic or not. Its pseudonymity, then, implies rejection of the tradition of John in Asia. Conversely the welcome given to this authoritative ally by the champions of chiliasm in the Asiatic church, while it does not prove any knowledge on their part of the situation so vaguely described as being "in the isle Patmos for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus," affords at least half the explanation for the later formed tradition. The other half is afforded by the traditional association of Polycarp with the apostle, which played so great a part in the later quartodeciman controversy, but by no means requires any other scene than Palestine for the intercourse in question.

It can hardly fail to be felt as something of an omission in a history of "Early Christianity, its Literature and Doctrine in Their Historical Connection," that nothing whatever should be said on the question

of John in Asia, and nothing of the relation of the Asiatic school to the Palestinian; but of this we shall have more to say in discussion of our author's method in general.

Rejecting the apostolic authorship of Revelation, Pfeiderer feels, of course, no objection to the authenticity of the gospel and epistles of John on the score of the extreme difference in style, vocabulary, doctrinal standpoint, and all other marks of authorship between the former and the latter. Needless to say, his analysis of the doctrinal and historical contents of what we may designate the *logos* literature is not thereby made more favorable to the claims of tradition. On the contrary, the relation of the fourth gospel to synoptic tradition,⁵ is one of complete dependence, practically all the new matter, whether of discourse or narrative, being historically valueless, and the changes always in the direction of doctrinal prepossession. The relation of Johannine doctrine to Pauline and deutero-Pauline thought is properly shown to be preponderant and that to Alexandrianism both less direct and less considerable. The *logos* doctrine of "John" borrows little more than its terminology from the latter. Like the *logos* doctrine of Ignatius, to which it gives a larger, freer, and more philosophic expression, it rests upon the Pauline epistles. It is to be understood only in antithesis to the docetic Gnosticism which it opposes, and represents against these speculations an "interpretation" of the life and teachings of Jesus in the light of Paulinism, as truly as Papias represents the "interpretations" of the concrete, traditional, Palestinian school.

It is no small merit of Pfeiderer to have placed the fourth gospel and Johannine epistles in their proper historical relation between the deutero-Pauline writings and the second-century apologists, showing how the Pauline conceptions were capable of interpreting the gospel in a way to supersede the speculative mysticism and theosophy of nascent Gnosticism by a deeper, truer metaphysic, while men of the type of Luke, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Papias were doing their utmost to preserve and defend the historic tradition as it had been delivered by the eyewitnesses, elders, and ministers of the Word. Each branch of the Asiatic church, the Pauline and the elder apostolic, did its own share in the great period of conflict and transition which covers the first half of the second century. The common foe was docetic Gnosti-

⁵Represented in this author's hands, as Pfeiderer thinks, by Mark, Luke, and some gospel kindred to Matthew and perhaps to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, but itself not our Matthew.

cism, and the Johannine writings will be understood when they receive their place as the application of Paulinism to this great crisis. The mere question who wrote the books is of slight importance compared with some such historical understanding of them. Doubtless our estimate of the degree of accuracy with which the fourth gospel reproduces the teachings of Jesus and the events of his career will be radically transformed by a dating in 125-40 A. D., just as they are already profoundly affected in circles which cling to the traditional authorship, by the forced acknowledgment of its highly subjective character and distortion of historical perspective. This can hardly appear otherwise than a loss, at least for the time being, and in the eyes of the general reader. But the criticism, however radical, which can vindicate itself by giving to these greatest writings of all literature their true historical setting, enabling us to read them in the new light of their author's real purpose and environment, will deserve only the heartiest thanks of church as well as world of scholarship. To this end the work of Pfeiderer offers an undeniable and valued contribution.

The group of writings which is next discussed includes 1 Peter, Jude, 2 Peter, the apocalypse of Peter, the Shepherd of Hermas, epistle of James, epistle of Barnabas and Didaché, under the head *Gemein-christliche* ("katholische") *Erbauungs-Schriften*; and the Clementine Writings⁶ in a group by themselves. One can see little reason, aside from the mere superscription, for classifying 1 Peter with the pseudo-Petrine writings, or in fact with the rest of this group. It is true that Pfeiderer regards it as pseudonymous and dates it under Trajan; also that it is not doctrinal in character, but practically hortatory. But it is far more illuminative to discuss it in connection with the development of the Paulinism which it reflects, in the Asiatic churches which it addresses, than to throw it into so promiscuous a lot as is here assembled. What requires to be done is carefully to analyze out the non-Pauline elements of the doctrine of this unquestionably early and important document and thus gain from it some idea of the progress of Christian thought among the Pauline churches in Asia. Its Paulinism is undeniable. Its non-Pauline element is for some reason called Petrine. The present reviewer is content to be as conservative as Moffatt in thinking that the real reason may well be that Peter himself had something to do with the writing of it. Whether this be the case or not, the early use of the writing, its genuineness and simplicity

⁶ 1 and 2 Clement, Homilies, and Recognitions.

of character, should preserve it from such mere cursory handling as Pfeiderer's. Even Jude and 2 Peter deserve to be treated more from the point of view of the history of early Christian thought than that of mere introduction. We have a superfluity of "Introductions" which discuss for us, sometimes polemically from the apologetic or the anti-traditional side, less often in the truly critical spirit, the mere questions of date and authorship which Pfeiderer threshes over again. But surely the work of the historian goes beyond this. Let the best and most rational conclusion available be adopted on these disputed points, and then proceed. We wish to know what relation the writing bears to the course of events and the development of Christian thought.

The same criticism applies to the whole series of writings thrown together in such miscellaneous fashion between the Johannine writings and apologists. They have no significance where they stand, and might as well be anywhere else, save that in Pfeiderer's opinion they date about this time.

The writings of the apologists, from the preaching of Peter to Tertullian and the epistle to Diognetus, form a more consistent group, and are perhaps fairly included in the history here treated. At least it is well for the public, and perhaps for some scholars, to realize how indefinable is the line which separates the canonical from post-canonical writings. Moreover, the theology of the apologists affords certainly a more general and fairer view of Christian thought in its earliest maturity than that of the anti-Gnostic controversialists; otherwise one would wonder why Tertullian should be included and Irenæus excluded. But Christianity vindicating itself before the world forms a fitting scene with which to close the drama, and we are not reluctant with our applause as the curtain falls.

But why, oh why, in a book of over 1,400 octavo pages are we left absolutely without the means of recovering the passage we would fain refer to again? A meager list of passages quoted from biblical and other authors, and a still more meager table of contents prefacing the second volume, constitute the entire apparatus of this kind. Index there is none whatever! Can it be that this is not intended as a work of reference? The style is indeed easy and flowing; footnotes, instead of exhibiting an immense thesaurus of learned material, are conspicuous by their absence; one moves on through the book as if listening to a course of public lectures; and for this method of exposition of his subject Professor Pfeiderer's natural endowments admirably qualify him. He has a lucidity of style, a vividness in presentation,

an aptness in seizing and setting forth the point of real interest, which make the book, in spite of its size, thoroughly readable. Moreover, Pfeiderer is too genuine a scholar to treat his subject superficially. The absence of references and footnotes is no indication of inadequate preparation. The work is a truly great one, a work which for its readable qualities might well repay translation.

The general criticism which we have to make is one which goes deeper and concerns the method itself of the writer. The title promises a consideration of proto-Christian literature and doctrine *in geschichtlichem Zusammenhang*. The distinctive feature of this title, classifying the book as something more than an introduction to New Testament literature, is the promise to exhibit for the reader the historical connection of the writings. It is something which calls aloud in our day to be done, and we may reasonably look to one of the great disciples of Baur to do it. What Baur attempted for the disordered results of mere negative criticism in his day, classifying the literary material which a dawning criticism had robbed of its traditional status, on the basis of a critical survey of the historical conditions of its origin, deserves in our day to be attempted anew. But Pfeiderer cannot be said to have adequately fulfilled his promise, if he has even attempted it in this sense. The book is little more than another "introduction," in somewhat more flowing style, with somewhat fuller paraphrastic synopsis of the contents, and inclusion of some of the post-canonical writings. The reader must to a very large extent furnish his own *geschichtlichen Zusammenhang*.

Nor is this a mere fault of omission, nor excusable from want of material. It is a fault of method, of the general conception of the subject. Thus the lack of appreciation of the importance of geographical relations is significant. In the reviewer's judgment one of the best features of the book is the appreciation as never before, not even in the earlier editions of the work itself, of the importance for our understanding of Paul of some knowledge of the Mithra-mysteries. Grill's work, already referred to, sums up briefly (p. 50) such a mass of coincidences, in both doctrine and practice, as make accidental coincidence simply insupposable. Above all the rest, Paul's circular to the churches of the Lycus valley, known as Ephesians, becomes for the first time fully intelligible when read in the light of the doctrine of the mysteries, especially those of Mithra. But Harnack has shown that western Asia Minor, and the Hellenic lands in general, remained almost completely free from the influence of this Persian religion

which spread over almost all the rest of the Roman Empire. How, then, account for the presence of ideas in Ephesians, which can scarcely have grown up save in contact with this religion? There is one great exception to the geographic distribution above spoken of. Cilicia was the earliest seat of Mithra-worship in all the Græco-Roman world. Tarsus was its headquarters, as it was of the Stoicism which has also left its indelible imprint upon the myths of Mithra. Be the facts what they may regarding the early interrelation of these rival religions of the individual soul and personal immortality through communion with a Deliverer God, which competed for the adhesion of the Græco-Roman world, geographical relations, as well as time relations, fall to be considered.

Still more significant of this lack is the grouping of his material by our author, and his method of treatment. In general we have a group of writings paraphrased in a concise and really admirable synopsis, then an analysis of the "theology of" the writer or writers in question. This works fairly well at the beginning, for, in spite of the earlier "theology" of the material which they contain, our synoptic writers are themselves dominated by a Pauline and post-Pauline theology. And it is well to be reminded of the fact. We can therefore regard as in some sense "historical" an order which even brings in "The Preaching of Jesus and Belief of the Primitive Church" at the very end of Vol. I. In some sense this is at least chronological. We have already expressed our approval of the unchronological discussion of Hellenism and Gnosticism before the writings of the deutero-Pauline and Johannine school. But why should we have under the general head of "Johannine Writings" first a paraphrase of Revelation, the gospel and epistles of John, then a discussion of their date and authorship, followed by an analysis of "The Johannine Theology," as if all five writings represented a common type of thought, or stages of development in the same school? What, pray, has the theology of the last four to do with the first, save the bare accident that in its present form Revelation happens to have been written in Ephesus, and purports to be the work of "John," though not as Pfeiderer thinks, the same John as he to whom the other writings are ascribed? Classify the logos literature with the Ignatian letters, or connect it with Ephesians and Hebrews; or with Justin, if you will, but by what right of "historical connection," save mere coincidence of name, can it be grouped with Revelation to form the basis of an alleged "Johannine theology"?

The fact is, a work purporting to give us the "historical connection

of early Christian literature" should cut loose entirely from the methods and the groupings of the New Testament introductions. Instead of a repetition of the debates on dates and authorship of which we are weary, there should be at least the attempt to depict the development of the great early-Christian schools of thought, the Palestinian, Antiochian, Ephesian, Alexandrian, Roman. Instead of a nondescript group labeled "Johannine" for merely traditional reasons, after the tradition has been abandoned, we should have an outline of Paulinism and ultra-Pauline Gnostic docetism in Asia. Writings bearing upon the history of Christianity in Ephesus and Asia should be grouped according to their relation to the history. We should have Romans, chap. 16, utilized, to begin with. Ephesians, Colossians, the pastoral epistles, Acts, chaps. 19, 20, the Leucian Acts,⁷ Ignatius and Polycarp, and the fourth gospel and epistles of John. We should learn something of Cerinthus, of the Docetic controversy and the application of the logos doctrine of Paul to meet it. We should have Revelation brought in in its "historical" relation in connection with the chiliastic controversy. We should be shown Ignatius, Polycarp, and Papias on the one side, and the Docetists who "perverted the sayings of the Lord to their own lusts, denying that there is either resurrection or judgment," on the other. We should trace the transfer of Palestinian tradition after the destruction of the Jerusalem church in the war of Bar Cochbar, to Ephesus. We should understand the sacramentarian position of the fourth gospel with relation to the quartodeciman controversy, on the one side, and Gnostic deniers of a Christ whose flesh is the food of immortality, or who came by blood and not by water only, on the other. Baldensperger's attempt to define one of the apologetic interests of the fourth evangelist would receive more consideration. There would be less clinging to Baur's holy-coat fetish, as if the unity of the fourth gospel precluded all attempts to investigate the history of its material.

Perhaps we demand too much of science in its present stage. But at least let us keep this ideal: Something more than a mere chronological dating of books and summary of their contents, something more even than a general background of the thought and belief of the

⁷ One result of this bringing together of writings which have real historical connection will be some surprising confirmations of criticism. What could be more unlooked for than confirmation of SCHULTZ's theory of Rom., chap. 16, as originally addressed to Ephesus, discovered in the Gnostic *Acts of John* (ca. 160 A. D.), which certainly reflect ancient Ephesian traditions? Yet the very center of the opening scene of the drama in the *Acts of John* is the house of *Andronicus*. Cf. Rom. 16:7.

times. Let us have the New Testament books—nay, all the writings of primitive Christianity—in the place and conditions and circumstances of their origin, in their relation to the historical progress of ecclesiastical thought and life in the various branches of the church. For what Pfleiderer has given let us be grateful, and let us look for more to come.

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RECENT LITERATURE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

WHAT Huck endeavored to do for students of the Greek New Testament has been done in France for Bible readers in general by Morel and Chastand.¹ One is attracted to this latest arrangement of the gospel text by the first word on the cover—"concordance." The authors do not attempt another "harmony;" but believing that a careful comparison of the first three gospels constitutes "the best and most accessible commentary on the text," they give, under 136 appropriate headings, a translation of the synoptic text, with only such passages from John as run parallel with the earlier narratives. The book is polychrome. Mark's column is uncolored, his text being regarded as the oldest; Matthew's is pink, and Luke's green. Material from the fourth gospel has a yellow ground. For convenience and attractiveness—not unimportant qualities of any book—this concordance is admirable. Yet it is something more than a simple comparative arrangement of the text; it contains a considerable number of interpretative notes. One class of these refers to current Protestant and Catholic translations of the gospels into French, of which there are no less than thirteen. Another class, in larger type, gives carefully selected passages of Scripture that bear on the understanding of the text, *e. g.*, the original of the quotations, in some instances according to the LXX as well as according to the Hebrew. There are some critical notes on important variants and on other textual phenomena, but these are subordinated to the practical aim of the book. As to the chronological arrangement of the text it may be noted that the rejection in Nazareth is placed by the side of Mark 6:1-6, and not, as even the seventh edition of Broadus² gives it, in connection with Matt. 4:13. The Johannean

¹ *Concordance des évangiles synoptiques.* Par ERNEST MOREL ET GÉDÉON CHASTAND. Lausanne: Bridel, 1902. 140 pages.

² *A Harmony of the Gospels in the Revised Version.* By JOHN A. BROADUS. Revised by ARCHIBALD THOMAS ROBERTSON. New York: Armstrong & Son, 1903. xvii + 290 pages.

cleansing of the temple is given with the synoptic, as though another version of the same event.

A new edition of Blass's *Grammar of New Testament Greek*³ shows improvement in numerous points. The book has been reset and more attractively than at first. The new edition has nineteen pages more than the first, and the new page is slightly larger than the old. The spelling of numerous German words has been changed, and greater uniformity has thus been secured. Where the first edition wrote *korrekt* the second has *korrekt*. Instead of the letter *c* in words where the consonant is soft, we have *s*, thus *sitat* for *citat*, and *soziativen* for *sociativen*, and when the letter is hard, it seems to be represented always by *k*. The additional material seems to be distributed pretty evenly through the book. Footnotes have been expanded, and new ones added. References to discoveries and investigations made since 1896 are met on every hand, which indicates plainly that the new edition marks a real advance upon the old.

One of the early Christian Fathers, in reply to the question what new thing Jesus had brought to the world, said the new that he brought was himself. With this agrees the thought of a Jewish rabbi of the present day, who in attempting to account for the origin of Christianity, finds the supreme cause in the personality of Jesus.⁴ He had an "unusual self-consciousness," a "rare measure of humility and modesty," and unlike the other messiahs, he gave himself to the poor and wretched. The loyalty and admiration of his disciples were so great that they survived the Master's death. Faith in his return united them, and thus within Judaism the new sect arose. The doctrines of the gospel have nothing essentially new. Even the Lord's Prayer can be produced word for word from Jewish sources. The separation of this sect from Judaism was due chiefly to two facts—the influence of Paul, who rejected both law and tradition, and the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. This event was also the destruction of the ritual of sacrifice, but the Pauline doctrine of the sacrificial death of Jesus became for the new sect a satisfactory substitute. Dr. Vogelstein concedes that Christianity has rendered one great service to the world, viz., that of teaching men faith in one God.

³ *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*. Von FRIEDRICH BLASS. Zweite, verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. xii + 348 pages.

⁴ *Die Anfänge des Talmuds und die Entstehung des Christenthums*. Vortrag von HERMANN VOGELSTEIN. Königsberg i. Pr.: Ostdeutsche Buchhandlung, 1902. 28 pages.

Among the striking evidences of the interest of the world in the life of Jesus is the fact that during the past fifteen years there has been a minute investigation of all early literature to discover every word that the Master may have spoken, which was not gathered into the canonical gospels. The results of such investigation, together with the Fayoom and Behnesa Fragments, constitute the most valuable part of *The Extra-Canonical Life of Christ*.⁵ This is not a new edition of the author's book on the same subject published in 1887, but rather a new work. The first two parts give the apocryphal material concerning the early life, the death and resurrection of Jesus; Part III contains "Miscellaneous Records," as the Abgar and Pilate documents; and Part IV, the sayings of Jesus. Parts I and IV have each a bibliographical introduction. The sayings of Jesus, 127 in number, are accompanied with references to the respective sources.

One of the fundamental questions in the life of Jesus, one which has scarcely begun to be critically studied among us, is the question of his origin. This has recently been discussed in a significant pamphlet by Soltau.⁶ Accepting as a sure result of the historical study of the gospels that Matthew and Luke had, as their chief sources, Mark and a collection of the words of Jesus, his aim is to separate the genuine elements of the old tradition regarding the birth of Jesus from the legendary additions. Mark and Paul, to some extent also Acts and John, go back to earlier sources regarding the childhood of Jesus than the early chapters of Matthew and Luke. Mark appears to exclude the supernatural origin of Jesus (6:1; 3:21). Acts speaks of Nazareth as his birthplace (3:6; 4:10), and appears to exclude a conception by the Holy Spirit in that it represents the man Jesus as *anointed* with the spirit (10:37). Paul represents Jesus as descended from David in the male line (*e. g.*, Rom. 1:3; 9:5), and the statement in Gal. 4:4 that Jesus was made of a woman simply affirms his humanity. The earlier part of John, and even some passages in Matthew and Luke themselves (*e. g.*, the genealogical lists and Matt. 13:55, 56), agree with this view of Mark and Paul. Further, an old Syriac text of Matt. 1:16 reads: "Joseph to whom the Virgin Mary was betrothed begat Jesus Christ." On the basis of this evidence Soltau gives as the true evangelic tradition that "Jesus of Nazareth, legitimate son of Joseph and Mary, sprang from Galilee, a descendant from David according

⁵ *The Extra-Canonical Life of Christ*. By BERNHARD PICK. New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1903. 312 pages.

⁶ *Die Geburtsgeschichte Jesu Christi*. Von WILHELM SOLTAU. Leipzig: Weicher, 1902. 43 pages.

to the common belief, was chosen by the wondrous higher Power to be the Messiah of his people and Savior of the whole world."

The starting-point of the Bethlehem story is found in Mic. 5:1, cited in Matt. 2:6. The story of the census is regarded as an attempt to explain the journey to Bethlehem. This narrative is thought to be highly improbable in itself. The most original part of Soltau's discussion of the legendary elements in Matthew and Luke is that which traces to a heathen origin the song of the angels, the visit of the magi, and the virgin birth. The first of these elements is an adaptation to Jesus of language which had been employed regarding Augustus. Inscriptions from Asia Minor (published in 1899) call Augustus the "savior," speak of his birthday as "the beginning of the gospel" concerning him, and describe his influence as producing "peace on earth" and concord among men.

Matthew's story of the magi is thought to have had its origin in the visit of Tiridates with his magi to Nero. The amazement of the civilized world caused by this tour became intelligible to the evangelist, late in the first century, only as he transferred the worship of the orientals from Nero to the Messiah. Even the detail of Matthew's narrative that the magi returned home "another way" is found in the account of the visit of Tiridates.

The starting-point of the teaching of a virgin birth is found in the dualistic conception of Christ in Paul and John. It is a translation of their philosophical Christology into sensuous terms intelligible to the common people. This translation was influenced by the prevalent and ancient view of pagan nations that their great men were descended from the gods.

Soltau mentions as against a Jewish origin of the doctrine of virgin birth the fact that the word for "Spirit" in Hebrew is feminine, and that in the Gospel of the Hebrews the Spirit is called the *mother* of Jesus. Finally, he opposes the teaching on religious grounds, holding that it is irreconcilable with Jesus' doctrine of God.

This pamphlet is doubtless far from being the final statement on the subject discussed. It does not cover all the ground, and some of its arguments are more curious than conclusive; but nevertheless it is a forcible presentation of a view which is pretty certain to receive increasing attention in America in coming years.

Of critical activity in the Roman Catholic church the first volume of Jacquier's introduction to the New Testament⁷ presents interesting

⁷ *Histoire des livres du Nouveau Testament*. Tome I. Par E. JACQUIER. Paris: Lecoffre, 1903. 488 pages.

evidence. The author makes larger use of English works than is made by German scholars. His conclusions, though conservative, are defended in temperate language. The first volume, after discussing the chronology and language of the New Testament, treats of Paul and his writings, together with his epistle to the Hebrews, which is ascribed to a disciple of Paul.

What a canon of Westminster says to the English clergy about the gospels has an interest aside from that which it can claim in view simply of the ability of the speaker. It indicates how the methods and results of higher criticism are regarded in that church. Some of the results of Canon Robinson's⁸ study are these: The second gospel was composed about 65 by Mark, and was one of the two chief literary sources of Matthew and Luke. On the authorship and date of the first gospel no definite opinion is expressed, though the author seems inclined to favor a date of composition late in the first century. The third gospel, the work of Luke, is put between 65 and a date soon after 70.

The second documentary source of Matthew and Luke—not to be called *logia*—was a succinct narrative like that of Mark, and is most satisfactorily preserved in Luke. The fourth gospel is ascribed to the apostle John, and is said to reveal to us "what the Christ grew to be in the mind of one who had leaned on his bosom in youth." Very great contrast between the synoptic narrative and John is freely admitted, and the author does not claim to be able to explain all the difficulties in the way of the traditional view. In an extended note on the titles of Christ the name "Son of God" is said to be "primarily messianic," and so the equivalent of "Son of man," but the author also speaks of the "height of its meaning," which is "sharply contrasted" with that of the more common title. Evidence of this higher meaning is found in four passages—Mark 8:38; 13:32; 14:6; and 15:39. What Dr. Robinson understands by this higher meaning is indicated in the paragraph regarding the centurion at the cross. He says that "through gentile lips we learn something more of the meaning of a title which might have remained for Jews a messianic phrase and nothing more. Not office, but nature—a divine relation, and not merely a divine commission—lies at the root of the title." Thus he seems to put into it the old theological significance, and, what passes comprehension, he does this on the testimony of the Roman centurion!

⁸ *The Study of the Gospels*. By J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902. 161 pages.

One other point is most significant in its bearing on the doctrinal attitude of the book. The author has been speaking of Matthew's modification of his sources, and this leads to the question of the historicity of Matthew. Here, says he, "we must be careful at once to draw a distinction. It is one thing gratefully to accept the *authorized* interpretation of our Lord's meaning and *intention*⁹ in sayings which had been preserved in an obscure or a paradoxical form. It is another thing to explore with the eye of the historical investigator, who seeks to trace the earliest sources, and to apply the ordinary tests of literary criticism." The "historian," he says, will prefer Mark, Luke, and the non-Markan document to Matthew. And yet Matthew is said to give an authorized interpretation of our Lord's meaning and intention. Is there, then, a truth to be discovered by historical investigation, and another truth, not historically established, which is to be "gratefully accepted" as an "authorized interpretation"? Shall we say this, or shall we say quite frankly that the results of historical investigation are not always in accord with ecclesiastical tradition, and that the tradition in such cases is to be rejected?

Unexpected confirmation of the prevailing views regarding the origin of the gospels is furnished by a German pamphlet of the past year.¹⁰ That this confirmation is not intentional will appear from a glance at the position taken by the author.

He assumes the priority of John. This gospel gives a "complete and very clear survey of the life of Jesus," but it also leaves much unsaid. Luke set out to fill the gaps in John's narrative. The *πράγματα πεπληροφορημένα* of Luke 1:1 are "facts brought together for the sake of completeness," *i. e.*, to complete John. Matthew wrote with Luke before him, and filled up his gaps. Mark is regarded as inferior to Matthew in order and conscientiousness. The approximate dates given for the composition of the gospels are as follows: John, soon after 44; Luke, 53-57; Matthew, 60; and Mark, soon after 64. From the standpoint of New Testament criticism this hypothesis is to be classed with that view of the early church which regarded Matthew as the original gospel, to which the others furnished additions and corrections.

This hypothesis gives the pre-eminence among the gospels to the last. So also does Dr. E. A. Abbott in the published introduction to

⁹ The italics are the reviewer's, not the author's.

¹⁰ *Neue Untersuchungen über den Quellenwert der vier Evangelien.* Von W. KÜPPERS. Gross Lichterfelde-Berlin: Runge, 1902. 123 pages.

a still unpublished book," though he does not ascribe the gospel to the apostle John, nor even to an eyewitness. The unknown author "might well feel grievously perplexed" by the "obscurities, omissions, and variations" of Mark and the later evangelists. His object was to write a gospel "that should lift his readers out of the critical atmosphere into the region of adoring love." Again the nucleus of the discourses in John is said to be closer to the deeper doctrines of Christ than most synoptic tradition. Thus in various respects the value of the fourth gospel is emphasized by Dr. Abbott in comparison with that of the synoptists. The unknown author, though probably knowing that in some matters of detail his narrative was not true, was a real prophet, while the unknown author of Second Peter was a forger. The discussion of this point constitutes another chapter in *Contrast*, which the author appropriately calls "the skeleton of a book."

A linguistic argument bearing on the authorship of the fourth gospel is presented by Professor Schlatter.¹² His position is that the author assimilated his Greek to his Aramaic, and thus revealed a Palestinian home. To show this he makes an elaborate comparison of the language of the gospel with that of the Mechilta and Sifore. The evidence, taken as a whole, furnishes indeed an argument that the author was a Jew, but it is a question how far it implies that his home was in Palestine.

The recent literature on the prologue of John is extensive, but the conclusions reached are still most diverse. A late German writer seeks to maintain its Jewish character and its organic relation to the gospel.¹³ It is held to treat exclusively of the historical Jesus Christ. When it says that the Logos became flesh (1:14), it means that the pre-historic person Jesus Christ appeared (*erstand*) as a man. The prologue falls into three sections, of which the first (vss. 1-5) treats of redemption as a revelation of God, the second (vss. 6-13) of redemption as a historical appearance, and the third (vss. 14-18) of redemption as a personal experience. The ideas of the prologue are thought to have been based on utterances of Jesus, and to have been confirmed by the author's experience. These ideas do not partake of metaphysical

¹¹ *Contrast; or, A Prophet and a Forger*. By EDWIN A. ABBOTT. London: Black, 1903. xxxii+41 pages.

¹² *Die Sprache und Heimat des vierten Evangelisten*. Von A. SCHLATTER. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902. 180 pages.

¹³ *Der Prolog des Johannes Evangeliums*. Von K. MEYER. Leipzig: Deichert, 1902. 98 pages.

speculation, but are judgments based on historical events and personal experiences. These statements may serve to indicate the author's position—a position which, I think, it is wholly impossible to fortify by appeal to the teaching of Jesus, even as that is given in the fourth gospel.

The composition of the first chapter of Luke has again been made the subject of discussion.¹⁴ This chapter is held to be a compilation of two documents, one narrating the birth of the Baptist and the other the birth of Jesus. The motive of the compiler was to show that from the first the inferiority of the Baptist to Jesus had been recognized. This position of course implies that when the compilation was made there was a considerable body of people who exalted the Baptist at least to an equality with Jesus—a view which must be regarded as without historical foundation.

The long search for Ænon and for Bethany beyond Jordan has been renewed by a German pastor.¹⁵ In the location of Ænon he starts from Eusebius and Jerome, who give its distance from Scythopolis. Eusebius says it lay *πρὸς νότον*, and Mommert thinks this expression may denote southeast as well as due south. Then on the basis of Silvia Aquitania, Placentinus of the sixth century, and the mosaic of Madeba, also of the sixth century, all of which point to a location east of the Jordan, he searched, in August, 1902, in the Wady Jabis for a site answering to John's topographical note and to the testimony of these early witnesses. This he found at Ain Dschirm, where in the hottest season he saw five springs whose united waters formed a large brook. Ruins on a hill near by he identified with Salim on the ground that Eusebius spoke of a Salim in Moab. This Ain Dschirm was in the territory of Antipas, where consequently John might readily have been seized. It is about eight Roman miles from Scythopolis and two from the Jordan, which accords with the language of Eusebius and Placentinus. Unfortunately Mommert does not touch the point that according to John 3 : 26, compared with 1 : 28, Ænon was on the *west* side of Jordan.

The identification of Bethany appears to me more successful. In September, 1902, Mommert discovered certain ruins on the east side of

¹⁴ *A Johannine Document in the First Chapter of St. Luke's Gospel.* By J. R. WILKINSON. London: Luzac & Co., 1902. 40 pages.

¹⁵ *Ænon und Bethania, die Taufstätten des Täufers, nebst einer Abhandlung über Salem die Königstadt des Melchisedek.* Von CARL MOMMERT. Leipzig: Haberland, 1903. vi+97 pages.

Jordan, nearly opposite Jericho, which he identified with the small square church which Theodosius says was built by Emperor Anastasius on the spot where Jesus was baptized. The description of these ruins permits us to think the identification a probable one. The ruins are about five Roman miles from the Dead Sea, which agrees with the Burdigaleusian Itinerary of 333 A. D. The walls rest on arches, now nearly buried in the earth, which harmonizes with the statement of Placentinus that the church stood in the water. Opposite the ruins, on the west side of Jordan, on high ground, stands the convent of John the Baptist, built on old foundations which Mommert identifies with the convent spoken of in the sixth century. Finally, it is held probable that there was once a ford here, for it is at the mouth of the Wady el-Kelt, and almost all the fords of the Jordan, says Mommert, were at the mouths of its tributaries. The Jordan is not fordable at this place now, but may well have been when its waters were divided between the three beds, two of which are dry at present. Such is Mommert's highly interesting and valuable argument. C. R. Conder, in Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible*, says that the traditional site of Bethany east of Jericho is "clearly much too far south," but he gives no reason for this statement. Mommert's argument is not weakened by the fact that there are no signs of an ancient village on the east of Jordan near the ruins of the church. One cannot infer from John 1:28 that Bethany was the name of a *village*, as Smith does in his *Physical Geography of Palestine*, p. 542, note. The evangelist does not say that John baptized in *the* Bethany *which* was beyond Jordan, thus contrasting it with a Bethany on the west side of the river. He simply says it took place in Bethany beyond Jordan (ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ἐγένετο πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, not τῇ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου). We may, therefore, with Mommert take Bethany as the name of the ford, and equivalent to Bethabara, "the place of crossing."

For the fourth time in twenty-two years Meyer's commentary on John has been revised by Weiss.¹⁶ The changes in this new edition are changes of form rather than of interpretation. In order to give in a more connected manner the thought of the discourses of the gospel, the glossatorial method of comment is to some extent abandoned. It will surely be regarded as an improvement that the new edition drops the references to classical Greek which had been thought to throw light on the language of the evangelist. These are now

¹⁶ *Das Johannes-Evangelium*. Von der 6. Auflage neu bearbeitet von BERNHARD WEISS. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1902. 543 pages.

regarded as without weight and misleading. The critical text of Tregelles and that of Westcott-Hort is introduced with other authorities. One could wish that the new edition had given more space to recent studies in the gospel, even if it had been necessary on that account to drop the discussion of earlier works, and one could also wish that it had contained more extensive reference to the English and American literature.

A new edition of the Meyer commentary on the prison epistles of Paul has been prepared by Haupt, five years after his first edition.¹⁷ The form of the book remains unchanged, but the author says that on many points he has changed his opinion, and that the changes have been due largely to the writings of B. Weiss and Zahn. The arrangement of the text is not so convenient as that of the new volume on John, for the chapter and verse are well-nigh crowded off the page, and are not specially distinguished by the type.

A new commentary on Paul's epistles, from Galatians to Philemon, based on the English text, has been prepared by G. W. Clark.¹⁸ Its interpretation of Paul's teachings has not been greatly influenced by modern criticism.

The new edition of Meyer's Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles, the second prepared by Weiss, shows little important alteration.¹⁹ It takes account of the work of Lilley and Krukenberg, and in the introduction the author has referred to some recent publications, chiefly, if not exclusively, German. Obviously, therefore, it does not give the reader a survey of all the important recent investigation of these epistles.

Was Paul acquainted with the Lord's Prayer, and did he use it himself, especially its fifth petition? The fact that Paul has no perfectly clear reference to the Lord's Prayer, or to any particular part of it, together with the fact that he lays great stress on the duty of giving thanks, makes it natural to ask this question, and suggests the importance of investigating it. Bindemann undertakes this investigation in a compact pamphlet of a hundred pages.²⁰ In his study of the fifth

¹⁷ *Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe.* Von der 7., bezw. 6., Auflage an neu bearbeitet von ERICH HAUPT. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. 103+198+247+180 pages.

¹⁸ *Clark's People's Commentary: Galatians-Philemon.* By GEO. W. CLARK. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1903. liv+496 pages.

¹⁹ *Die Briefe Pauli an Timotheus und Titus.* Von der 5. Auflage an neu bearbeitet von BERNHARD WEISS. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1902. 379 pages.

²⁰ *Das Gebet um tägliche Vergebung der Sünden,* in der Heilsverkündigung Jesu und in den Briefen des Apostels Paulus. Von GERHARD BINDEMANN. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1902. 105 pages.

petition of the Lord's Prayer he emphasizes the messianic character of the prayer as a whole. The addition to the fifth petition he does not regard as a vow, nor as an independent condition of the divine forgiveness, but rather as a necessary element of faith in the unlimited grace of God. The discussion of Paul's relation to the Lord's Prayer enters fully into the apostle's doctrine of sin in the Christian life, from which he concludes that Paul not only knew the fifth petition, but also prayed it in the sense in which Jesus taught his disciples to use it. It is regarded as a matter of chance that the writings of Paul contain no explicit reference to the Lord's Prayer. A probable allusion to its last petition is seen in 2 Tim. 4:18, and an allusion to its opening words in the "Abba Father" of Rom. 8:15 and Gal. 4:6.

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RECENT LITERATURE IN SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

THE chief activity of theologians today is devoted to the problem of getting our bearings in the modern world. It is generally felt that until we see more clearly the significance of the discoveries of modern psychology and biology, and until we know better the meaning of the history of doctrine, the time for confident efforts at systematization will not arrive. Consequently systematic productions come today, as a rule, only from those who have not felt the disturbing influence of modern scientific procedure. Dr. Weidner's treatise¹ represents this position. The book is both syllabus and compendium. It contains in outline a doctrine of God, biblically, ecclesiastically, and constructively set forth. It is founded on a combination of reason and revelation, much after the fashion of Thomas Aquinas. Some things are only supernaturally known, but are yet corroborated by reason; other things are supernaturally and rationally known; still others are rationally known, but are to be accepted because supernaturally authenticated; so reason proves the truth of revelation and revelation the truth of reason. The author puts his trust in the Aristotelian-Thomistic arguments for the existence of God—though it does not quite appear that he does so because the church decreed that these arguments have scientific validity. He has no difficulty in finding ecclesiastical trinitarianism and Christology in the sacred Scriptures. In no single point does one detect that the theology set forth in this volume has been in

¹*Theologia, or the Doctrine of God*. Outline Notes based on Luthardt. By REVERE FRANKLIN WEIDNER. Chicago: Revell, 1902. 143 pages. \$0.75.

any way affected on its constructive side by the scientific spirit or method. Historical criticism, modern psychology, the evolutionary hypothesis—these practically do not exist for the author. In the midst of our modern world of doubt, confusion, and spiritual distress, our author, like Aristotle's God, seems to abide in sunny and imperturbable repose. However, in one single sentence he does exhibit some possibility of agnosticism: "God reveals himself, not according to what he is for himself, but to what he is for us." To be sure, there are both agnostic and—worse still—Ritschlian implications in this sentence, which naturally the author would in principle scorn. But did not even Homer sometimes nod? Nevertheless the book displays great theological information, and while its point of view, method, and system are all alike entirely antiquated, it may be commended to all those who are seeking to be domesticated for ecclesiastical ends in that type of theological lore which was and is current in pre-scientific ecclesiastical circles. And as, without doubt, it is for such that the good doctor has written this volume, we trust that he, too, may find satisfaction in the fruits of his labor.

In marked contrast to Weidner's spirit is a little volume of popular lectures* delivered before a vacation-assembly of Lutheran pastors. Wobbermin's *Theologie und Metaphysik*, which appeared in 1901, attracted wide attention because the author, while sympathizing with the Ritschlian exaltation of practical interests in theology, yet believes in the necessity for a metaphysical background for theology. In the present volume we have an admirably clear and discriminating account of the present status of cosmological, biological, psychological, and speculative science with reference to the dicta of Christian faith concerning God. An extended bibliography, with a brief characterization of the works mentioned, enables the reader to verify all statements. Wobbermin finds that while scientists generally are decidedly agnostic in their attitude toward the questions of theology, yet as an explanation of the data which they present, atheism or pantheism would be less satisfactory than theism. There are at least plausible grounds for a favorable consideration of the Christian conception of God to be found in the teleological character of biological development and in the idealistic hypotheses of current philosophy. Modern scientific thought thus takes a position of friendly neutrality rather than of positive hostility. It would be diffi-

* *Der christliche Gottesglaube in seinem Verhältnis zur gegenwärtigen Philosophie.* Von GEORG WOBBERMIN. Berlin: Duncker, 1902. iv + 127 pages. M. 2.

cult to find a more scholarly popular exposition of present-day scientific thinking in its bearing upon the problem of theology. Almost every author quoted is a living leader of thought. A translation would be of great service to English and American pastors in helping to distinguish the real science of today from the warped pseudo-science of over-zealous "reconcilers" among us.

It is one thing to give a frank account of the attitude of modern science toward theology; it is quite another thing to attempt to reconstruct theology by canons furnished by natural science. The former task is calculated to promote a real understanding of problems. The latter ideal ignores the primary fact of experience, that scientific hypotheses and religious beliefs do not spring from the same interests of the human spirit. To identify them is to do violence to both. Trümpelmann's work³ will thus be unfavorably criticised by both scientists and theologians, while Wobbermin's essay will win approval from both. Trümpelmann has written a popular compend of modern theology upon the basis of the Apostles' Creed, of which it is an explanation, article by article. It is somewhat rhetorical, but it is clear, interesting, and will prove of value to pastors and laymen who wish to go over the ground of the traditional Christian system afresh under the many lights which modern thought is casting upon it. The book has a distinct coloring, with which one needs to be acquainted. This is imparted not by any desire to antagonize the "modern view of the world," but by a cordial, perhaps somewhat too cordial, acceptance of that view, which is identified, in one word, with evolution (p. 84). His theology is intended, consequently, to be in thorough harmony with this view. It is needless to remark that as much error may flow from a heedless application of this position to the particulars of the system as from the opposite position that all science must agree with scripture. Neither side in this discussion is likely to profit much if one begins by affirming the priority and infallibility of either.

An even more cordial adoption of the evolutionary hypothesis as the supreme principle of theology is found in Dr. Funk's book.⁴ The argument may be summarized in the author's own words: "As man has stepped from the mineral kingdom to the vegetable kingdom, and

³ *Die moderne Weltanschauung und das apostolische Glaubensbekenntniss.* (Leibniz-Schleiermacher.) Von AUGUST TRÜMPELMANN. Berlin: Schwetschke, 1901. 396 pages. M. 7.

⁴ *The Next Step in Evolution.* By I. K. FUNK. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1902. 106 pages. \$0.50, net.

from the vegetable kingdom to the animal kingdom, and from the animal kingdom to the kingdom of natural man, so now he steps from the kingdom of natural man to the kingdom of spiritual man, every portion of this step a natural process subject to critical analysis if that analysis goes deep enough, wide enough, far enough. It is a continuation of evolution without a break, without a leap, lifting the race by a new birth through Christ, the type-life, up to the plane of spiritual being and knowing" (pp. 16, 17). The book consists in an incoherent rhetorical repetition of this thesis. Its loose terminology and rhapsodic style place it beyond the reach of either scientific or theological criticism. Its value thus consists in its optimistic valuation of Christian experience as the supreme reality in the universe.

Turning now from the modern doctrine of evolution, we have a book which undertakes the admittedly somewhat thankless task of defending the traditional doctrine of the Logos.⁵ Instead of agreeing with the prevalent idea that the Logos-concept was a product of the extra-Christian world of thought and had a passing significance only for the Christian *Weltanschauung* of its time, the writer starts from the presupposition that "the statement of the Holy Scriptures concerning the Logos is revealed truth" (Preface, p. iii), and that therefore the Logos-idea is a necessary one, and has a value for all time. In trying to find this assumed value and so to save the idea from being "a worthless piece of old furniture," he bolsters it up with philosophic arguments. To it is assigned the function of being the only means of successfully combating the mechanical, legalistic conception of the world advocated by science. And in addition to this element of finality introduced by it, another service it renders is to save men from subjectivism in the endeavor to know God and the world. But whenever his philosophic standpoint is at all different from the old neo-Platonic dualism the author has put into the Logos-concept a content entirely different from that which it historically had.

The question as to the function and significance of religious faith is of never-ending interest. In a volume of six essays Dr. Waddell⁶ expounds the nature of faith in relation to the gospel, to theology, to Protestantism, to rationalism, to idealism, and to progress. He regards faith as a superrational, but not irrational, function of spirit,

⁵ *Der Logos. Ein Versuch erneuter Würdigung einer alten Wahrheit.* Von THEODOR SIMON. Leipzig: Deichert, 1902. iv + 132 pages. M. 2.25.

⁶ *Essays on Faith.* By P. HATELY WADDELL. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1903. 246 pages. 3s. 6d.

by which the totality of a reality is grasped in intuitive synthesis. Faith is thus prophetic of conclusions which reason must verify by the slower process of induction. The author deplors the theological analysis which deprives faith of this vital, intuitive quality. Our business is not so much to supplant faith by argument as to reinforce it by scientific investigation. The book is stimulating and suggestive; but the critical reader feels the lack of historical and psychological foundations for much that is said. Faith is so objectified that it assumes somewhat the function of a Hegelian category working out its impersonal cosmic function. Yet this abstraction of faith from personal life is precisely the evil against which the author constantly protests. Nevertheless the author possesses a deep insight into many fundamental problems, and has written a book worthy of study.

A careful examination of the historical theories concerning the relative place of scripture and of the Holy Spirit¹ in awakening Christian life is full of suggestion. Grützmacher has made an exhaustive examination of the positions taken during the days of the great Protestant theologians, before pietism and the illumination became influential. On the one hand the Anabaptists and radicals asserted an immediate communication of grace by the Spirit in ecstasy or in mystic contemplation. This position readily yields to rationalism, which recognizes the inborn Logos as a constant source of divine communication to man. On the other hand are the extreme biblicists, who teach a "real presence" of divinity in the words of scripture. The former extreme ignores or belittles historical fact in religion. The latter leads to a bibliolatry which is comparable with the Catholic adoration of the host. Between these two extremes all the great theologians took their stand. The reformed theologians incline toward the more radical and subjective pole, and the Lutherans toward the position of objective bibliolatry. This historical analysis is admirably done. In the constructive portion, however, the author seems to assume that the theologians of the seventeenth century possessed all the data needed for a dogmatic statement. He ignores the revolutionary consequences of modern biblical scholarship for our view of the nature of the Word. His conclusions will therefore appeal only to those who stand theologically upon the ground of unmodified orthodoxy.—Schulze continues his investigations of the historical

¹ *Wort und Geist*. Eine historische und dogmatische Untersuchung zum Gnadensmittel des Wortes. Von RICHARD A. GRÜTZMACHER. Leipzig: Deichert, 1902. vii + 312 pages. M. 5.50.

sources of Calvin's doctrine of the future life.⁸ The present study is a supplement to his previous work, in which he called attention to the Platonic characteristics of Calvin's doctrine. He here shows that Erasmus had worked out a Platonic-Christian ideal to which Calvin's closely corresponds, and suggests that Erasmus may have been the channel through which Calvin received his Platonisms. The pamphlet gives copious quotations, which make up an interesting comparative study.—A product of excellent and painstaking scholarship is Dr. Sanger's examination of Kant's works in chronological order for the purpose of ascertaining the great philosopher's conception of faith.⁹ Pre-Kantian thinkers, in discussing the relation between faith and knowledge, had dealt merely with the relations of one external system of doctrines guaranteed by revelation, with another system of doctrines guaranteed by reason. Kant entirely breaks with this external fashion of stating the problem. Knowledge for him is co-extensive with empirical science of nature. It is incompetent to deal with theological truths. These must rest upon faith; but Kant's faith is no longer a secondary form of knowledge. It is as original and as significant a function of the human spirit as is logical thinking. Faith is thus rescued from its extra-philosophical position and is brought within the realm of scientific investigation. How Kant worked out this new conception of faith, and what metaphysical validity (or invalidity) he assigned to the postulates of faith in his various writings is admirably shown. As an introduction to certain questions which are under vigorous debate in the theological world today this critical study is invaluable.

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⁸ *Calvins Jenseits-Christentum in seinem Verhaltnisse zu den religiosen Schriften des Erasmus*. Untersucht von MARTIN SCHULZE. Gorlitz : Dulfer, 1902. 74 pages M. 1.60.

⁹ *Kants Lehre vom Glauben*. Von ERNST SANGER. Leipzig : Durr, 1903. xvii + 170 pages. M. 3.

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